

LINGUISTIC AND ORIENTAL ESSAYS.

Second Series

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MODERN LANGUAGES OF AFRICA. 1883.

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LINGUISTIC AND ORIENTAL ESSAYS. First Series.
1880.

SKETCHES OF ANGLO-INDIAN LIFE. 1881.

THE SHRINES OF LOURDES, SARAGOSSA, LORETTO,
AND JERUSALEM. 1885.

LINGUISTIC AND ORIENTAL ESSAYS.

WRITTEN FROM THE YEAR 1847 TO 1887

Second Series

BY

ROBERT NEEDHAM CUST, LL.D.,

LEXISTER-AT-LAW,

HONORARY SECRETARY OF THE ROYAL ASIATIC SOCIETY

LATE MEMBER OF HER MAJESTY'S INDIAN CIVIL SERVICE

Παλαιοι φιλοσοφοι ἔχον ἄστυα, καὶ πόον ἐγὼ δὲ

Nulli i reconlanti lux est ingrata

Ah ! dove andar qu i des
Si dolce passegger !

LONDON

TRUBNER & CO, LUDGATE HILL

1887

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TO ALL — USE
WHO HAVE AN INTEREST IN
THE ART OF GOVERNING SUBJECT RACES
WHO HAVE HEARTS TO LOVE THEM
AND SYMPATHIES WIDE ENOUGH TO CARE FOR THEIR
BEST INTERESTS
MORAL MATERIAL AND SPIRITUAL

These Pages

ARE DEDICATED

PREFACE.

IN 1880 I published my First Series of Essays. they were Studies of a subject generally on the spot, or after reading all relating to it: they were humble imitations, (if one can compare small things with great) of Froude's "Short Studies of Great Subjects." They appeared in Periodicals, chiefly the "Calcutta Review," at different times since the year 1846, and they represent my sentiments at the time. I have now ventured on a Second Series, the earliest of which is dated 1847, and the latest this very year. Some persons have time to read a short Study, who might shrink from a lengthy volume.

My long residence in India filled me with an intense love for, and interest in, the people of India, and a desire, that the system of Administration, adopted by, the British Government, should be as perfect and sympathetic as possible. I began my career under James Thomason, who first impressed me with the conviction, that a righteous Government must be in the interest of the people governed, and not of the alien interloper. I served then under Major George Broadfoot, Sir Henry Lawrence, Major Mackeson, and Sir Donald McLeod, all of whom met violent deaths in battle, siege, by the hand of the assassin, or railway accident; but the Master, whose principles I adopted as my own, and whose steps I faithfully followed to the last, was John Lord Lawrence. I took part in the Administration

European cities of antiquity: and one to the Geography of the Ancients.

Those, who read the *Essays*, will find how India always, and at all places, comes to my mind, and the interests and duties of the British Nation. We are a little too sensitive of contact, and seem not sufficiently to allow, that other Nations have as much right to annex, and subdue, and establish Protectorates, as we have ourselves: our bounden duty should be to exhibit an ever-increasing aptitude for the Administration of subject races, as if we were stewards for their welfare, and not only seeking our own interests, and the expansion of our own Commerce.

In very notable words a great Statesman in 1833 in the House of Commons laid down our duty: "The path of duty is plain before us it is also the path of wisdom, of national prosperity and national honour: to have found a great people, sunk in the lowest depths of misery and superstition, and to have so ruled them, as to make them desirous and capable of all the privileges of citizens, would be a title to glory, *all our own*. The Empire may pass away from us, but there are triumphs, which are followed by no reverses: there is an Empire, exempt from all natural causes of decay: the pacific triumphs of reason over barbarism: the imperishable, Empire of our arts, our morals, our literature and our law."

More than twenty years later the Queen in her Proclamation, 1857, stated: "We hold ourselves bound to the natives of Indian territory by the same obligation of duty, which binds us to our other subjects: our subjects of whatever race or creed shall be freely and impartially admitted to Offices in our Service, the duties of which they may be qualified, by their education, ability, and integrity, duly to discharge."

"In their prosperity will be our strength; in their contentment our security: in their gratitude our best reward."

Have we acted up to these noble words? My judgment is, that we have striven to do so more than any other conquering and superior Power, either in ancient or modern times. I am not the paid advocate of the Government of India. I have little to thank it for. Owing to the non-completion of a few months of Residence in India, I forfeited my Retiring Pension, and, though I served the State energetically in Peace and War, Rebellion and Pacification, in the Field, in the Public-Office and in the Council-Chamber, I received no honour of any kind. My opinion is therefore the more unbiassed, and it is this: that our Administration has been based on Justice, Moderation, and Sympathy with the People, that we have to an extent far exceeding that of the Governments of Russia and France, and the wretched, ignorant, mal-administration of Turkey, consulted the true interests of the people, and stayed the hands of the alien interloper, who would have confiscated the Lands of the landowner to satisfy his Earth-greed: that we have no Prison full of Political offenders, and no Military tyranny: that the Natives may go where they like, do what they like, speak what they like, and write what they like, within the reasonable provisions of the Law, which is the same to all, high or low, rich or poor, Native or alien: that the Officials are paid for their work, and supervised in their work, are restrained from corruption and oppression, and can speak the Vernaculars of the people. That there is Toleration in the fullest extent, actively and passively, in deed as well as letter, to every form of Religion as Religion, or Unbelief, each soul being left in individual uncontrolled

responsibility to its Creator: that children succeed without question to the inheritance of their parents: that every section of the vast population enjoys its own law, or custom, having the force of law, in all matters regarding Marriage and Inheritance: that the blessings of a Free Press are enjoyed by all, whether European, or Native, subject only to the reasonable Law of Libel against Private Characters: that though the Government of the Country is as regards Religious tenets entirely colourless, its Christian Servants are not afraid, or ashamed, to let it be known, that that they are Christians in Morals, Habits, and the outward profession of their Faith, and would scorn even the semblance of conforming to any non-Christian custom: that all the great triumphs of Civilization and Education, and a great portion of Municipal privileges, are freely imparted by the great Power, which governs, to the great Country, which is governed. I would particularly ask "Young India," who blusters for Homo Rule, and Political-independence, to consider, whether such aspirations are not a dream, and whether he would gain much after years of blood and confusion, in being transferred to Franco or Russia?

I would ask the Roman Catholic or Protestant Missionary, whether in any other country in the World he has such liberty of Preaching, Teaching, and Itinerating, without fear of a blustering Magistrate, or a fanatical Mob. I would ask him to keep himself to his own Sacred duties, and refrain from expressing rash and unjustifiable opinions upon subjects, which he is imperfectly qualified to understand, such as the Administrative system of a vast Empire, and the time-honoured and innocent Family-customs of a great non-Christian People.

Finally I ask the Men of Commerce, the Agri-

cultural Speculator, and all that class of Europeans, who may be described without offence as alien interlopers, birds of passage, and shakers of the Pagoda-Tree, to reflect, whether in any other Country in the World they enjoy such liberty of locomotion, of sojourning, of buying, of selling: if they are prepared to become domiciled in India, they will have the same rights, as all other fellow-subjects of the Empress of India, to take a part in the control of public affairs: but, if they are only sojourners for a few years, they have no more right to interfere in the conduct of public affairs of British India than a Canadian, or Australian, has in the Parliament of Great Britain.

When I was learning my lesson forty years ago, I was much instructed by the thoughtful letters, contained in two volumes published by the Hon. John Shore, a Civil Servant of the old style. His pages set me thinking, and, though my copy of his book perished with my Library in the Mutinies of 1857, and it might be difficult to find a copy now, yet his remarks and narratives still live in my memory. I can only hope, that my two volumes of Essays, written with the same object, prompted by the same interest in the people, going over so many subjects, and spread over so large a space of time, may interest those, whose calling it may be to help to govern the people, whom I have loved so well.

ROBERT NEEDHAM CUST.

63, ELM PARK GARDENS, LONDON, S.W.
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LINGUISTIC AND ORIENTAL ESSAYS.

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CHAPTER I

THE ROYAL ASIATIC SOCIETY

IN the year 1873 the Members of the Royal Asiatic Society assembled to keep their first jubilee, half a century having elapsed since the date of their foundation, and five only of the original members having survived to that date. Occasion was taken to record in the report of the year the work done by the Society in the previous fifty years, and, as it were, to take stock of the literary capital and enterprise of the Society, and to make a fresh start.

Let us consider for a moment what a vast change has come over the Oriental world since 1823, the year in which Henry Colebrooke read his primary discourse. It is literally true, that the area of British India has doubled, and the rate of increase of the population has probably been greater. The great Company has fallen. Persia and Turkey have entered into the comity of civilised nations, while China and Japan, which were at that period merely geographical expressions, have commenced a career of progress. The Overland passage and the Telegraph have destroyed distance, and the news from the East is every morning as fresh as the news from Wales used to be fifty years ago. In one respect only there is no change: the subject of India is put aside in the political world as a bore now, because so much is known about it, fifty years ago it was scouted because it appeared in a garb, and with surroundings, that were incomprehensible.

In the world of Literature, how vast has been the progress! How strange it appears now to read remarks from the pen of Dr Wilson, that it was still an undecided question, whether the Zend

and Pehlavi ever actually existed as languages, or were mere inventions of the Parsi: at the present time the genuineness of Hebrew and Samaritan might as easily be questioned. In those quiet days no Settlement Officers had ransacked every corner of Northern India for the least vestige of a custom, or a tenure; and no Education Department had undertaken the herculean task of instructing the youth of the conquered according to the notions of the conquerors. Within that period the Science of language has by the energy and learning of her votaries secured a place by the side of her elder sisters; and the young giants, Comparative Philology, and Comparative Mythology, have ripped open many a favourite theory, and dashed down with the merciless club of fact the idol of many a time-honoured fallacy. The knowledge of the ancient world has been indefinitely expanded since that time. Bopp had not then spun his fine cobweb of unassailable reasoning over the great play-ground of the Indo-European Family; Pott had not delved in the inexhaustible mine of the Teutonic Word-Lore; nor had Grimm, like his great countryman Kepler, elaborated a new law, which future generations must obey.

The founder of the Society was a man, whose name can never be mentioned by any student of Oriental languages without the profoundest respect. He was the second of the three great English Oriental scholars, the undoubted pre-eminence of whom is admitted on the Continent as in England. Sir William Jones handed the lamp to Henry Colbrooke, and he in his time found a worthy successor in his friend Horace Hayman Wilson. This dynasty lasted seventy years; and the vacant chair of pre-eminence has never been, and is not likely ever to be, filled again. As the field of labour widened, a distribution was made among the scholars of this and other countries; and though the amount of knowledge possessed by the present generation far exceeds that of the preceding, both in extent and profoundness, and also in accuracy, still in no one scholar is such a variety of gifts concentrated; to no one is conceded such undoubted homage. And it is characteristic of the institutions of Great Britain, that to not one of these three great Lights did the Sovereign or the State, prodigal in honours and pension to second-rate Lawyers and third rate divines, make the slightest acknowledgment.

Without wishing to detract from the great merits of these early giants, it must be remembered, that they had the advantage of being first in the field, but they had the ability and industry to make good use of their opportunities. They gathered in the first fruits of the great harvest, which had been ripening for two thousand years; they had the thinning of the great cream-pot. And it must be remembered that, as in all new mines, the ore lay very much on the surface. And, though they were servants of the State, the duties of public servants were not so relentlessly exacted

as now, they merely gave to the study of Oriental Literature the ample leisure, which their contemporaries dedicated to the card table or the bottle, leisure which the hard worked Official of modern days looks for in vain.

The new Society was organised in 1823 under a Royal Charter, His Majesty George IV being Patron, members of the Royal Family being Vice-Patrons, the President of the Board of Control was the first President, being ex-officio a Vice Patron, and Mr Colebrooke, the founder, was the first Director, a post which he occupied till his death, when he was succeeded by Dr Wilson, and when his chair was vacated by death, it was occupied by Sir H. Rawlinson who is the actual incumbent. At their first meeting in March, 1823, Mr Colebrooke read an opening "discourse," which was reprinted for circulation in 1842, as up to that date expressing the objects and aspirations of the Society.

Admitting that Asia was the parent of civilisation, he lays down the principle, one so often forgotten, that Europe, and especially England, have a debt to repay, and this can best be done by promoting an interchange of benefits which again must be preceded by more accurate information "*of all that is there known which belongs to Science, and all that is there practised, which appertains to Art*." Be it then our part to investigate the Science of Asia "and to inquire into the Arts of the East with the hope of facilitating the ameliorations, of which they may be found susceptible."

We see what a wide field of inquiry was thrown open, how large a subject was grasped. All that is now the aim of international Exhibitions and a large portion of that, which is included in the Moral and Material Progress Report of British India were contemplated by the small gathering of men interested in India, who were assembled fifty years ago in the Society's rooms in Grafton Street. The nominal rulers of the great Dependency were occupied in their investment for the China and home market; a knot of its retired servants were assembled to study the Alphabet of governing Asia upon European principles.

As the veteran Civil Servant warmed to the subject, he seemed to transport himself back to his seat in the Council room in Calcutta, with hundreds of subordinates, scattered over the vast country, to whom "to hear was to obey." We think we hear him reading the measured sentences of his discourse, for, as with all old Indians, long practice had made him write well, and the stately sesquipedalia flowed from his pen, detailing a field of research "as wide as the regions, and as various as the people, who inhabit them are diversified. It embraces their history ancient and modern, their civil polity, their long enduring institutions their manners and their customs, their languages and their literature, their sciences, speculative and practical, the progress of know-

"disease, which will stick by me to the grave, and that it does not proceed from excess of business only." It is at once the privilege, and the charm, and the cross, of a well-trained and active mind, *that it never has leisure*. People, who have nothing to occupy themselves with, generally spread that nothing over the whole day; but the active mind, while it finds time for everything, has the so-called "leisure" for nothing. There are some, who on their return from India crave for their Office Despatch Box, and the daily routine of indolent activity, or busy idleness, of an office; but how many bring home memoranda of books to be read, *when there is leisure*, thoughts to be arranged, when there is opportunity, subjects to be looked up, when there is a moment to spare!

Then, as to "knowledge," how many men fifty years ago brought back "treasured knowledge" of the kind described in their long sea cases? In how many overland trunks of modern times would anything be found worth publishing? Be it remembered, that as a companion of the leisure, and a penalty of the knowledge, often comes impaired health, and failing eyesight, and a feeling that the day's work is done, that the pen does not run so glibly as before, that the well-stored Memory somehow or other, does not respond so readily to the touch, that the man is not what he was "*Consule Planco*."

Even in the heroic age, when this Society was founded, there were but a handful of men, who were prepared and able to assist, in the proposed work; behind them, and supporting them, was the usual amount of padding, the social "numbness," whose tongues were wisely kept silent, and their pens judiciously dry, or who at least discreetly allowed their incubations to remain in manuscript; and to those who were willing, and able, how few and short were the hours of work allowed! Year by year the obituary column recorded the death of one of the leading members, and within a very few years we find the venerable founder requested to allow his honoured name to remain attached to a post, the duties of which his rapidly increasing infirmities had prevented him from discharging.

But the Society for many years did not shrink at least in words from the programme of their founder. In their report of 1834 we find that "the Council took the occasion to point out the peculiar relations, in which the Society stood to the British Empire, particularly to its Oriental possessions, and to express its hope, that the Society might become an effectual instrument in bringing into activity the intellectual energies of the inhabitants of our Eastern dominions, in directing them, when so awakened, to proper works of utility, and in making known the results of these exertions to the European world. In this view the Council considered the Society a national institution, justly entitled to national support from the means which it possessed for diffusing

"among the nations of the East whatever of European invention
 "may seem calculated to improve them in Arts and Sciences, or in
 "any way to elevate them in the scale of nations, while on the
 "other hand, it operates as a medium, through which a knowledge
 "of all which they themselves possess may be laid before the public "

"These anticipations have been realised "

Again, in the report of 1837

"We cannot slacken our endeavours to promote the usefulness of
 "the Society, as regards the welfare of our fellow subjects in Asia
 "or as regards the people of this country in being the medium of
 "communicating to them the knowledge of the former, their Arts,
 "Sciences, Manufacture and Commerce of the most valuable
 "natural productions and vast resources of our widely expanded
 "Empire in the East "

And once more, after a lapse of twenty years, we recognize the
 familiar ring, perhaps the farewell echo of the great Directors, at
 least we have heard no such sentiments expressed since Dr
 Wilson died

"Our Society should concentrate information of whatever is
 "produced or illustrated in respect of Asia by the learning and
 "industry of our countrymen, or residents in a foreign land, in a
 "word, that the inquirers for information respecting India might
 "be referred to this Society as the depository where investigations
 "may be assisted and study prosecuted with the greatest prospect
 "of success "

In fact the aspirations of the Society's Report 1854, trenched
 on the field then open, but now occupied and ably occupied, by
 the Government of India. The Society presided over by the
 President of the Board of Control, and attended by members of the
 Court of Directors, was in fact the representative of the Govern-
 ment of the period in the Department of Arts and Sciences.
 Nothing can show this more clearly than the report read by Sir
 Alexander Johnstone Chairman of the Committee of Correspond-
 ence in 1834 and 1837, going over the widest field of inquiry,
 geographical, administrative, and scientific. Twice a Committee of
 Agriculture and Commerce was established. On the first occasion it
 came to an end by the Government of India inviting the leading
 member of the Committee, Dr Royle, to transfer his services to the
 State, and to finish more thoroughly as a salaried official what he
 commenced as an amateur. The second time, in spite of the able
 and zealous exertions of Mr Marshman the Committee came to an
 end, not from the want of interest felt in the subject, but from a
 feeling, that the subject could be handled by the State only. This
 was perhaps the last attempt of the Society to be useful beyond
 the strict boundary of Literature and Archaeology. For, indeed,
 the question must arise. Did those who penned the extracts,
 which we have quoted above, really believe them? Did they

deceive themselves, that the Society was effecting any great work for Asia or India, or likely to do so? In the face of the gigantic administrative machinery of modern times, the annual Moral and Material Progress-Report submitted to Parliament, it became clear, that the front of the battle was changed, that in the midst of the army of report-writers, statistic-collectors, and commissioners of inquiry, the little contingent of the Royal Asiatic Society was nowhere; and that the Society itself was become like one of the little harbours of our coast, once accessible to the smaller craft of ancient days, but now, from the shifting of the current, and sitting up of sand, far inland.

We have seen that the Asiatic Society was founded in 1823. After the lapse of twenty-five years it was firmly established as an Institution; but in 1848 all the great men, with a few exceptions, who were necessarily advanced in life, at the time of the foundation, had passed away. Indeed, a perusal of the report of the annual meetings has something sad in it, for each-year some well-remembered figure was absent, some well-known voice was silent and those, who uttered a well-deserved panegyric on their departed friends, were themselves the subject of a similar pious eulogy at the meeting of the following year. Two patrons of the Society George IV. and William IV., a succession of official vice-patrons the President of the Board of Control, and Chairman of the Council of Directors, and a long row of presidents and vice-presidents Members of Council and office-holders, had disappeared from the roll. Among them were Charles William Wynn, the Earl of Munster, Lord Fitzgerald, the Earl of Auckland, the Earl of Ellesmere, the Marquess of Wellesley, Lord Metcalfe, Sir W. Macnaghten, Sir Alexander Burnes, Henry Colebrooke, Sir G. Ouseley, and many others less known to the general public, but filling a large place in the affairs of the Society.

Although the Society seemed to be still flourishing, when after the lapse of another quarter of a century we look back upon the men, who even then were spared to assemble at the meetings or contribute to the pages of the journal, men such as Horn Hayman Wilson, Sir George Staunton, Mr. Elphinstone, Dr. Mil Mr. Shakespeare, Mr. Bland, Mr. Morley, Colonel Sykes, Dr. Le Sir Graves Haughton, Lord Strangford, Dr. Falconer, Mr. Marsden and others, still it was evident, that in reality the objects of the Society were languishing, that the field of inquiry was contracting that the interest in Oriental subjects, which had launched and buoyed up the vessel thus far, was exhausted. The reasons were obvious, and they have double force now a quarter of a century later, and we propose further on to discuss them at large. In the year 1848 the Society had migrated from their original quarters in Grafton Street, and were newly established in the house in New Burlington Street, which will recur to many of our readers. The

excellent quarters contained a choice museum and a well selected library, and the staff of the Society consisted of Dr H. H. Wilson, the Director and moving spirit, Mr Clarke and Mr Edwin Norris were Secretaries, Mr Alexander, Treasurer, and Sir Graves Haughton, Librarian, when a succession of events happened, which gave to the Society a new lease of life, and an amount of lustre in English and European circles, surpassing all previous and, we fear, all future experiences.

• In the year 1845, Mr Edwin Norris, the Assistant Secretary, had successfully interpreted the Inscriptions of Kapur di Giri near Peshawar, brought home by Mr Masson, and soon after Sir H. Rawlinson, who in 1844 had been appointed by the Government of Lord Lilenborough to Turkish Arabia, had made copies of the Cuneiform Inscription of Persepolis in the province of Tars, and had solved the great problem, and had given new life to the decrees of Darius Hystaspes at Behistun after a slumber of more than 2000 years. The Asiatic Society lent its countenance and influence, and opened its purse liberally in the support of this great discovery, and in Mr Edwin Norris was found the man, who by patience and ingenuity helped to work out the problem, translated the Median or Scythian portion of the great Behistun Inscription, and with singular and unselfish devotion to Science threw himself, as a humble co operator into a work, which covered his fellow labourer with glory. The journals of the Royal Asiatic Society suddenly acquired a new interest, which was increased one hundred fold, when Nineveh and Babylon disclosed their long buried treasures, the literature, language and history of a period not less removed from the present era than 2500 years. It was then, that the Asiatic Society became the centre of a great literary movement, that their publications were subsidised by a national grant that the greatest and most eminent men of the time, headed by the Prince Consort, attended at the meetings, and tourists abroad found that a copy of the Journal, unfolding the wonderful Cuneiform discoveries, was the most acceptable present in the scientific world at a foreign capital. In heading this movement, the Royal Asiatic Society acted as if by inspiration, as there was for a long time a great wave of incredulity to resist, and Sir H. Rawlinson has always gratefully acknowledged the debt of gratitude, which he owed to his earliest supporters and styled himself their "alumnus."

Practically the *raison d'être* of the Society has been as follows

I To form a centre for the social union of persons interested in Oriental Literature and Archaeology, or in India and the East in its widest acceptance

II To increase mutual knowledge of England and India

III To concentrate information for the use of inquirers, whether English or foreigners

- IV. To supply a graceful mode of recognising the distinction of foreign scholars by admitting them as honorary members.
- V. To publish a periodical Journal as a vehicle of the above detailed information.
- VI. To publish a periodical report of the proceedings so as to keep alive, and, if possible, increase interest.
- VII. To annex to this report obituary notices of the distinguished members, who have died within the year.
- VIII. To annex a *resumé* of all works published on Oriental subjects either in the British Dominions or foreign countries within the period, and thus take stock of the progress of knowledge.
- IX. To collect and maintain a library available for reference, or for loan to members, or on the responsibility of members.
- X. To preserve manuscripts, and lend them to scholars under certain conditions.
- XI. To draw up memorials to the Government or the Universities on subjects connected with the promotion of Oriental Literature.
- XII. To form a connection with Branch Societies in different parts of the world.

It must not be forgotten, that the Royal Asiatic Society was established at a date subsequent to the Asiatic Societies of Batavia and Paris, which date back to 1779 and 1822 respectively, and that it has always entertained feelings of filial respect to the parent-Society in Calcutta, founded by Sir W. Jones in 1784. On the other hand, round it are gathered Branch Societies at Bombay, Ceylon, Madras, North and South China, its motto being *Quot rami, tot arbores*, with the emblem of the *Ficus Indica*. Of a subsequent date, and probably in imitation of the great examples at Calcutta, Paris and London, Oriental Societies have been established, at every capital in Europe, save Spain, publishing periodicals, and vying with each other in industry and zeal. It must be added that, with the exception of London and Calcutta, the effective members of such Societies are chiefly members of the professorial body of the Universities, and but slightly supported by the members of the ordinary community.

I now come to consider what the Society has done; and the report of 1873 undertakes to supply information for the purpose. It must not be forgotten, that something has been done indirectly, which did not admit of being set out formally in a report, but which must not be lost sight of. The existence of this Society has filled up an admitted vacuum: it was alone in the field once, and by keeping alive interest by action on the Government, and on public opinion, has very much contributed to the establishment of other Societies, which by drawing off members have thinned its ranks. Besides the great case of the Mesopotamian Discoveries, the Society has by encouragement and liberality fostered other

researches, which might otherwise have drooped, and we cannot fully estimate the influence which individual members of the Society brought to bear in their capacity as members of the governing bodies of India. At any rate, we have the fact, that the great aspirations of the Society have been adopted and fully worked out by the Government. It is reasonable to argue, that the manifesto of the Society, and the proceedings and discussions which distinguished its early years, have led surely, but imperceptibly, to the improved administration of India, especially when it is recollected, that for thirty years the Director of that Society was one of the few of the unchangeable figures in the ever-changing kaleidoscope of the old India House where those, who went to India as boys, and returned as middle aged men, ever found the kind but solemn face of the most universally accomplished man, the admirable Crichton, of the Service of the Company.

I come next to the tangible records of the work of the Society: the three volumes of the Transactions and the twenty volumes of the Old Series of the Journal, and the volumes of the New. Of many of the papers that were read, and of the numerous lectures which were delivered with a few exceptions, there is no record, but the printed volumes of the Journal will speak for themselves, and, following the order of the jubilee report, I shall have occasion to notice them. The Branch Societies have all published Journals. But in addition to its own labours the Society has given birth to two other kindred institutions supported and maintained by members of its own body, though enjoying a separate organisation and income. I allude to the Oriental Translation Fund and Oriental Text Society. The volumes of the former amount to nearly eighty in number and contain the work of some of the most distinguished English and Foreign scholars and the result is that the contents of books, which were emphatically sealed to the general reading public, have been made accessible in the English, French or Latin languages, and the works of some of the most celebrated Sanskrit, Arabic, Persian and Syrian authors placed on a level with the European Classics. The Oriental Text Society and its successor the Sanskrit Text Society, and the Pali Text Society, have had a more restricted object, but one not less important, to supply the scholar with Texts existing only in manuscript, thus by correct readings and good typography removing one half of the horror, that surrounds the first attempt to be an Oriental scholar.

In estimating the result of the half century, it must be remembered that the Society has gone through more than one financial crisis, and from its earliest date until now there has been one continuous man over the scantiness of support to a subject not of general interest. The increase and decrease of members has

been year by year jealously watched and commented upon. Instances of liberality and devotion on the part of the members have not been unknown, large donations have been made, and many of the members, who had compounded by payment, allowed themselves to be put on the paying list a second time. No lack of energy has been displayed by the managing council; quarters have been shifted from Grafton Street to New Burlington Street, and thence to their present house in Albemarle Street, the accommodation being contracted, or expanded, according to the state of the resources. Struuous attempts have been made to secure free quarters from the State in Somerset House, or Burlington House, and in the new India Office. The Society surrendered their Museum to the great Museum of the India Office, and offered, but without success, to amalgamate their Library with that of the India Office, and establish themselves as Custodians of the great depôt of Oriental learning in the metropolis, reserving that power of lending manuscripts to scholars, which is the great distinction between the practice of both the above-mentioned Libraries, and that of the British Museum and the two Universities, who are restricted by Act of Parliament from allowing a sheet of paper to leave their premises; and how great a boon it is for a scholar to be allowed to take his manuscript to his house, instead of studying it in a crowded room at fixed hours, can only by scholars be fully appreciated. On looking back upon the past history, we do not see that the Society ever lost an opportunity, or was wanting to a duty; and, if prosperity has departed from its walls, it is mainly owing to the relentless logic of circumstances, and the shifting of the social and literary requirements of the age.

I now proceed to notice the report of 1873 more in detail. The two main Departments are:

I. Philology . . . Man illustrated by his "Words."

II. Archaeology . . . "Works."

In the former are included the following languages: Sanskrit, Persian, Arabic, Turkish, Zend and Pehlavi, Armenian; treated by such scholars as Colebrooke, H. H. Wilson, John Muir, Max Müller, FitzEdward Hall, and Goldstücker. The Pali Language is worthy of a separate notice, illustrated, as it has been, by Clough, Fausbøll, Childers, Hodgson, Turuour, Gogerly, and Hardy. The Vernacular languages have been noticed, though insufficiently with reference to the wide field opened for research. If we pause to consider how during the period under review Pali has been entirely discovered, Zend and Pehlavi rescued from the supposition, that they were only inventions of fire-worshipping priests, and Vedic Sanskrit for the first time interpreted, we may form an idea, how great the work has been, in which the Journal has participated. The Vernaculars are still an open field for the scholars of the future, but the treasures of the glorious past have been ransacked,

Under the head of Philology will come the interpretation of the great Inscriptions on rocks in all parts of Asia. There appears to have been a special literary providence presiding over those ancient nations, which urged them to consign to the safe keeping of the everlasting hills, to metal tablets, and to the brick and clay materials of their buildings, those records of their history, which other nations have consigned rashly to more perishable materials.

In the Department of Archaeology, unwearied have been the labours of Fergusson, Walter Elliot, Meadows Taylor, Cunningham, and Stevenson. The ubiquitous Director, Dr Wilson, is here, as everywhere, with papers on sects, descriptions of Temple worship, verification of itineraries, and judicious and kindly comments on the works of others. Here, again, at least there is an inexhaustible field for the future. If the Government of India have at last taken up the subject of the Archaeological Survey in earnest, it must be remembered, that it was the Royal Asiatic Society, that made the first move as far back as 1844, and the Archaeological members of the Society watch the progress with interest, and chronicle its proceedings. In the special branch of Numismatics, which to a certain extent links together the separate pursuits of Archaeology and Philology, much has been done during the last quarter of a century by our untiring Treasurer Mr Edward Thomas.

Outside the two great departments have been numerous contributions to Botany, Geology, Geography, Ethnology, Statistics, Law, History, Commerce, Agriculture, and well known names appear among the contributors, Sykes, Neubold Low, Oswald De Priault, Marshman Sir John Malcolm Sir A. Johnstone, N. E. Baillie, Sir G. Staunton, Sir J. Bowring, Sir J. Davis.

What then are the causes of decay in this Society, and what are its legitimate prospects for the future?

First and foremost, is the fact, that the Government of India has risen to the level of its duty to the great subject State and undertakes to do by its own officials what it formerly left undone altogether, or allowed private individuals or Societies to undertake. The annual Moral and Material Progress Report of India shows exhaustively how vast those duties are.

Secondly. Rival Societies have sprung up on all sides to divide the great kingdom. Lord Ashburton as far back as 1857, in a thoughtful Presidential address, remarked that the Society should "not care for the loss of the monopoly of doing good, if other Societies do the work as well, the Society should rejoice. The same subdivision of work has taken place in hospitals." The Society might reply that the theory was true and just, but that the practice might possibly lead to its extinction. It has been found to subjects rather than geographical limits, and consequently the Royal Asiatic Society, that undertook everything, has been

gradually ousted from portions by the Geographical, the Geological, the Ethnological Society, the Society of Arts, the East India Association, the Palestine Exploration Fund, and the Society of Biblical Archaeology, and lastly by the Archaeological Department of the British Museum, and in fact is now restricted to Literature and Archaeology. But still the Asia of the Asiatic Society has never included Russia in Asia, and has been suffered to include Africa and Oceania.

Thirdly. The subject-matter of the Society's researches, now that the novelty is worn off, is not an attractive one. It requires special training, and the creation of special tastes, to bring men together to discuss matters, which lie so entirely outside the orbit of their daily avocations. In the House of Commons what crowds of members assist in a bill to regulate the licensing of pot-houses, and how few attend to listen to the affairs of the greatest subject-Empire that the world ever knew! Paris is the very centre and metropolis of Oriental study, but this happens, because the essence of France is centralised in Paris, which is the seat of her only great University; and in the meetings of the *Société Asiatique* the professorial class dominate, without any healthy admixture of the practical element. At any rate, at the Royal Asiatic Society, men still meet, who for a quarter of a century have practised the art of administration of Oriental peoples on the largest scale, and know personally the languages, the customs, and the places, which are the subjects of their discussions.

The extinction, therefore, of such a Society, or the curtailing of its means of usefulness by a slow process of atrophy, would be a subject of regret; an average of one hundred and fifty members contributing three guineas annually, and fifty members non-resident in England, contributing one guinea, supplemented by the liberal donation of the Government of India of two hundred guineas, the sale of Journals, and the sublease of rooms to other Societies, and the interest of the small capital kept as a nest egg, constitute an income of about £1500. There was a time, when members were forthcoming, who made annual presents of £100; and one liberal patron whose name should be recorded, Sir H. Worsley, presented £1000. The same sum was contributed by vote of Parliament to assist the publication of the *Cuneiform Inscriptions*. The income above stated is pretty equally divided in three shares, the rent of the house, the salaries of the Secretary and his staff, and the cost of printing the Journal. This therefore is the minimum, on which the Society can exist on the most restricted scale, and no margin is left for the purchase of books, or any purpose which might appear to be useful. It is difficult to lay down for another what should be their duty, or what might be their feelings; but it does not seem unreasonable to suppose, that a certain number of the retired servants of the Indian establishment

would annually fill up the vacancies caused by death and too frequent withdrawals. Some scheme of amalgamation with other societies, so as to utilise the rooms and the library, might be hit upon. Several schemes for readjusting the terms of subscription, and thus attracting subscribers, have been discussed, but without any result. As a fact, the Societies, based upon a guinea subscription, generally have no library and no paid establishment, their operations being conducted by volunteers, and in many cases the use of a room being leased by some public institution, the expenditure is limited to the publication of the Journal.

What is therefore earnestly to be desired is that new members could be found in the services in India, as "non-resident," who on their return to the country would take their place as ordinary members. It is often a subject of comment by foreigners, how strangely indifferent the British seem to be to the mine of antiquarian interest, which a kind Providence has thrown into their hands. It has always been so, but perhaps since the extinction of the great Company more so now than ever. I am tempted to quote a letter addressed by Mr Colebrooke to Dr Wilson as far back as 1827.

"Careless and indifferent as our countrymen are, I think nevertheless you and I may derive some complacent feelings from the reflection that, following the footsteps of Sir W. Jones, we have with so little aid of collaborators, and so little encouragement, opened nearly every avenue, and left it to foreigners, who are tilting up the clue we have furnished, to complete the outline of what we have sketched. It is some gratification to national pride, that the opportunity, which we English enjoyed, has not been wholly unemployed."

A second suggestion is that authors of books, bearing on Oriental subjects, should courteously forward a copy to the library, there are no funds to purchase books. The liberality of many publishers and authors has to be acknowledged. Notice of all new works is duly made in the Periodical *resumé* of the progress of Oriental Research, and thus acts as a kind of advertisement and instances have been known of persons purchasing a book, to which their attention had been called by seeing it casually on the table or on the shelves of the Society. Many members have presented volumes to the library, and many more have bequeathed books and manuscripts, and for any one who had at heart the advancement of the knowledge of the East, it would appear to be more appropriate to dedicate his books and manuscripts to a Society which would appreciate them than to leave them to be sold and scattered, and used for base purposes or bequeath them to relatives, who have neither taste nor understanding to know their value.

A third suggestion is, there are still many tracts in Asia and Africa and Oceania, many languages of inhabitants of these tracts,

many curious customs; many ruins of great buildings; many remnants of the mighty past, which have been imperfectly investigated, and concerning which no authentic or trustworthy details have appeared in public prints. The temptation, of course, is to write a separate book; but such an operation requires leisure, capital, or interest with publishers, and opportunity, and such a work may often fall still-born from the Press. On the other hand a carefully prepared short paper for a journal, such as that of the Asiatic Society, obtains at once a circulation among those able to appreciate it, and at no cost to the writer; and there it remains for reference hereafter, or to form the nucleus of a larger work, if the author's life be spared; if not, the information is not lost, and the writer is honourably remembered. To those, who have spent *was* a time, and there *were* opportunities, and there *was* a special knowledge, which might have been so utilised, had it been understood that all that was required was to forward the paper to the Secretary in Albemarle Street, who would have submitted it to the Council and the Director would no doubt have communicated with the writer. Contributors of this kind are more valuable to a learned Society than contributions in money.

And one word with regard to the Society itself. Unquestionably the social advantage of a place of reunion is reduced to a nonentity. The periodical meetings are reduced to a mere shadow, if not a sham. No doubt there is a tendency for each member to ride on his own hobby. Old Sir John Bowring's voice will be heard no more about China and Siam; Holt-Mackenzie would have liked to see Land-Revenue and land tenures noticed; Colonel Sykes would have had more statistics; Mr. Marshman would have ventilated Cotton and Railways; Lord Strangford viewed the world from the stand-point of Constantinople; Wilson of Calcutta, and Rawlinson of Babylon. But a little opposition gave a little life; as it is now, the majority of living members are as silent as the marble busts of the old members which surround them. Better lectures to a more sympathising audience might be given in the adjoining Royal Institution; and such contributions as do find their way to this Journal, might find a place in the Journal of some one or other of the rival Societies.

But there are duties, which this Society alone can discharge. We have mentioned above, that all distinguished foreign Oriental scholars are made Honorary Members of the Society, and their number is added to with judgment, so as not to make the honour cheap, and still omit none worthy of the honour; and then to use the words of the report of 1855: "In their obituary notices the Council records the loss of eminent Oriental scholars, whose great attainments, or peculiar devotedness to the pursuit and extension of our knowledge of Asia, makes it the duty of the

" Society to trace the steps of his literary progress, and to enumerate
 " the works by which the treasures of Eastern learning have been
 " enlarged "

Then, again, the library of the Society is a convenient one for the concentration of peculiar and special information, which scholars can refer to *and borrow*. Exchange is made by this Society of its Journal with no less than one hundred Societies and out of this large number many are foreign, and perhaps in no other place in London would the Journals and publications of some of these Societies be found, when occasion arose to refer to them. If this Library were enriched by further purchases or donations, its value would be still greater. The most is made of it that can be.

But it is on the Journal, that the Society must rest for its reputation. The Society is the only body, that on certain topics can speak upon an entirely independent platform. It can memorialise the Universities, or the Government, upon subjects which fall within its special domain, as it has done in times past, when it memorialised the University of Cambridge, not in vain, to make provision for the teaching of Sanskrit, and this last year has represented to the University of Oxford the expediency of constituting a *Samithi Chaur*. At the solicitation of the Society, a grant was made by the State for the Rawlinson Inscriptions, and the Society made the first move in the cause of Archaeology in India. In the pages of the Journal the conflicting views of scholars can be set forth, as in the notable case of the theories of Dr Goldstucker and Dr John Muir on Vedic interpretation. When doubt was thrown by sceptics on the genuineness of the Assyrian Inscriptions, in the pages of the Journal the sealed translations made by separate scholars were published for the judgment of the learned world. Attention is fearlessly called in the pages of the Journal to the neglect of Oriental studies in England, and a constant protest made against the shortsighted policy, which has led to the anomaly that the conquerors of India have to look to France and Germany for competent persons to occupy Chairs of Oriental Instruction, to edit or translate Oriental works, to catalogue Oriental manuscripts, to discharge the offices of librarian and secretary to Oriental Institutions, and to conduct researches for which English industry and intellect ought to be forthcoming. In the Journal also are found notices of the discovery and cataloguing of Oriental manuscripts, both in Europe and India, a kind of information of first-rate importance to the scholar, and which no other Journal could supply.

Let it never be forgotten how nobly the old Court of Directors of the East India Company discharged their duties as patrons of learning and literature. It is not intended to make any reflections on the present Government of India as it is not asserted, nor insinuated, that patronage is not liberally bestowed on authors and

scholars according to what is considered to be right and proper for a constitutional Government, having to answer to Parliament for its proceedings. But the old Court had another law, and another way of dispensing its patronage, sometimes bordering on princely magnificence, with the advantage of abundant funds subject to no account.

I have reserved to the last my notice of what appears to me one of the most important, if not the most important, duty, which may be discharged by the Society through its Council, which would be highly valued on the Continent, and be quite *eni generis*; for it is in this Journal alone that such a production could appear; and it would itself be the most generally interesting paper that a Journal could produce, for, while the contributions on special subjects, such as Assyrian Philology and Indian Archaeology, are additions to knowledge, still by their very nature they are unreadable, if not unintelligible, to the majority even of the reading public. I allude to a careful and complete annual *résumé* of the progress of Oriental study and research, such as Professor Garcin de Tassy has for many years issued with regard to the Vernaculars of India, and MM. Mohl and Renan annually compose for the Journal of the Société Asiatique. It is no reply, that these gentlemen already supply what is wanted, for their admirable discourses are in the French language, published in a French Journal of limited circulation; and on some particular side of the subject, where the Royal Asiatic Society is strong, the French Society from its opportunities and proclivities is very weak. The project has long been recommended by the Council and during the last five years has been partially, though ably, carried out by the present Secretary. I proceed by quotation to illustrate my proposition.

In 1835 the Council remarked "that some subjects, which the early labours of the Society were directed to illustrate, have been in great measure exhausted, and information on others of general interest has been flowing into other channels. The topics of literary, scientific, and general investigation in respect of Asia have been so multiplied, and their limits so vastly expanded, that they now call forth, not only the enlightened attention and active energies of our own countrymen, but the industry and acumen of our continental neighbours, especially those of Germany, and France. Without a watchful observation of what is brought to light in these countries a very imperfect acquaintance is kept up of the progress of successful research on Asiatic subjects.

"It seems to follow, that in addition to its own contributions to the general fund of knowledge, it is desirable, that our Society should concentrate information of whatever is produced or illustrated in respect of Asia by the learning and industry of our own countrymen, only residents in foreign lands; that our

"Journal should diffuse early information on whatever can interest the scholar and the inquirer respecting the races the languages, the products, the literature, the arts, the institutions, the habits of its varied populations, and that it should contain occasional reviews, summary analyses, or other notices of recent and valuable works relating to those subjects, whether in our own or foreign languages" "Extensive correspondence should be carried on in order that literary productions of importance and value should be early obtained from the quarters in which they have been produced" These are doubtless the words of Dr H. H. Wilson

In 1864 the President, the late Viscount Strangford, remarked, "that the Society must stand, or fall, by its Journal as the standard of its literary activity and usefulness India must, as heretofore, continue to occupy a large, and perhaps a disproportionate share of the attention of the Society, which might take a pattern from the useful and comprehensive review of the Hindustani Press of India, with which Professor Garcin de Tassy annually opens his course of lectures, and extend it to other subjects and to the rest of the vast Continent, from which the Society derives its name Arrangements have been made for publishing in the Journal summary notices of the progress of the different branches of investigation to which the labours of the Society are directed"

Allusion is here made to an attempt to divide the Report into several departments, and to get several members of Council to report each his special branch of Oriental pursuits This plan fell through, and it is open to obvious objections, although adopted by the Philological Society The Society could not be responsible for the opinions, often strained and extravagant, of private members, and liable to be unduly proportioned to the peculiar idiosyncracies of individuals The report of the paid Secretary, though complete and well proportioned, is apt to be colourless and dry, and inexhaustive The difficulty is felt on the Continent as here, the attempt to supply the want in Germany has led to another difficulty Dr Gosche's annual report on every publication bearing on Oriental subjects, or Comparative Philology, is complete and ably drawn up but *always many years in arrear which is fatal to the scheme* In 1867 Sir Edward Colebrooke, President remarked, that "the report of the Council was with little variation the work of their valuable secretary It differed in one respect from that of last year While giving a full account of the labours of the Society, it took no survey of those of kindred Societies both of Europe and in the East which were reviewed in our last report But it was thought that such a review would prove more interesting when given at certain intervals, as it might be rendered more comprehensive and convey a clearer view of the general progress of Eastern literature The useful and important object had not been

"lost sight of." In 1864, Sir Henry Rawlinson, on accepting the post of President for the next year, remarked, "that the educational movement would be in its further development of material use in promoting the spread of Oriental science, and should therefore be a subject of congratulation to the Royal Asiatic Society. As long as he had the honour of presiding over the Society, his attention would be directed to the current literature of India, as much as to the cultivation of Oriental studies in Europe. The two subjects were closely allied and equally deserving of the care of the Society. When he met them again at the next anniversary meeting, he hoped to be able to offer a more detailed review of both these interesting matters."

From the foregoing extracts it may be gathered to be the settled policy to have a complete *résumé* every year to extend over the whole field, including the reports of kindred Societies, such as those of Paris and Leipzig, the Oriental Text and Translation Societies, and kindred institutions such as the Palestine Exploration Fund and Biblical Archaeological Society, the Bibliotheca Indica of Calcutta and Bombay, the Archaeological Survey of India, and a general review in detail of the modern vernacular, as well as the ancient classic or dead languages. Care should be taken that in the two subjects of Philology and Archaeology no portion of the field should be omitted, which may be generally divided into Egypt and Africa; Assyria and Arabia; India and Ceylon; Java and Malacca; China and Siam; Persia and Central Asia; Turkey and Russia in Asia. While India and Ceylon appeared in every report, other fields might be noticed at greater length in occasional reports; but for India and Ceylon it must be remembered that Europe looks to England for correct information. The native newspaper Press, brought under periodical review by the local Governments, presented a new and interesting field for report, as being the first instance in history of an entire freedom of writing and publishing, enjoyed by a subject Oriental people in the midst of decaying customs and religions, and a great upheaving of national sentiment. Under a late law of India all books are registered and entered into catalogues, copies of which reach the Society, and present a most curious subject for annual analysis.

More might be done to bring the publishers in India *en rapport* with the reading public in Europe. On this subject in 1866 the Council remarked, "that while duly appreciating the talent and scholarship bestowed by learned Hindu and Mahometans on the cultivation of their ancient literature, and the patronage still accorded to it, as of old, by Native Princes, they cannot refrain on this occasion from recording their full concurrence in the regret frequently reiterated by M. Mohl in his annual Reports, that on the one hand, the editors and publishers of works which issue

“from the native Presses of India, do not sufficiently consider
 “the desire of European scholars to possess these books, and on
 “the other, that such desire is not sufficiently brought home
 “to them by those, who have the power and opportunities of
 “doing so”

This was indeed penned before the passing of the latest Press Act in India and the publication of annual catalogues, still there is a want of information, and a want of supply of Texts printed by private publishers, felt both in London and in Paris, and it appeared to be in the hands of the Society to supply a remedy to both. A careful analysis of the catalogues published annually would supply the information, and a circular from the Royal Asiatic Society to native publishers, and published in native newspapers, with the appointment of receiving agents in India, would if we mistake not, secure a presentation copy of most of the books published, there would remain the expense of bringing them to England, to which the resources of the Society are equal.

And though many subjects, originally included in the prospectus of the Society, have drifted from it, still others have come into existence. The schoolmaster is abroad in India, and the results are reported annually and buried in Parliamentary blue books, and remain unknown to the general home and continental public. The results of education are showing themselves in the institution of Anjuman and Literary Societies, of which nothing is known in England. The reports of the great Missionary Societies, if properly analysed, would supply, from a secular point of view, much evidence of the effect of European contact on a great Oriental people, and much *bona fide* and *practical* information on the subject dialects and customs. The reports of a Protestant Mission may be distasteful to some in its original object, but no one interested in the progress of the people can fail to derive information from a study of operations conducted by purely independent parties from Kashmir to Point de Galle, and on the whole, allowing for a certain amount of professional bias, faithfully reported.

Turning its glance homewards, the Society should in its Report mark the progress or neglect, of Oriental study at the Universities or in the great arena of competitive examination, which has become one of the features of the age. The number of Professorial Chairs in the British Isles should be recorded and the wants and shortcomings pointed out, prejudices combated, and ignorances cleared up. Then, and then only, can a correct opinion be formed whether, as a Nation, we are doing our duty, and whether sufficient encouragement is afforded by the State to students and scholars. It is a reproach that Englishmen should have to go to Germany to learn certain branches of knowledge,

communication, and the salient features; this should be printed, and circulated several days *before* the meeting among the Members of the Council, and such Members of the Society as desire to be so supplied: copies should be sent to any individuals, who are *not* Members of the Society, but who are likely to take an interest in the discussion: such persons should be invited to attend and take a share in the debate.

A shorthand writer should attend the meeting, take down all the remarks made in the discussions, which should be published in the Proceedings, the proof having been submitted to the persons, who took part in the discussion for their approval.

At present the Meetings of the Society are very dull, and the discussions are very languid, and purposeless, in fact many Members of the Council slip away without attending the Meetings. The Journal is good, but heavy, and does not supply what is required, viz. *accurate information of what is going on in the different centres of Oriental Research.*

The Asiatic Society should draw closer relations with the Universities, the British Museum, and all other Societies, which occupy contiguous fields. Seats on the Council should be reserved for all scholars from India, English or Native, or other Oriental Countries, who are in England for brief times. It should be understood, that no one should be elected to the Council, who does not intend to contribute in some degree to the extension of Oriental Knowledge. Members of the Society residing at the Universities or elsewhere out of London or England, should be eligible to the Council, as their advice can be taken by letter, and will be specially valuable as representing a distinct centre of research: the Oriental Professors of Oxford, Cambridge, Edinburgh, and Dublin should, when they are Members, be on the Council, and invited to take an interest in our welfare.

The Society should not restrict itself to Linguistic subjects, but should admit discussions and contributions on Oriental Numismatics, Archaeology, Literature, Mythology, and Folk-lore. It should distinctly include Africa and Oceania within the regions of its inquiries. This will attract a wider circle of adherents, and supply a larger field for contributions. Whatever civilizations Africa and Oceania possess, they owe to Asia, and there are many interesting subjects opening out every year, on which there is at present no vehicle for discussion, and seeking information.

The Society should in addition to its ordinary Members, Resident and Non-Resident, and its thirty Honorary Members, who are elected as men of high distinction, have a staff of "Corresponding Members" in every part of the three Continents above named. There will be no difficulty whatever in selecting good men, who would be gratified by the honour, and who would receive a copy of the Proceedings post-free as their reward. I have myself corre-

spondents in nearly every part of this vast region. To them would be referred inquiries, which may have been started, and which require local elucidation, and their name is Legion. They should be appointed for a term of five years, and be re-eligible. Closer relations should be maintained with the Mother-Society in Bengal, and the Sister Societies in Bombay, Madras, Ceylon, Singapore, and China: encouragement, and complimentary notice of their work should be given in our Proceedings. All societies such as the Pali-Text, the Sanskrit-Text, Palestine Exploration-Fund, the Egyptian Exploration Fund, &c., should be affiliated to the Royal Asiatic Society, their revenues and management being kept separate. The proceedings of all Government Officials, such as the Indian Archaeological Surveyors, the Manuscript Commissioners, the Collectors of Inscriptions, the Librarian of the India Office, the Oriental Manuscript and Book Departments of the British Museum, should be noticed. The results of the Oriental Tripos, and Oriental Schools at Universities, should be chronicled, and by constant references to the subject Oriental study should be stimulated.

Medals and Diplomas should be offered annually, of the character of the Volney Prize, to superior Oriental Works. The completion of great works such as Dictionaries, and the Chronicles of Tabari, should be noticed with due honour. Of course all this will require an efficient paid Secretary, and the assistance of able and willing Members of Council, who should be selected so as *specially to represent every branch of Oriental Study* and take an active share in the work to be done. The number of old Indians on the Council, with no special branch of study, should be reduced, so as to admit younger and fresher minds, with special qualifications, and care should be taken not to let the hackneyed subjects of Sanskrit, Arabic, and Hebrew usurp a place, which they deserve neither for their novelty, nor their importance, in the great Republic of Oriental Knowledge.

The Royal Asiatic Society should determine to be the centre, the chronicler, and the authority, on every Scientific Oriental subject in its widest sense, having through its kindred Societies, and its ubiquitous correspondents, the touch of the whole Eastern World. Its influence will then act and react on the Progress of Research, and the correctness of Record of Discoveries. The Société Asiatique restricts itself exclusively to French authors and French publications. The German Oriental Society has a very limited influence beyond Germany. No other European Oriental Society is of any importance whatsoever. Let the Royal Asiatic Society take the standpoint occupied by the English Nation, and bring to a focus whatever is doing in any part of the Orient World, by whomsoever the work is being done. If it remains as it is now, it will soon be left high and dry by the retreat of the tide, and its membership

and that Germans should be necessarily sent for to discharge certain duties in England.

It cannot be doubted that, if such a Report were published annually, and in good time, it would be welcomed by the literary world, and would equal in value, and exceed in general interest, the greater part of the original contributions. The Secretary should be collecting materials throughout the whole year by careful collation of such circulars as are periodically published, as the *Revue Critique*, *Revue Bibliographique*, the *Literarische Central Blatt*, *Trübner's Oriental Literary Record* and such like. Members of the Society should from time to time furnish notices of works which come under their observation; and during the last weeks the report could be drawn up from materials thus leisurely collected. Nor can it ever be alleged that the Royal Asiatic Society is proceeding beyond its legitimate orbit by noticing Dr. Schliemann's discoveries at Troy, the interesting operations at Ephesus, the solution of the mystery of the Cypriote language, as it must not be forgotten that the Society originally embraced every field of Asiatic research; and although gradually, and by no fault of the Society, but from the tendency of the age, certain subjects have been withdrawn and entrusted to special Societies, still it is to a Report of the Royal Asiatic Society alone that the outer world can look for a survey of *all* the work done and in progress during the past year. Moreover, the Royal Asiatic Society by its original constitution embraced "information of *all* that is known in Asia which belongs to Science, and *all* that is practised which appertains to Art."

LONDON, 1873.

Fourteen years have passed away since I wrote the above Jubilee Notice of the Society. It still exists, its finances have wonderfully recovered themselves, the number of members has greatly increased, the Journal has appeared with great regularity, in a greatly enlarged bulk, and composed of excellent, readable and varied material. The Annual Reports have been very full, and carefully prepared in the mode suggested, and last year Notes of the Quarter accompany the quarterly part of the Journal. A sufficient proof of the value of the Journal is supplied by the fact, that a considerable number of copies are sold to the general Public.

Two only of the distinguished Members of the Society have survived, and continue their attendance, Sir H. Rawlinson and Sir E. Colebrooke. Many well-known persons have withdrawn, and there is no longer an annual influx of old Indians returning home. As each old Indian name is removed by death, there is none to supply the vacuum. It seemed to me desirable that some change should be made in order to make the Society more popular, and

I drew up the following minute, and can only hope that changes may gradually be introduced

My experience of the Society extends over fifteen years, and I have been connected with the Executive, have attended nearly all the meetings and helped to make up the Journal all that time. My opinion is, that we must make a new departure as to our meetings and our Journal, so as to keep pace with the age. I desire to follow the example of the Royal Geographical Society, and anticipate the same success.

With the volume for 1887-88 the Second Series of our Journal will be completed. Let the publication of a Journal then cease, and a complete Subject-Index of both Series be published.

From 1887-88 let us substitute "Proceedings," to appear every quarter from Nov. 1 of each year. In these Proceedings will be

- I The Papers read at the meetings, or sent in to the Society, and deemed worthy of publication, but not suitable for reading at the Meetings;
- II The discussions, which ensued after the reading of each Paper
- III Letters addressed to the Society containing information, making inquiries, or refuting errors
- IV. Reviews of books (*not* polemical) on subjects connected with Science and Art, and Human Knowledge, in Asia, Africa and Oceania
- V Abstract of Proceedings of Sister Societies at Paris, Leipzig, Calcutta, Madras, Bombay, etc
- VI Brief notice of titles of books published in all languages on subjects coming within the scope of the Society.
- VII Detailed Archaeological, Linguistic, or Scientific notices, original, or copied from other Periodicals

Such "Proceedings" published every third Month would greatly reduce the bulk of the Annual Report. They should appear without fail on the days fixed, and be illustrated by maps, and plates, where required. The Members of the Society, and the general Public (on payment) would thus be supplied with an interesting and instructive periodical, analogous to the Proceedings of the Geographical Society, but relating to a different branch of human knowledge neither overlapping each other.

The Meetings should be limited to six in the year, with a power to summon extra meetings or evening conversazioni should any topic of peculiar interest and novelty arise. Meetings of the Council could be held oftener if required. There should be annually evening meetings to listen to selected lectures on interesting topics by persons of distinction.

Great care should be taken to select interesting subjects for discussion at the six meetings. The author of the paper should be required to supply an abstract, setting forth the nature of his

will cease to be desired, because no tangible object is derived from an Association, which has ceased to be honourable, or useful.

The subscription should be reduced to the level of the subscription of the Royal Geographical Society, but payment should be efficiently enforced. The Chair of the President should be occupied *for one year only*, so as to secure the services in rotation of scholars of distinction residing in London, and the Universities, and elsewhere. The position will then be coveted as one of dignity. The executive authority should be vested, as heretofore, in the Director, as regards the Proceedings, the Treasurer as regards the Funds, the Honorary Secretary as regards the general control, and under their orders only the paid Secretary should act. The Honorary Officials, though elected annually, should continue in Office, so as to secure departmental knowledge. With the Council, presided over by the President, will of course rest the supreme control, and the power of making organic changes.

LONDON, 1886.

CHAPTER II

ON THE ORIGIN OF THE INDIAN ALPHABET

THIS subject was first mooted by Sir William Jones in the Asiatic Researches. Some of the most distinguished scholars have at different times expressed opinions, totally irreconcilable with each other. New direct or indirect fragments of evidence have been contributed, sometimes narrowing, sometimes widening, the arena of the controversy. Last year Mr Isaac Taylor summarised the facts of the case in his book on "The Alphabet." I myself contributed a paper on the subject to the Indian Section of the Sixth Oriental Congress at Leyden, in September, 1883, which led to a lively discussion, occupying the best part of two days of the Session. In January of this year I again brought the subject before this Society, and I placed the whole case before the Members of the Society in the pages of the Journal.

Let me first deal with facts, and then pass on to theories. The Indian Alphabet is a marvellous and magnificent phenomenon quite unrivalled in the world. History is absolutely silent as to its origin, and development. Legendary accounts are also wanting. The earliest specimens of it have a well ascertained date, and Inscriptions are found in excellent preservation in many parts of India, from the extreme Northern frontier of Peshiwar to the Island of Ceylon. I have seen some of these and passed my hands over them, and, being actually *in situ*, not shut up within the modern walls of a foreign Museum, they make a deeper impression upon the mind even than the venerable stone of Thera at Athens, or the Assyrian and Egyptian Inscriptions, all of which can boast of a much greater antiquity. But this Alphabet represents a symmetrical combination of symbols, designed by skilled Grammarians to indicate various shades of sounds and is grouped in scientific order. The hand of a Brahmanical Scholar, dealing with a highly polished Language, is detected here. No such refinement was necessary for the Vernaculars. This Alphabet became the Mother of a magnificent Family spread over the whole of India, Nearer, and Further, Ceylon, the Indian Archipelago, and the

Central Asiatic Plateau as far as Mongolia. In these two particulars the Indian Alphabet has no parallel, but enquiry is for the present restricted to the question, How did the Indians in the centuries preceding the Christian era get this Alphabet and at what approximate period?

But other facts require to be noticed. I quote Prof. Max Muller's *History of Ancient Sanskrit Literature*, p. 497. There is not one single allusion in the thousand Vedic Hymns to anything connected with writing. Such indeed is also the case, with the exception of one doubtful passage, with the Homeric Poems. To this silence the Hebrew Scriptures present a great contrast, as in the Book of Exodus the art of writing is unmistakably alluded to, and the same three consonants used, which represent to this day the idea to countless Millions in Asia. Throughout the whole Brahmana period, there is no mention of writing materials, whether paper, bark, or skins. In the Sūtra period, although the art of writing began to be known, the whole literature of India was preserved by oral tradition only: more than this, Kumārila's remark, that the knowledge of the Veda is worthless, if it has been learnt from writing, amounts to condemning its use after it is known to exist. However, the use of the word "Patila," or "Chapter," for the Sūtra, a word never used in the Brahmana, lets in a side light: its meaning is a "covering," "the surrounding skin or membrane": hence it is used for a tree, and is an analogue of "liber" and "biblos," and means "book," presupposing the existence of the art of writing. Again, in 1876, in Macmillan's Magazine, Max Muller states, that there is no really written alphabetic literature much earlier than the Fifth Century before the Christian era: all poetry and legends must have been handed down orally previously. An Alphabet may have been used for Monumental purposes, but there is a great difference betwixt this and the use of it for art, pleasure and literature.

Prof. Roth of Tübingen at the Leyden Congress stated his firm conviction, the result of prolonged Vedic studies, that it was impossible to sustain the theory, that the vast collections of Vedic Hymns could have depended for existence on oral transmission: he considered it a *sine quâ non*, that writing was known, and that, in fact, a Pratisāhya, or Vedic Grammar, could not have been composed by any one, who had not written Texts before him. He gave, however, no hint as to the date of the first writing.

Another kind of evidence is derived from the writings of independent Authors. The historians of the Greeks, who came into contact with the people of India after the invasion of Alexander the Great 327 B.C., have left conflicting testimony: Strabo quotes Megasthenes, who states, that the laws were unwritten, that the Indians were ignorant of writing, and in all the business of life trusted to memory, not even requiring seals for their pledges or

deposits. He also quotes Nearchus to prove, that the Indians wrote letters on cotton that had been well beaten together, and that they had milestones with Inscriptions upon them indicating resting places and distances. Quintus Curtius mentions that they wrote on the soft rind of trees, a custom which is confirmed by an allusion in the play of Sakuntala. In the Lalita Vistara it is recorded that the young Sakya was taught to write. The value of this quotation of course depends on the date assigned to that work. The case seems to be that the art of writing was known for public and private convenience, but that the learned classes abstained from using it for literary purposes.

We have a significant fact also from a Hebrew writer: Xerxes, King of Persia (the same who was defeated at Salamis, B.C. 480), who was well acquainted with the Greek Character used by his Ionian subjects, and the Persian Cuneiform Alphabetic Character, used by himself, and his father Darius, ordered his scribes to write to the authorities of the different Provinces of his Empire from India to Ethiopia, *unto every Province according to the writing thereof*, and unto every people after their own language. This evidences a plurality of forms of script, of which practical notice was taken, and India is specially alluded to. The Hebrew Character, which must have been the old Hebrew Character, not the later square Character, is also mentioned. The name of India at that period is inseparably connected with the River Indus. Was the Character used by Xerxes for the letter to India one of the Aśoka Alphabets? It is of importance to recollect that the Greeks at the time of Alexander the Great were a highly literary nation. Herodotus knew very well how different Egyptian Hieroglyphics were from the Greek Alphabet, in which he wrote his own notes: yet in the allusion made by Greek writers to forms of writing in India, we find no hint that it was different in kind from the Greek. Clearly, therefore, it was Alphabetic, for a system of Ideographs, or a Syllabary with its wealth of forms, would have struck with surprise the Greek as much as it would a modern traveller.

Such are the facts: all that remains consists of theories, inductions, arguments based on analogies, ingenious combinations based on historical data, and Palæographical minutiae. It may be stated that the Archaeological Survey of India is drawing to a close, and the Archaeological Survey of Arabia and Mesopotamia has not yet commenced.

Before I commence an analysis of the discordant theories, I would place on paper certain general arguments, as to the possibility and probability of the Indian Alphabet having been derived from the West of Asia, and being the offshoot of one of the branches, or directly of the parent tree, of the great Phœnician Alphabet.

I. There has existed from time immemorial commercial intercourse, by land, across Persia and Afghanistan, and, by sea, by the Persian Gulf, and Red Sea, betwixt Western Asia, and India in its fullest extent.

II. In Western Asia there has existed from a very remote date before the Christian era an Alphabet of a very complete and highly elaborated character, the oldest specimen of which is the Moabite Stone, to which a date of 800 a.c. is attributed.

III. That from this Phœnician Alphabet at a remote period the Greek and Roman Alphabets were derived.

The derivation of the Indian Alphabet from the Phœnician is therefore *possible*.

Let us consider whether it is *probable*.

I. The copious Indian literature, so garrulous, so faithfully reflecting the introspective and egotistic character of the Indian mind, so ready to supply a mythical origin to every fact or event, even to the descent of the River Ganges, or to the origin of the rocky ridges, which connect Ceylon with India, is absolutely silent as to the origin of the Alphabet, which is used in conserving that literature. Indian authors have certainly made use of Alphabetic writing for more than two thousand years, and have treated upon every possible subject, physical and metaphysical, yet no account has been handed down by them of the origin of the marvellous vehicle of thought, which lay under their hands, and which they have elaborated to a degree unparalleled in any other country. Had it been invented in India, it would have been attributed to the God Ganéza, just as the invention of the Cuneiform Character was attributed to the God Nêbo.

to India for their Alphabet as well as for their Numerals. In the single instance of the Ethiopic Alphabet this idea was indeed once mooted, but is now definitely abandoned. The resemblance exists, and must be accounted for, for there is no necessity pre-existent in the human mind of one, and one only, method of representing sounds by symbols. At any rate, we have totally distinct and independent Ideographic and Syllabic systems in different parts of the world which might, uninfluenced by contact with the Phœnician method, have developed into totally independent Alphabetic systems, but this phenomenon has not been proved.

A consideration of the above points leads to the conviction that the separate and independent origin of the Indian Alphabet is highly improbable, or in other words that a common origin is exceedingly probable. The importance of these *a priori* arguments of possibility and probability lies in this that it throws upon the opponent of the solution now suggested the necessity of explaining away the remarkable facts or reasonable inductions above stated.

Of the Indian Alphabets there are two varieties, known generally as the North and South Asoka, though many other names have been supplied or suggested. Now these two Alphabets, though independent, and dissimilar have many resemblances though morphologically different, yet they are identical in structure. They adopt a contrary direction of writing. In usage they slightly overlap each other. Coins are found bearing inscriptions of both. The Edicts of Asoka were contemporaneously published in both in nearly the same language. The North Asoka died out in the first century after the Christian era, and was absolutely sterile. The South Asoka as stated above is the happy Mother of scores, with all human probability of an eternal existence. In both the necessities of the language to which they were handmaids compelled the use of the Cerebral letters, a characteristic shared by no other known Alphabet. The North Asoka is by unanimous consent affiliated to the Iranian branch of the Phœnician Alphabet. Now this decision as regards the one Alphabet has an important bearing on the other for a great many difficulties common to both, but surmounted in the one case, cannot be urged against the same solution for the other.

The theories with regard to the origin of the South Asoka divide themselves into two categories.

I Those which assert an indigenous origin.

II Those which assert a foreign importation.

It is worthy of remark that the authorities, who press either theory, totally disagree with each other. In this controversy each theorist stands on a separate pinnacle of his own private judgment, with but a small substratum of proof manipulated by his own clever handling, and hanging together by his own ingenious plastering.

Let us consider the first category: the champions of this view are the late Mr. Edward Thomas of H.M. Indian Civil Service, Bābū Rajendra Lala Mitra of Calcutta, the late Professor Goldstucker, the late Professor Christian Lassen of Bonn, General Cunningham, the late Director-General of the Archaeological Survey of India, the late Professor John Dowson, and Pāndit Shāmājī Krishnavarmā of Gujarāt.

Thomas is distinguished as a Numismatist and Palæographer. He remarks in his Edition of Mr. James Prinsep's *Essays*, vol. ii. p. 48 (1858), that the South Asoka Alphabet bears every impress of indigenous organisation and local maturation under the special needs of the language, which it was designed to convey: at p. 144 of the same book he alludes to the independently perfected Alphabet of India. He quotes with apparent approbation a passage from M. St. Hilaire (*Journ. des Savants* 1837), that he could better understand the theory, that the Semites received at third or fourth hand an Alphabet of Indian origin, and adapted it to their requirements by cutting it in half and mutilating it, than the theory of the Indians receiving a shapeless and confused Alphabet, such as the Phœnician, and elaborating it to the state of perfection in which we find it.

development a series of letters adapted to Indian wants, which not only declare their derivation in their own forms but show how inco conceivable a series of transmutations must have been gone through in the other instance to produce so innately dissimilar a set of characters from one and the same source.

At a meeting of the Royal Asiatic Society in 1866 (*Journal of Royal Asiatic Society*, N. S. vol. v. p. 420), Thomas propounded the theory, I that the Arians had never invented an Alphabet, but were always indebted to the nationality, among whom they settled, for their knowledge of writing, II that the South Asoka was obviously originated to meet the requirements of the Dravidian languages. This expression of opinion was communicated to the Bengal Asiatic Society, and the subject was discussed there in 1866 and 1867, *vide Journal of Bengal Asiatic Society* vol. xxxv. p. 138, and vol. xxxvi. p. 33. In 1871, Thomas, in his paper in the *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society*, N. S. vol. v. p. 472, brought up the topic again, and affirms his theory in a long argumentative note, based upon an examination of the different letters of the Alphabet. In 1874-75 he remarks in a Note to Mr. Burgess's Report on the Survey of Western India for 1874-75, p. 46, that his inference regarding the Turanian, or quasi-Dravidian, origin of the South Asoka does not imply a copying or imitation of any given Tamil (query Dravidian) Alphabet and far less of the modern form now current. His object in giving the Romanized letters of that Alphabet was merely to show what letters were required, and what were not required, to express one group of Dravidian languages. In a private letter to my address in 1879 he remarks, that the more he advances in knowledge the more confirmed is he in the universality of the primitive Seythian element, its predominance in Indian Alphabets and its vitality in Indian speech. Again in 1884, understanding that my attention was turned to the subject, he assured me, that he has not modified his opinion at all with regard to the origin of the Indian Alphabet.

The theory of Thomas was twice discussed at meetings of the Bengal Asiatic Society in Calcutta, and on the second occasion Rajendra Lala Mitra, a Sanskritist, distinguished as the author of many works on Archaeology, read a note which he had prepared in the interval betwixt the first and second discussions. He directly traverses Thomas's argument, that no Arian Nation had ever invented an Alphabet by the remark, that the Arian race migrated from their cradle at different times and under different intellectual circumstances. The Indians were the latest, and it is neither inconsistent nor illogical, to suppose, that they were more advanced than their predecessors in culture, and might possibly have composed an Alphabet. And even supposing as is probable, that they came to India before they had discovered the art of writing, there was nothing to prevent a highly intellectual race from doing so in

their adopted country. There is not in his opinion a scintilla of evidence to show, that the Non-Arians had a written literature at the time, when the Arians entered the country, or for some time afterwards. There is neither Inscription, nor Tradition, to support this theory. The history of the Non-Arians, apart from the Arians, is a blank, and all that we know of them from the writings of the Arians is, that they were the reverse of a literary race. He then reviews the arguments of other authorities, and asserts that the Alphabet, called the South Asôka, existed long before the time of that Sovereign: The different shapes, under which the letters of the different Edicts appear, can only be accounted for according to him by a long usage, engendering local peculiarities. He then enters at length into technical arguments.

Goldstücker, in the Preface to his *Manava-kalpa-sutra*, p. 15 (1861), cannot imagine the possibility of a people so civilized as they appear to have been at the time of the Mantra, a period anterior to that of the Sûtra and Brahmana, being unacquainted with the art of writing, though no mention of this art is made in the hymns to the Gods: according to Lassen (*Alterthumskunde*, i. p. 1007), Prof. Goldstücker went so far as to maintain, that the Rishi themselves committed to paper their own hymns, as they composed them, at that remote period.

Christian Lassen of Bonn, in his *Indische Alterthumskunde*, 2nd edition, i. p. 1006 (1867), stood up for the indigenous origin of the South Asôka Alphabet, and, with reference to Weber's comparison of the Phœnician and Indian Characters, he asserts that, when the letters are brought into close comparison, they are not found to possess the same phonetic value in both systems, and that the number of those, which do agree in sound and shape, is so very small, that no safe hypothesis could be built upon them.

Cunningham is distinguished as an Archaeologist, and a Palæographer. He has had unrivalled opportunities of local inquiry, and familiarity with the Indian subject. He has published several remarkable works. In his *Corpus Inscriptionum Indicarum*, p. 54 (1877), he states without reserve his conclusion, that the South Asôka Alphabet is of purely Indian origin, just as much as the Egyptian Hieroglyphics were the purely local invention of the people of Egypt. He works out an ingenious scheme to account for the indigenous origin of the Asôka Alphabet from Ideographs representing different members of the human frame. The Indians could not, according to his view, have borrowed the Egyptian Ideographs, as there was no correspondence betwixt the symbols, nor could they have borrowed even the idea of the Egyptian system of alphabetic symbols without borrowing the Egyptian system of Numerals at the same time, which we know that they did not. He admits that the difficulty in his theory is the non-existence of any traces of Inscriptions in the early stages of Ideographs, and he

accounts for this partially by the incomplete Survey of India, which may still contain unrevealed Monuments with specimens of archaic writing. He alludes to one very uncertain item of evidence in the Harappi stone which however as yet proves nothing. It is fortunate in my opinion, that one Author has been hardy enough to adopt this extreme theory, as it shows that this point of view has not been overlooked.

Dowson was a Sanskritist and Palæographer. He contributed a paper to the Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society vol xiii p 102 (1881), but he was too ill to read it so I read it for him, and he died very soon after. He states that, though he agrees in the conclusions of Thomas and Cunningham he is unable to accept their arguments. His own are derived from a close study of Sanskrit writings. He considers that the peculiarities of the Sūtra are such that their production and transmission was almost impossible without the use of letters. That, as the Vedic teachers instructed their pupils in the rules of Sandhi, or Euphonic changes, it was incredible that the study could have been conducted with reference to sounds only without names for the sounds and symbols to represent them. He admits that there is no proof of this. He is strongly of opinion that Panini knew about writing and that his date is from 600 to 400 B.C. this leads him to the conclusion, that the art of writing was practised by the Hindu five or six centuries before the Christian era. He remarks that the North Asuka, though confessedly Semitic, has developed features such as a compound consonant, and adjoined medial vowels, to suit the requirements of a Sanskritic language and there must have been some older Indian Alphabet to which it was assimilated. Of this however there is no proof. He does not think it credible, that the Hindu who were such masters of language and who invented Numerals could not invent their own Alphabet. He states the theory, that neither in the North nor South Asoka have we the real original Indian Alphabet as both are applied to a language passing into the second stage of decadence. Of this again he gives no proof except that such an Alphabet in his opinion ought to have existed. He admits that the cerebral letters are the special feature of an Indian language and doubts not, that their existence is owing to the influence of the language of the Non Arian tribes who were found in the country by the Arian invaders, but he counts the idea, implied by Thomas that the Indian Alphabet was of Dravidian origin. He admits that the art of writing was known in the West of Asia long before there is evidence of its existence in India but according to him the fame of the art of conveying ideas by material symbols must have penetrated to India through the channels of commerce, and the idea of an Alphabet must have reached India from without though the practical application of the idea came from the Indians, and at a considerable period after the

Arians had settled in the country. Such is Dowson's theory: to me it seems that, if things happened in the way, in which he surmises, allusion to the adoption, and adaptation of this wonderful art would surely have appeared in Hindû writings: it may be true, that no Arian race ever did *invent* an alphabet, and the operation suggested by Dowson can scarcely be called an invention in the proper sense, but only an adaptation of an *idea*, of which there exist several analogues in Asia, Africa and America. If the symbols, however, were entirely new, whence came the remarkable resemblance to the Semitic Alphabets in certain particulars? At any rate the Indians have beyond doubt scientifically developed their Alphabet to an extent quite unparalleled elsewhere.

In September, 1883, at the Sixth Oriental Congress at Leyden, Shamaji Krishnavarma of Gujrat, a Sankritist and graduate of the University of Oxford, and a Member of Balliol College, in the discussion, which followed the reading of my paper in the Arian Section, read a note in reply, which is published in extenso in the Report of that Congress. He drew attention to certain expressions, words, and phrases, the use of which in the ancient literature of India proves, that the art of writing must have existed from a very remote period. He maintains that certain works could not have been composed, if the art had not existed. Himself an Indian, and a Pandit, with a well-trained memory, he asks how could such an enormous literature as that of India have existed without the aid of writing. He admits that his ancestors had a preference for oral teaching, and that his contemporaries have it still, but he cited certain quotations to show, that the art dates back to the most remote epoch.

None of the distinguished advocates of the independent origin of the Indian Alphabet appear to me to have considered sufficiently, if at all, this remarkable fact, that the formation of a pure alphabetic system, free from any traces of Syllabary, or Ideograph, is a unique and exceptional invention, of which we find no instance except the Phœnician in the history of the Human Race. It is not a simple conception, nor a necessary outcome of Human intelligence: the Chinese have never reached it, nor are likely to reach it. There are some things, which it is hard to believe could have been invented twice: at any rate, in the absence of direct evidence to the contrary, and with opportunities of contact open, it is easier to believe, that one nation derived it from the other.

Let us now consider the second category, that the Indian Alphabet was a *bona fide* foreign importation of symbols as well as *idea*. As might be expected, there is here a great variety of opinions.

First came the theory of a Greek origin. James Prinsep, in the Journal of the Bengal Asiatic Society, vol. vi. p. 219 (1847) hazards the opinion "that the oldest Greek was nothing more than "Sanskrit turned topsy-turvy:" that illustrious scholar could

only write according to the light of his own period, and the wonder is, that he saw so many things clearly and rightly. His argument was "that so constant and close a conformity of the alphabetical symbols of two distant nations could not exist without affording 'a demonstration of a common origin'". In the volume of the same Journal for 1838 he sets out the "Greek resemblances" in detail. It does seem strange, that he should not have thought of the even in his time well known derivation of the Greek from the Phœnician Alphabet, which is disclosed by the very names of the letters and made his comparisons of the earliest form of the Indian Alphabet with the earliest form of the Mother Alphabet of the West. Dr Otfried Muller followed Prinsep only in 1838 suggested, that the Greeks took their Alphabet to India in the time of Alexander the Great.

The theory of a Phœnician origin requires more serious consideration. Jones had suggested in the Asiatic Researches a Semitic origin, he was followed by Professor Kopp in his *Bilder und Schriften der Vorzeit* (1821). Professor Lepsius in his treatise on Alphabets (1835) states that he had no doubt that all the Indian Alphabets could be derived from the Semitic. Dr Stephenson, in a paper on the Grammatical Structure of Vernacular Languages in the Journal of the Bombay Asiatic Society vol. iii p. 75 (1849) anticipated in a remarkable way the fact that all the Alphabets of the world came from the same source and that all Indian Alphabets came from the Phœnician or from the Egyptian if it was a guess it was a lucky one. Dr Geisler in his *Studia Palæographica* (1859) not only derives the South Asiatic Alphabet from the Semitic, but also the old Persian Cuneiform Alphabet of Darius. Weber in the Journal of the German Oriental Society, vol. xxxi (1856) was the first not only to take up the subject of the origin of the Indian Alphabet, but to subject the question to a serious and minute discussion. He has a few weeks ago in a private letter called my attention to an opinion expressed by Prof Benfey of Göttingen in an Encyclopedia published at Leipzig, p. 754 (1840) that both the conjectures of a Greek origin of the Indian Alphabet and an Indian origin of the Greek Alphabet, are unnatural, but that it is not impossible, that the Phœnicians, to whom the Greeks owe their Alphabet, and whom we find about 1000 B.C. in commercial intercourse with India made this important present also to the Indians for thus by the intermediation of a common mother the resemblance of the Greek and Indian Alphabets which is very striking as regards certain letters is sufficiently explained. For the very peculiar development and systematization of the Alphabet in India would require a space of time equal to that between 1000 B.C. and 250 B.C., the age of the oldest Inscription. Weber tells me, that he had either never read this opinion, or entirely forgotten it, for he does not allude to it in

his Essay in 1856, and only by chance came across it, the book being rare, when he was preparing to reply to my letter. I wrote to him, because I felt that betwixt 1856 and the present time great advance had been made in Palæographic study, and many discoveries made, notably the Moabite Stone, and numerous other groups of Semitic Inscriptions, and I wished to know, whether he maintained the same opinion. His opinion was then, and is still, that the Indians borrowed their Alphabet from the Phenicians at nearly the same time as the Greeks borrowed theirs from the same source, about the period betwixt the eighth and tenth century before Christ. A long time was required to develop the Indian Alphabet from the few Phenician symbols, and so great has been the expansion that the Alphabet, as it exists, may be almost spoken of as an Indian invention. In his essay Weber shows the manner, in which the original Phenician symbol was altered and changed to meet the necessities of the Indian language with its rich vocabularies, and he went into detail to meet the expressed wishes of his friends: he expresses the opinion that, though subsequent modifications might be suggested, the general result could with difficulty be combated. In the Sequel of his Essay he discusses the resemblance between the Indian and Himyaritic characters, and explains them, as regards the consonants by the common Semitic origin of both Alphabets: as regards the vowels he assumes it as probable, that the principle of the Himyaritic vowel-marks, not the marks themselves, was borrowed from the South Asôka Alphabet. In doing so he sweeps away the opinion of Kopp, who found Masoretic influences, and of Gosenius, who found Greek influences, and he supports the opinion expressed by Lepsius (in 1836): the latter laid great stress on the name "Masnad" given to the Alphabet. Weber thinks that the reason why the Ethiopic Alphabet adopts the special mode of vowel notation, is the great wealth of Vowels in their Language, which is its distinguishing feature among all Semitic Languages, and that this being the feature of the Indian Language also led to the same results. With regard to the period of the introduction of writing into India, Weber in his History of Indian Literature (1852) cannot admit the idea of such an art existing in the Veda or Brahmana period, and he attributes the great variety of texts held by different schools to their oral landing down: he quotes a remark made by Dr. Burnell in his "South Indian Palæography," that in the North of India, the cradle of Indian literature, no indigenous materials for writing existed before the introduction of manufactured paper, and this fact I can confirm from a long and intimate knowledge of Northern India from the Indus to the Karanunda River.

Prof. Henry Kern; of Leyden, who has made a close study of the Asôka Inscriptions, was good enough to send me his opinion by

letter he is quite positive, that the Alphabet was not indigenous in India, and was derived from the Phenician, but the peculiar channel, by which the art was conveyed to India, is quite uncertain. He is of opinion, that the origin of the South Asoka Alphabet does not date from any remote period, for in the days of King Asoka it was used in various parts of North India and the Dikhan with insignificant variations. If it had been in use in India for many centuries, more pronounced differences would be expected, as indeed the later history of the Indian Alphabet evidences. Allowing three centuries as the period during which the writing might remain unchanged from its first use, 600 B.C. might be assumed as the date of the arrival of some Semitic Alphabet into India. This line of argument seems to me to take no notice of the fact, that the Asoka Inscriptions, though in different parts of India, were issued by the Ruling Power and probably in the Court Character of the Empire, or the Province, just as the Nagari is used at this day in Public offices all over India, in supersession of the numerous local varieties of script, which are used by the people.

Kern proceeds to remark, that he cannot agree with the theory of M. Halcy (which will be described further on), that the discrepancies betwixt the North and South Asoka Alphabets, and the striking resemblance betwixt certain of the South Asoka and the Greek letters, could be explained by supposing, that some of the letters of the South Asoka Alphabet had been remodelled under Greek influences. And his reason for non agreement was the fact, that the supposed influences must have operated precisely in those parts of India to which the Greeks never penetrated and no trace of this influence is visible in the North Asoka Alphabet, which was used in countries, where the Greeks had long exercised influence. He considers that the peculiar manner of denoting the vowels was an Indian invention because in no other Language except the Old Persian is the short vowel *a* so predominant, that the frames of an Alphabet suited to the wants of the case would feel tempted to consider the short *a* as something to be understood. In fact, Kern thinks, that the missing link betwixt the South Asoka and the Phenician has not yet been found, and that we cannot therefore state with confidence what the channel of communication was.

Prof. Buhler of Vienna, who during a long residence in India had turned his attention most particularly to the Inscriptions of India, which he has illustrated in the pages of the Journal of the German Oriental Society (1884), has expressed his opinion in a Memorandum printed in vol. xiv. new series of R.A.S. Journal as part of the late Sir Chas. Bryler's paper on the Genealogy of Modern Numerals. He is of opinion, that the South Asoka Alphabet comes before us a fully developed system about 300 B.C., and that it was even then an *old* institution in India and that it owed its development to the grammatical schools of the Brahmins. He bases his theory on the fact

of the enormous extent of territory over which it is found; that it must have been known among the higher and lower classes, as Asoka hoped to improve the morals of his subjects by his official Inscriptions: that the execution of the Inscriptions is excellent: that the Andhra Alphabet of the Caves is a sister-Alphabet of the South Asoka, not a daughter, pointing to the existence of a common mother at some still earlier date. To this I reply, that King Asoka may have published his official Edicts in his own official Characters in every part of his dominions without the necessity of that Character being localized in these parts, or being understood by the people. Inscriptions are found in many parts of Asia, and in Egypt, in situations, where apparently the object of their being placed there was not that they should be read or understood, but for the self-glorification of the Sovereign who erected the Monument.

Bühler shows, that it must have been the Brahmanical Gram-

India of that Alphabet When Goldschmidt died, his work was completed by Dr E Muller, who in his Report on the Ancient Inscriptions of Ceylon, p 24 (1883), remarks, that the art of writing seems not to have been known in Ceylon so early as in India for not only are there no Inscriptions which can be assigned to the date of King Asoka, but nothing older than the first century before the Christian era As we cannot argue beyond our evidence, Goldschmidt's theory cannot be seriously entertained.

The name of M Emile Senart of Paris must ever be connected with the Inscriptions of King Asoka, in consequence of the elaborate revision, which he has made of the Text and Translation in the pages of the Journal of the French Asiatic Society (1880-1883) An expression in Isaac Taylor's "Alphabet" page 304 (1883), implies, that Senart still attributed the peculiarities of the South Asoka Alphabet to Greek influences As I could trace nothing in his published works to elucidate this point, I wrote to Senart, and asked him, whether he still held that view, and whether he would favour me with an abstract of the argument on which he based that view he courteously replied by return of post, that it was an entire mistake to attribute such views to him and that he purposed to discuss the subject of the origin of the Asoka Alphabet in the Epilogue to his essays on the Inscriptions themselves He however informed me of his conviction that the Asoka Alphabet was undoubtedly of Semitic origin If there were any indications of Greek influence, they were restricted to æsthetic influences, which contributed to the regular and monumental appearance, which they presented As to the particular channel, by which this Semitic Alphabet found its way to India Senart was unable to pronounce any opinion but to him it seemed impossible that the Aramean germs could have found its way to the South Asoka by the same road which was traversed by the North Asoka On the other hand, he could accept the theory of an origin from South Arabia

The late Dr Burnell, of H M Indian Civil Service in 1874 published his Elements of South Indian Palæography, which marks an epoch in the Science His conclusions are important

I That the art of writing was little if at all, known in India before the third Century before the Christian era and that there is not the least trace of the development in India of an original and independent system, it followed therefore, that the art was introduced by foreigners, or at least borrowed from foreign countries.

II That the original source was, the Semitic Alphabet, but that the immediate source was uncertain there being three possible channels, the Phœnician, the Hamaritic, and the Aramean he discusses each separately

As regards the first possibility, he lays it down as his opinion, that all Phœnician communications must have ceased five hundred

years before the date fixed by him as the earliest date of writing in India. If, then, the art had arrived at that remote period, it would have been perfected and been in common use, which was not the case. It was difficult, according to him, to understand, how the form of the letters could be retained with so little modification for such a long period, for the changes of the Characters of a date subsequent to the Inscriptions of King Asoka were very rapid and marked. He further notices, that all the South-Asoka Inscriptions are in the same Character, from which fact he deduces that the art of writing possibly spread over North India from Gūjarāt, the place where, in his opinion, it was first used. In the course of a very few centuries subsequently the Characters used in Gūjarāt and Orissā, in both of which Provinces exist Asoka Inscriptions, which are practically identical, became totally different, as is notoriously the case at the present day.

As regards the second possibility, that the South Asoka Alphabet was the off-spring of the Himyaritic Alphabet in South Arabia, the great difficulty in Burnell's mind was to show, that the South Arabians were in a position to furnish India with the elements of an Alphabet as early as the fourth Century before Christ. He admits that this Alphabet is written boustrophædon, which gets over the difficulty of the different direction of the South Asoka Alphabet from its presumed Semitic original. He remarks, that the Himyaritic Alphabet did not mark the vowels, but he admits that the Ethiopic Alphabet, its admitted derivative, *did* mark them. He leaves the case open, subject to further discoveries of lapidary Inscriptions in a country, which is still virgin soil.

ments it had a docket by one of the parties in a hitherto unknown character, which appeared to Burnell, after examination, to resemble closely the South Asoka Alphabet, with vowels marked as in the Indian Alphabet. This document could be attributed to the date of Artaxerxes II, who fought against Xenophon at the battle of Cunaxa (401 B.C.), a date earlier than that of any Indian Inscription and the language is not Indian. Every line written by Burnell is precious: he died at the age of forty-two; had he lived longer, the world would have known more.

Let us now consider the opinions of other writers on the subject of the three possibilities of Burnell.

I. The Phœnician origin. We have seen above that several writers have approved of this theory. Isaac Taylor in "The Alphabet," page 312, vol. III (1883), supports Burnell's objections: he states that the trade of India with Phœnicia ceased 800 B.C., that only one Character is found to exist in 250 B.C., so many centuries later, that the art of writing was not practised in India till 600 B.C., and that there is no appreciable resemblance between the Asoka and early Phœnician type, say the Moabite Stone. Now in my opinion none of these arguments are conclusive. It is not clear from History, that the intercourse of India with Phœnicia did cease so early, nor does the official Character used by King Asoka for his Edicts in the different Provinces of his vast dominions exclude the possibility of the existence of many other varieties of script in use by the people. The English Government issues its official orders in the Nagari character in Upper India, but it is notorious, that very many varieties of script of the Indian type exist in the different Provinces in use by Bankers and Accountants. Many Sanskrit scholars of note must from internal evidence upon a much earlier introduction into India of the art of writing as the *sine quâ non* of the existence of its literature. Lastly, we cannot rest much on resemblance, when we know historically, and beyond all reasonable doubt, that the Arabic, Shikasta, the Mongolian, the Greek, and the Roman Alphabet all descended from the Phœnician.

Bailey, of H.M. Indian Civil Service had long interested himself in this question: so far back as 1867 he took part in the discussion which arose in the Bengal Asiatic Society upon Thomas's theory above described. When I brought the subject before the Royal Asiatic Society in Jan. 1884 he made some remarks with the following abstract of which he has favoured me. After combating the assertion that the Phœnician intercourse with India ceased before the destruction of Tyre by Alexander the Great, he remarks that Indian writing had certainly an antiquity greater than this latter date: that in his opinion the Danda Ghat (in West India) Inscriptions were of considerably greater antiquity than the Asoka Edicts, and not improbably may be referred to the middle of the fourth century B.C. But even these represent the Alphabet already

It is to this very period that the origin of the Indian Alphabet must be assigned. A very superficial examination will suffice to show, that the Asôka Alphabet, though it offers hardly any appreciable resemblance to any of the Northern Semitic Alphabets, agreed in a very remarkable way with the general type of the Alphabets of the Southern Semitic Family. The common characteristics of the Indian and Southern Semitic Alphabets are their monumental style, the direction of the writing, the vocalization, and the retention of the primitive looped and zigzag forms. The general aspect of the Sabean Inscriptions agrees so remarkably with those of the Asôka, that the resemblance cannot fail to strike the most careless observer. In both Alphabets the letters are symmetrically constructed out of combinations of straight lines and arcs of circles. Hence the writing is rigid, regular, and monumental, all slanting and curvilinear forms being absolutely excluded. The Sabean Inscriptions are written from left to right as well as from right to left. No importance, however, can be attached to the remarkable agreement between the Ethiopic and Indian systems of vocalic notation, since the Ethiopic Alphabet is later in date than the other.

Strengthened by the above arguments, I brought forward this solution of the problem distinctly at the Leyden Congress in 1883 in my paper on the Origin of the Indian Alphabet, and, although a long discussion followed, in which many distinguished men took part, I cannot flatter myself that a single one supported my views. I stated the case as follows:

The South Asôka Alphabet was imported from Arabia, and was derived by the Red Sea, from the Himyaritic development of the Phœnician Alphabet. Unquestionably the continuous existence of a commerce between Yemen and South India can be asserted from a very remote period, quite sufficient to meet all requirements. This channel of conveying the knowledge of the Alphabet was possible. It is shown further, that the Himyaritic Alphabet branched off from the Phœnician not later than the sixth century before Christ, and it is to about this date that the origin of the Indian Alphabet is assigned, as the result of a careful chain of reasoning. It is suggestive that there exists in the extreme South of the Peninsula of India a third Alphabet, confessedly independent of the South Asôka, the Vatteluttu, which, though nearly entirely superseded by later Alphabets, has left marked traces of its peculiarities in the Tamil Character. Now this Alphabet, though differing from the South Asôka, and only adapted to the sound of a Dravidian language, shares with the Asôka certain Semitic resemblances, and must have been a foreign importation; and in this case there can be no question, that it must have been imported by sea from countries, which already possessed Alphabets, for there exists no possible presumption of its invention at home or importation by land from abroad.

Passing from general considerations to a particular comparison of the original letters of the South Asôka with the Himyaritic, I stated that the style of both is strikingly monumental; the direction of the writing of the South Asôka is from left to right, and we find that Himyaritic is written in the boustrophédon manner either way, and as a fact its admitted descendant, the Ethiopic, adopted the same direction as the Asôka. It is noteworthy, that to the same Alphabet of Arabia the honour is thus ascribed of giving a vehicle of speech to India and Ethiopia. The mode of noting the vowels in the Ethiopic and the Asôka have a special resemblance, and although the Ethiopic came into existence at a much later date, yet its possession of these peculiarities, and its undoubted parentage, add to the probability of the South Asôka, which possesses the same features, having come, though at an earlier date, from the same stock. The objections are that in India culture, religion, and the arts of civilization have always proceeded from the North to the South. As a general rule this may be the case, but the casual introduction of a special art from a foreign country must be an exception. In modern times the art of printing has spread from the South to the North, being an import from the West, just as it is urged, that more than 2000 years earlier the art of writing found its way.

I admitted however that a more serious objection was that up to this time no Himyaritic Inscription of a date sufficiently early had been found. Late in time, compared to the Inscriptions of Western Asia and North Africa, as the South Asôka Inscriptions confessedly were, the oldest of the Himyaritic was considerably later. If such an Archaeological Survey of South Arabia, as has now taken place in India, were possible, earlier Inscriptions might be found, as the Himyaritic Alphabet is elaborate and refined, and the culture of Yemen is of remote antiquity. As it is, the intercomparison of existing specimens is that of sister Alphabets, alleged to be derived from a common, though as yet unknown, prototype.

After all, I only propounded a hypothesis, for there neither exists, nor is likely ever to exist, any direct or material proof. History is silent; tradition is non-existent; no hints or inductions can be drawn from ancient literature.

Against Barnell's third possibility, Isaac Taylor in "The Alphabet," vol. ii. p. 313. urges that there is no appreciable resemblance betwixt the Aramean and the South Asôka types, that in the former the loops of the letters had been opened, and in the latter closed: that this very Aramean type was already represented in India by the North Asôka, and that it was impossible to admit, that two such very different types should have found their way to India from the same source, one coming overland through Afghanistan, and the other by sea through the Persian Gulf. He lays stress upon the fact, that Barnell bases his argument upon a

hypothetical Alphabet, the existence of which cannot be materially proved. Now to this argument of Taylor's and one remark of Smart's at page 41, in my opinion it may be urged that the North-West frontier of India extends one thousand miles from the Indian Ocean at Kurachi to the Himalaya at Peshawar, and that the approach to India, whether by Armies or by Merchants, has been effected by a multiplicity of mountain-passes all down the frontier line, and that there is little intercourse betwixt the tribes to the South of the Bolan Pass opening into Sindh, and the tribes North of that pass, who enter India by their own passes into the country of the Five Rivers. The scripts used in Persia may have found their way to India at different times, and by different passes: unquestionably the North Asôka is found in existence at the mouth of the Khaibar Pass. The South Asôka may have come by the Bolan, and have never come into contact with the North. Again, the absence of an Inscription of a date sufficiently early to be the prototype of the South Asôka Alphabet presses with equal force against the theory of the South Arabian, as the Aramean origin, and it may with equal hardness and lightheartedness be asserted, that there is no reason, why an Archaic Inscription of a sufficient antiquity should not be discovered in unexplored regions at some centre of primitive Commerce on the Shores of the Persian Gulf. The argument of the absence of resemblance has been already noticed.

M. Halévy ranks as one of the most distinguished Palæographers of the time, and he has not confined, like so many, his labours to the cabinet, but at the risk of his life he has collected or copied Inscriptions in the field: he is also famous in Europe as an independent polemic, one who hits all round with wonderful impartiality, and retires to a perfectly isolated pinnacle of his own private judgment. He was present at the Leyden Congress last September, and, when I had read my paper on the Origin of the Indian Alphabet, he attacked my conclusions, and his argument is published in extenso in the Report of the Congress, though it is in fact but a résumé of a longer contribution to the Journal of the Société Asiatique. In his view no previous writer has yet satisfactorily explained the two-fold form of the vowels in the Indian Alphabet, when used as an initial or medial, and that all have erroneously accepted the theory, that the North and South Asôka Alphabets were totally distinct, with the exception of the resemblance of the forms of medial vowels, which the North Asôka is supposed to have borrowed from the South.

Halévy considers the North Asôka as older in date than the South, and that therefore it is necessary to comprehend the features of the elder sister before the position of the younger can be understood. No one has ever doubted that the North Asôka is of Semitic origin. Halévy affiliates to the Aramean Script, of which the

Ptolemaic papyri in the Louvre are specimens. Sixteen consonants were at once adopted with slight, if any, modifications, from these sixteen primaries the secondary consonants were formed, which were necessary for the requirements of a Prakrit Language. He traces the vowels to the same source and the absence of any symbol for short A, which is supposed to exist, where no other vowel is expressed. He considers that the South Asoka was formed in an analogous way but of more eclectic elements. After a careful analysis of its component parts he finds, that a certain portion of the forms are Aramean and a certain portion Phenician when however he studies the phenomena of the existence of an Alphabet with a few Archaic forms and a great number of greatly modified Aramean forms he is driven to the conclusion that the archaic form of the South Asoka must have been derived from an Alphabet, which had preserved its archaic form up to the Ptolemaic period, and as the Mithra Alphabet must have been at the very gate of India, it could clearly have been no other than the Greek Alphabet which was diffused in India at the time of the conquests of Alexander the Great.

To the seventeen consonants obtained thus the Indian scribes added seventeen secondary while to form the vowels they combined the systems of the North Asoka and the Greek. from the first they adopted the medial symbol and from the latter the initial. He considers that both the North and South Asoka were introduced at a date later than that of Alexander the Great in the reign of Chandragupta about 330 to 325 B.C., for the purposes of a Prakrit Language, but for the Sanskrit Language it was not used till after 200 B.C. and that the Vedic literature was not committed to writing until after that date. As if not satisfied with the amount of antagonism aroused by his Palaeographical novelties Halvy turns round and stirs up another nest of hornets by the suggestion, that the Vedic hymns were not even themselves composed till after the invasion of Alexander the Great.

Up to this point all the advocates of the Semitic origin of the Indian Alphabet whose opinions we have quoted have admitted, directly or indirectly, that the Phenician Alphabet, to which by one way or other they have traced it back was at some remote period previously derived from the Hieratic form of the Egyptian Hieroglyphics, and it would have been unnecessary to allude to that point in this controversy but for the fact, that Prof. Deecke of Strasburg in the XXXIst volume of the Journal of the German Oriental Society p. 10* has asserted that the Semitic Alphabet is derived from the Assyrian Cuneiform Syllabary, and in the same volume of that Journal page 598 goes on to prove that the South Asoka Alphabet is derived from the South Semitic Alphabet. At p. 612 he sums up his argument that the South Asoka and Hymyaritic Alphabets exhibit such a close relation, that they must have both

derived their origin from the same Mother-Alphabet, which however at page 599 he admits is only an hypothetical Alphabet. As a proof of this connection he cited the whole appearance of the letters, their regularity, stiffness, uniformity of size, as well as other peculiar features. It is not possible in his opinion to derive one from the other. As part of the argument rests upon the connection of the early Semitic Alphabet with the Cuneiform Characters, it is necessary to notice this theory separately, although he arrives at the same conclusion as those who adopt Burnell's second possibility.

All the writers previously cited advocate either an indigenous, or a Western, origin to the South Asôka, but in the last few years a new theory has been propounded by Prof. Terrien de Lacouperie of an Eastern origin, and as this has been distinctly stated in a paper read by him at a Meeting of the Royal Asiatic Society, June 20, 1881, "On the Sinico-Indian origin of the Indo-Pali writing" (which has not hitherto been published), and as this theory was alluded to in this discussion at the Leyden Congress by Rhys Davids, it is necessary, that his argument should be clearly stated. I applied to the author for a brief statement of his theory, and he informed me that he proposed soon to publish a paper on the subject, and referred me to the Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society, vol. xiv. n.s. I had not the pleasure of hearing the paper read, but I find that in the issue of the *Academy* of the subsequent week, it is stated that the author gave reasons for rejecting both the theory of an indigenous, and of a Semitic origin, and pointed out that historical facts as well as traditions demonstrated, that relations did exist between India and China as early as the third century B.C. He considered that the Indo-Pali or South Asôka Alphabet had been systematized from an older system of writing consisting on the borders of China of a certain number of Chinese Characters used phonetically for commercial purposes. This statement was supplied to the Secretary of the Society by the author, and in the above-quoted volume of the Journal of the R.A.S. at page 123, in a paper on a Lolo Manuscript, the same author finds an intimate connection of the Characters used by the Lolo, a tribe, subject to, but not ethnologically connected with, the Chinese in the province of Se-chuen, with the Characters on the stone seal found at Harapa near Lahore, already alluded to in page 35, and a remote affinity with the Indo-Pali. In a paper in the same volume, pp. 802 and 803 (note), on "The Yb-King and its Authors," he remarks: "The influence of the advanced civilization and the mixture of the Ugro-Altaic early Chinese immigrants with the native population of China were not confined to the area of their political power. . . . The phonetic writing, propagated by the Chinese immigrants, was eagerly adopted by the active and intelligent population of the South-

" West in 1109 A.D. the Annamites had a phonetic writing, and in
 " several instances we have tidings bearing on the existence of such
 " writings, composed of a great number of Chinese simple Characters
 " used according to the phonetic principle disused by the Chinese
 " These simple Characters, selected by progressive elimination of
 " the less easy to draw and to combine, formed a special script, of
 " which we know several offshoots, and have been, as far as affinities
 " of shape, sound and tradition are to be trusted, the Grundchrift,
 " with which has been framed that splendid monument of phonetic
 " lore, the South Indian Alphabet, or Lat Pali " In this age we
 have so many startling theories, and still more wonderful facts, that
 I must be excused, if I hold my breath for a time, and suspend my
 judgment, until the paper appears *in extenso*

It is clear from the above resume, that we are a long way from
 finality, and indeed that each year puts us further off, as new
 theories are started. A sudden find of Inscriptions may alter the
 whole position of the controversy, and introduce new facts, engender
 new doubts, or establish new convictions. I must protest against
 the assertion, that the direction of writing adopted by the Greeks,
 Romans and Indians is more natural, convenient and facile, than
 that of the Semitic Alphabets as some writers who know India
 by books only, maintain. Having practical knowledge of the use
 of the pen either way, right to left, or left to right, I think other
 wise. The right arm is more free to act, when it commences its
 work outstretched and works towards the left, as a barber uses his
 razor. If I required in my Indian Office a letter to be written
 quickly, I should have entrusted the duty to an Indian Clerk, who
 used the Arabic and not the Nagari, Character.

Many who will read these pages have, like myself, been familiar
 for a quarter of a century with the Arabic and Nagari Characters,
 not as a pleasing and interesting study, but as the necessities of our
 daily drudgery as Magistrates, Collectors, and Judges in Northern
 India. If our Proceedings and Petitions were drawn up in the
 Arabic, all the village accounts all the shopkeepers' ledgers the
 majority of title deeds and all bankers' letters or credit were in
 some form or other, horribly degraded, and miserably written, of
 the Indian Alphabet, one of the descendants of the South Asoka.
 When I state that the affairs of one hundred millions are managed
 and recorded in one or other or both at the same time of these
 Alphabets this is not overstated. Every officer of Government,
 European or Native is expected to be able to understand one
 some few officers can write both many officers can read both,
 setting aside the documents that were extremely badly written, and
 this last remark would equally apply to badly written Roman.
 Now if any one twenty years ago had told me in India, that the
 three Characters which I was simultaneously using the Roman,
 the Arabic, and the Nagari, came from the same source and within

historical times, notably since the composition of Homer's poems, I should have laughed in his nose; and yet, by the sure, and safe process of historical and palæographical induction and comparison, the fact in my opinion is nearly as certain as the second amazing fact, that the three Languages which I promiscuously, and without effort, used in the transaction of business, English, Persian and Hindi, came from the same Mother-language beyond any possible human doubt, this fact being admitted by all.

After sending the above pages to the Press, it was intimated to me that, as I had made a criticism of the opinions of all the authorities, I was bound to express a distinct opinion of my own upon the issues raised: I accordingly record the following, that

I. The Indian Alphabet is in no respect an independent invention of the People of India, who, however, elaborated to a marvellous extent a loan, which they had received from others.

II. The *idea* of representing Vowel and Consonant Sounds by symbols of a pure alphabetic Character was derived from Western Asia beyond any reasonable doubt.

III. The *germs* of the Indian Alphabet are possibly to be found in the Phenician Alphabet, from which beyond doubt sprung independently the Greek and Arabic Alphabets: the origin of the Phenician Alphabet is to be found in the Hieratic form of the Egyptian Hieroglyphics.

IV. It cannot be ascertained with certainty, upon the evidence before us, by what channel, or through which branch, of the Phenician Alphabet-stem, India received either the *idea* or the *germs*.

LONDON, 1834.

historical times, notably since the composition of Homer's poems, I should have laughed in his nose; and yet, by the sure and safe process of historical and palæographical induction and comparison, the fact in my opinion is nearly as certain as the second amazing fact, that the three Languages which I promiscuously, and without effort, used in the transaction of business, English, Persian and Hindi, came from the same Mother-language beyond any possible human doubt, this fact being admitted by all.

After sending the above pages to the Press, it was intimated to me that, as I had made a criticism of the opinions of ^{all} the authorities, I was bound to express a distinct opinion of my own upon the issues raised: I accordingly record the following, that

I. The Indian Alphabet is in no respect an independent invention of the People of India, who, however, elaborated to a marvellous extent a loan, which they had received from others.

II. The *idea* of representing Vowel and Consonant Sounds by symbols of a pure alphabetic Character was derived from Western Asia beyond any reasonable doubt.

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LONDON, 1834.

CHAPTER III

THE RACES, RELIGIONS, AND LANGUAGES OF INDIA AS
DISCLOSED BY THE CENSUS OF 1881

Just forty years ago, in March, 1846, in the tenth Number of the *Calcutta Review*, which was then in its youth I despatched from the camp of Viscount Hardinge, the Governor General, in front of Lahore which had just been captured, my first contribution to this *Review*, on the subject of the "Countries betwixt the Satluj and the Jamma." This is about the fortieth paper that I have since contributed on many and various subjects, in many parts of the world, but I return, after that long interval, with undiminished love, to the object of my earliest interest, the People of India. I seem to touch ground at last, and the Census of 1881, though it leaves much to be desired, is a decided advance.

England holds India, as a man would hold a wolf, by its two ears, and must hold on for dear life. It would be dangerous to let go, as the wolf might turn and rend. But the wolf must get free soon or at any rate, will wake up and make demands. When such wretched countries as Servia and Bulgaria which in the long lapse of centuries, have never done anything worth recording or recorded anything worth doing are crying out for constitutions is it likely that India which has filled such a grand place in History, and to which the world is so largely indebted will tolerate her position much longer, though it is possible, that the boon which she may desire, will not prove to be a real advantage? It is an unwise thing to go on rowing with your back to the point, which you are labouring to reach. Those, who have their hands on the oar, dare not look back, or forward. It is as much as they can do to keep the vessel in motion and steady. Let some of those who have watched in her for nearly half a century, try to bring out the salient facts, and raise the cry of warning to the Rulers and the Ruled.

Before the Census commenced, I ventured to urge upon the Viceroy, that the attention of those employed in this duty should be called to the shortcomings of their predecessors. It was most desirable, that the Census should exhibit the remarkable social phenomena of the Indian Empire represented by Religion, Caste or Tribe, and language in the fullest and most uniform detail. No other country can exhibit such a remarkable picture, and no

what particular languages, or dialectal variations, are spoken by the bulk of the population, and where two or more are spoken, or a compound of two adjoining languages on a debatable frontier. This is a difficulty, which the Russian, Austrian and Turkish Governments have to face, and it must be faced manfully.

The general report for the whole Indian Empire was compiled by an accomplished Official of great and unequalled experience in Statistics and it has been submitted to the public, and is the basis of our present remarks. It was the first synchronous enumeration, which was attempted of the whole of India under the orders of the Government of India. The area operated upon excluded the petty Indian possessions of France, and Portugal, and the Kingdom of Kashmir and Nepal, but it included British Burma and the great Feudatory States of India which owe allegiance to the Emperors of India. In addition to the eight recognized Provinces of British India three Provinces must be added, under management by Treaty, viz Berar, Kurg, and Ajmir. The Native States were grouped as follows. Rajputana, Central India, the Nizam's Dominions, Mysur, Baroda, Travancore, Cochin all these are under the direct supervision of the Government of India. The Native States, under the control of the authorities of each Province, were enumerated in the population of that Province.

The entire population of British India on the 17th February, 1881, amounted to 253,891,821. It was thus distributed among the Provinces under direct administration of the English officials, and the Native Feudatory States.

CLASS I

Bangal	69,530,861
North West Provinces	44,849,619
Madras	31,170,631
Bombay	23,395,663
Panjab	22,712,120
Central Provinces	11,548,511
Assam	4,881,420
British Burma	3,736,771
Berár	2,672,673
Ajmir	460,722
Kurg	178,302

CLASS II

Rajputana	10,268,392
Nizam's Dominions	9,845,594
Central India	9,261,907
Mysur	4,186,188
Travancore	2,401,158
Baroda	2,185,005
Cochin	600,278

Government, save that of British India, would have the power, or will, to delineate it with photographic accuracy. The Religions should be classified under the recognized names of the great Cults, and the Sects ranged under them: on the other hand, persons of totally different persuasion should not be lumped together. To place the millions of Chamars, Lingite, and the non-Arian Nature-worshippers under the general head of Hindu, is as grimly ironical as to class an Anabaptist as a Roman Catholic. Caste should be treated as a *Social, and not a Religious* phenomenon: it may be that among the lower classes all practical religious conceptions are reduced to the necessity of not breaking Caste-rules, but a Rajpút is a Rajpút by Caste, whether he be Hindu or Mahometan. The analogue of the Caste to the Hindu is the Tribe among the Mahometan. Again, among the Hindu there are Castes, like those of the Brahmin, which are historical and racial, but there are also Castes, like those of the goldsmith, or sweetmeat seller, or agriculturist, which are clearly only business distinctions, trade-unions, or guilds, such as are found all over the world. A pseudo-Caste may, from the very atmosphere of Indian society, have crept in among Mahometans, the non-Arian races, the Buddhist, Jain, Parsi, Armenian, and Eurasian-Christian population; but the term "out-Caste" should never appear on a State-document, nor should any excuse be given to a Court of Justice to compel a neo-Christian to record the name of his hereditary Caste, which he has solemnly abjured. If the government of a country were to assume, that Caste were the rule, and the absence of Caste the exception, a great act of injustice would be done to the millions, who would be described in the form of a negation, and, in a Court of Justice, are thus exposed to insult. Then, again, the great Castes, such as the Brahmin, which counts thirteen million, have numberless subdivisions, or Gotra: if these are stated, they should not be called Castes, but subdivisions of Castes, and the same Caste should bear the same name all over India: a Brahmin should not be called here and there by the name of Pandit, Purohit, Misr, Pujári, etc., etc.

I begged also that the important subject of language might be carefully attended to, important both to the Administrative and Educational departments. It is suggestive of frightful injustice, if the Courts of Justice from sheer ignorance should not be supplied with Officials capable of speaking the Vernacular of the people. This shoe does not pinch in the great country of Hindustán, where eighty millions speak dialects of the same great language Hindi; nor in Bangál proper, or Marahtha-land, but in Southern India, Assam, and Barma, it is a real difficulty. Great injustice might be committed, and the nature of grievances, which may have led to a rising, would not be understood: a few quiet words will often allay a tumult among well-intentioned but ignorant people. There should be a Language-map of each Province, coloured so as to show

Negrillo, indigeous to the country Negrito are no doubt found in the islands of the Indian Archipelago and there may be aliens of African origin domiciled in India Exclusive of the Albino, who is only a freak of nature, no one who has lived among the people of India, can have failed to be struck by the strange variety of colour, and stature, and character of the individuals, suggestive to the most casual observer of a distinction of race, though all may be Hindu, and all speak the same language A long continuous custom of only marrying within certain restricted limitations has prevented that fusion of the population which has insensibly taken place during the lapse of centuries in European countries In Europe the strata of society are horizontal, dependent on hereditary advantages, or personal success In India they are vertical, a Brahmin may be a sacrificial priest, a chief a high officer of State, a soldier, a cook, an office messenger, or a mendicant but he is still a Brahmin

The theories (for they are only theories) with regard to the occupation of India by its present population, are well known, and are settling down to a recognition of an aboriginal or at any rate, primeval population, overrun by immigrants from the North East along the valley of the Brahmaputra from the North West by the Bholan Pass and the Kharbar Pass This in a general way, will account for the Tibeto Birman the Kolarian the Dravidian, and the Arian subdivisions Whatever may be the theory the fact of their existence with very distinct differentiations is palpable and the great peculiar Indian custom of Caste is based primarily on those distinctions Over and over again has the attempt been made by the lower strata of Caste to do away with the custom All religious reformers the Kabirpanthi the Sikh the Buddhist, and the less well known sectarians have raised their voices against Caste but without much profit as regards India proper in Barma it is so totally non-existent that the local reporter of the Census has no allusion to the subject

The reports of Mr Barnes in Bombay, Mr Nesfield in the North-West Provinces and Mr Ibbetson in the Panjab the separate compendium of Castes and Tribes published by Mr Kitts and the list of Caste names in Tamil Telugu Kannaḍa and Malayalam in Madras are important contributions to the subject Many essays have appeared from time to time in local periodicals, and the labours of General Cunningham in his Reports of the Archaeological Survey of India, and of Dr Hunter in his Gazetteer of India have thrown a flood of light upon the subject The volume of Mr Kitts is peculiarly valuable as being the latest (1885) and based upon the facts collected in the Census of 1881, and compiled by one who had taken a share in that operation The compiler of the General Report excuses his shortcomings by pleading, that he had not antiquarian tastes, and the peculiar knowledge, which would alone

The area of British India amounts to 1,382,624 square miles. The average for the whole Empire is 184 souls to the square mile, but a vast area is entirely devoid of population, and the density in many places rises above 700 to the square mile, reaching its highest at 1335 in the Howrah Division of Bangál. The Province of Independent Barma, annexed to the Empire of India in 1886, is, of course, not included in this total.

The inspection of the returns of such an awful collection of mortal souls, totally replaced by the ordinary course of mortality, in the term of about seventy years, but replaced like the ever-changing water of a great river, by mortals of the same Type, Race, Customs, Religion, and language, is indeed one of unparalleled interest, and can be considered from a great many points of view. It is a notable fact, that there are twenty-one million widows, and 13,200 lepers: the lover of Statistics might produce several strange phenomena: the compiler of social customs would come upon many strange facts, such as Polygamy, Polyandry, and the "throwing the sheet over the widow of the elder brother," the systematic killing of female progeny, the eunuchs and dancing-girls, and professional beggars. Add to this, the strange variety of the mode of disposing of the dead by burning, burying, exposure to wild animals, scattering the ashes in a river, storing them up in metal or fictile receptacles, or sometimes keeping the body itself smoke-dried. In fact, there is no limit to the vagaries of human caprice, and nowhere can a study be made of more widely collected and correctly assorted materials; but our consideration is for the present restricted to the three great salient features of an Indian population, Race, Religion, and language; leaving to others to study the proportion of the sexes, in itself a wonderful problem: the rates of mortality and births: the tables of longevity: the number of persons afflicted with natural or acquired infirmities, the progress of Education, the proportion of rural to urban population, the variety of occupation; the ebbing and flowing of emigration, either within the boundaries of British India, or beyond the seas; and the pressure of population on the means of existence. All these are things, which the wise Rulers of men ought to know, and this justifies the great expense of a Census, and the perturbation caused to some classes of the community by the operation.

Race must come first. Kallbrunner defines the comparative value placed by an Ethnologist upon evidence derived from the physical features of race, and that from Religion or language; the first is innate, inherent, independent of the will, and, at least for the individual, is incapable of change. A Negro can, and does, change his Religion, language and country, but is still a Negro, and it would take many generations to efface the trace of a Negro ancestor. I think that it may safely be stated, that in the length and breadth of British India there is neither Negro, Negrito, nor

Negrillo, indigenous to the country. Negrito are no doubt found in the islands of the Indian Archipelago, and there may be aliens of African origin domiciled in India. Exclusive of the Albino, who is only a freak of nature, no one who has lived among the people of India, can have failed to be struck by the strange variety of colour, and stature, and character of the individuals, suggestive to the most casual observer of a distinction of race, though all may be Hindu, and all speak the same language. A long continuous custom of only marrying within certain restricted limitations has prevented that fusion of the population which has insensibly taken place during the lapse of centuries in European countries. In Europe the strata of society are horizontal, dependent on hereditary advantages, or personal success. In India they are vertical, a Brahmin may be a sacrificial priest, a chief, a high officer of State, a soldier, a cook, an office messenger, or a mendicant, but he is still a Brahmin.

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The reports of Mr Baines in Bombay, Mr Nesfield in the North-West Provinces, and Mr Ibbotson in the Panjab the separate compendium of Castes and Tribes published by Mr Kitts and the list of Caste names in Tamil, Telugu, Karnata and Malayalam in Madras, are important contributions to the subject. Many essays have appeared from time to time in local periodicals, and the labours of General Cunningham in his *Reports of the Archaeological Survey of India*, and of Dr Hunter in his *Gazetteer of India*, have thrown a flood of light upon the subject. The volume of Mr Kitts is peculiarly valuable, as being the latest (1885), and based upon the facts collected in the Census of 1881, and compiled by one who had taken a share in that operation. The compiler of the General Report excuses his shortcomings by pleading, that he had not antiquarian tastes, and the peculiar knowledge, which would alone

permit of a full and enlightened discussion of the Returns; but it is manifest, that any one of the subordinates mentioned above was fully capable of manipulating the collected material, as, indeed, Mr. Kitts has actually done. In his Introduction, the author remarks, that the subject has been hitherto a mighty maze without a plan: different names in different languages, differently transliterated, shrouded from correct classification identical Castes. In some cases the identity was obvious, in others had to be cautiously ascertained. In Mr. Kitts' list No. 1 of Castes, each numbering one thousand individuals and upwards, and list No. 2, showing the remainder of ascertained Castes, there are no less than 1979 entries. This number may be susceptible of reduction after microscopic examination, but very possibly may have to be enlarged. There are no less than forty-seven Castes, which number more than one million, and of these, twenty-one each contains 1½ millions and upwards; there are thirteen millions of Brahmins; eleven millions of Chumars, or workers in leather, and twelve millions of Kunbi, the agriculturists of Southern India. These Castes would take up the position of large nations in Europe: the three together equal the population of the British Isles: they are but items in the account of British India. Of Rajpûts, there are eight and a half millions; of Bania, or shopkeepers, four millions; of Ahir, or herdsmen, nine millions. Of Jat, the well-known agriculturists of the Panjâb, there are four millions; of the Telt, or dealers in oil, there are three and a half millions. These astounding numbers give rise to deep reflection.

Mr. Kitts affirms, on the substantial data of the Census, a fact, which has been loudly and long asserted by all, who are well acquainted with the Indian people, that *Caste is not necessarily contemporaneous with Religion*. Among the one hundred and eighty-five largest Castes in the Panjâb, there are only forty-three, the members of which all belong to the same religious faith. In Bombay and Baris, members of the same Caste are found to be Jain, or Hindu. Neo-Mahometans retain with pride their old Caste-names, notably the Rajpûts, and it is quite possible and reasonable, that a Neo-Christian will do the same. In all cases, where the individual has an obscure or disreputable connection and origin, the Neo-Mahometan is glad to start a new career as a Shaikh, and the Neo-Christian as a Nasiri; but not otherwise.

Mr. Hutton, in his admirable and exhaustive essay on Caste in the Panjâb, swept away the illusion (1) that *Caste is an institution of the Hindu religion* and wholly peculiar to that Religion; (2) that it consists of the old powerful classification of Manu; (3) that it is perpetual and immutable. The real state of the case is fully and fairly stated by him, and I entirely agree with him, that it is a social rather than a religious institution, and has no necessary connection whatever with the Hindu Religion, as is proved by the

fact that conversion from Hinduism to Mahometanism, in ninety cases out of a hundred, has not the slightest effect upon a man's Caste. The Sanscrit legends tell us in great detail how one famous man was able to alter his Caste as a fact, it is notorious in the country side, how certain well-to-do merchants of a low Caste manage gradually to grow into a higher one, and this has passed into a proverb. Nor are the rules of Caste the same. Some Brahmins will not consort with, eat with, or marry with, other Brahmins, while, on the other hand all the Brahmins of the Panjab, known as the Saraswat, eat with the Khatri and sometimes a man of another Caste has by custom crept into this privilege also by tacit permission. I have known instances.

Community of occupation is quite as much the basis of Caste as community of origin. Manu's four fold division of priest, warrior, merchant, and the common herd, indicates this. The custom of Oriental countries is to make occupation hereditary, and this feeling is strengthened by the absence of Education, the difficulty of locomotion and the paucity of varieties of occupation in a community with simple wants as betrothals and marriage always took place in the infancy of the parties according to the arrangements of the parents, and not the fancy of the individual they were also strictly endogamous. The nobles of France and Spain became a Caste, because they always intermarried among each other, the nobles of England never became a Caste as they enjoyed full liberty of selection from the families of their neighbours of lower degree. It was with the object of checking once for all the dangerous tendency of the office of priest becoming hereditary in Levitical families that led the Pope to impose celibacy upon the Romish clergy, it has so far succeeded, but any interference with the fundamental law of the human race brings with it countervailing evils.

The lower the Caste, the more trouble is caused by Caste assertion. In the North of India we hear little about it. The railways, the roads, the schools, the ferries, the choice of employment the Courts of Justice, are open to all without any distinction. Some classes of the community may avoid the touch of other classes just as we do of a sweep but the law would not tolerate any overt act of offensive Caste rules such as used to prevail in South India, where women of some Castes were not allowed to wear a cloth above the waist, and in the public road the so called *low Caste* had to stand aside to let the high Caste pass. Eight hundred years of Mahometan domination, followed by a century of English rule, has got rid of this kind of nonsense. In South India all the Castes were extremely low the Sudra counted high, on the principle of a one eyed man being king among the blind, but beneath the Hinduized Dravidian were several strata of pagan Dravidian Devil worshippers, men of unclean habits, and low

occupations. Many of these have become Christians, and regarded it as a step in social life; and no doubt it is so, when accompanied by Education, and the adoption of a higher morality, and a more decent mode of life, and they have a perfect right to elevate themselves.

The Protestant missionary will persist in denunciations of Caste, and asserting, that it is the great impediment to Conversion. He does not reflect, that there is no Caste in Burma, or the Southern portion of Ceylon and China, Japan, and the rest of the world, except India, but there are equally great obstacles to his operations there also. Everybody must have something to abuse, and that something is generally one, the nature of which is not understood. The Chinese missionary has no Caste, so he fastens upon the Opium-trade. The African missionary has a more real grievance in Cannibalism, Human Sacrifice, and Sorcery. Of course, in one sense,

Dictionary or Gazetteer of the Castes, and Tribes, and social distinctions of British India, arranged alphabetically under the leading name, but carefully giving all the synonyms, and alternative names, carefully transliterated in the Roman Character, and given also in the local Indian Character. It is an ill-star to fight against Caste, which exists in the atmosphere of India. The English is but an additional Caste to the previously existing catalogue. There are also many compensating advantages. All secret societies of a dangerous political character are impossible in a population, which is honeycombed with deep, though innocent, fissures. The punchayet of the Caste is a welcome and powerful ally to a just Ruler. The old Roman proverb applies, *Dixit et impera*. Difference of Religion and language, great as they are, are scarcely so operative as difference of Caste. Then again, the necessity of a general poor law to relieve the indigent is obviated by the existence of Caste. The respectability of a community is maintained by the enforcement of wise Caste rules. They are felt though not written, by Europeans in their own country. The English Government has sternly ignored Caste, as far as the administration of public affairs is concerned, but respected the private rights of every class of its subjects, and the Civil Courts will give a remedy for any wanton outrage of the feelings of the meanest of its subjects, while, on the other hand, any attempt to monopolize the use of wells, or other places of public convenience or to place any section of the community under a ban, causing injury to person or property, is sternly repressed. I am glad to hear that there is a prospect of an Ethnological Survey of British India.

I pass on to the subject of Religion.

The following table shows the distribution of the population according to Religions. They are arranged according to the chronological order in which they appeared in India, and in even hundreds.

A Pagan, or Nature worshippers	6,628,000
B Hindu, or Brahminical	192,624,000
C Buddhist and Jain	4,640,000
D Mahometan	50,000,000
E Fire worshippers	85,000
F Jew	12,000
G Christian	1,861,000
H Brahmo	1,000

It is a solemn consideration, that this multitude of multitudes have been passing on from generation to generation (ever since the time of Alexander the Great as a historical certainty, and for an unfathomable period previously) from the cradle to the grave, each class of religionist along his own groove of convictions for this life,

his ritual, and his ideas of the Future, and, with the exception of the few scores of intelligent Protestant converts, without the slightest ability to give an account for the faith that was in them, and without the faintest desire to inquire, whether it was right or wrong. On the first aspect of the subject, it would seem; as if Religion were an empty form, a delusion; and yet it is not so, for many would give up their lives readily to maintain their so-called religious convictions, and morality is not totally dissociated from the religious conception: and it may be said generally, though sadly, that it is better for the welfare of the immortal soul, and the purity of the mortal body, that a man should be a Hindu, a Buddhist, a Fire-worshipper, and a Mahometan, than be a sceptic, an unbeliever, an agnostic, or an atheist. In the one case there is the desire, though imperfectly displayed, to acknowledge the Supreme Ruler of the Universe, and bow humbly before Him: in the latter there is naught but an arrogant reliance on self, and a soul and conscience lulled into a fatal sleep, calling to our recollection that sin, which can never be forgiven in this world or the next.

The enumerators of the Census, followed by the reporters, enter separately the Sikh, the Satnami, and the Kumbhipathia, but they have by me been included under the general term of Hindu. The Nat-worshippers, and the "unspecified" have been included under the general term Nature-worshipper, and the Buddhist and Jain have been lumped together. There was a great difficulty in getting people to state their religious faith. No doubt the present return is only an approximation to the truth, but it is a sufficient one. The more accurately defined the Religion, the more easily can the followers be enumerated. Thus, the returns of all, with the exception of the Hindu and Nature-worshipper, can fairly be relied upon. These last two are surrounded with uncertainties.

Let us first consider the Pagans or Nature-Worshippers. It is necessary to have studied the circumstances of the population of Africa, America, and Oceania, to realize upon what a far higher platform of culture the people of Asia stand. If it has been decided, and rightly decided, that to the greater part of the African, American, and Oceanic populations the term "savage" cannot justly be applied, and that the term "barbarous" is more suitable, when we come to consider the people of India, we feel that the term "barbarous" does not apply to any portion of the population, with the exception of the Nature-worshippers, and not to all of them. The rest may be poor, degraded, uneducated, yet they are in possession of an ancient culture, not, indeed, a high culture, but one that is essentially Oriental. Some distinguished writers, such as Tylor and Lubbock, have written upon this subject of Primitive Man, and the Museums of Europe supply evidence that marks the progress upwards.

Those, who had charge of the Indian Census, seem to have had no independent knowledge of this subject, and this is the weak side of the Report. The history of the Arian invasion of Northern India is well known. They advanced from the direction of the Hindu Kush across the Indus, and occupying the Panjab, where the groundwork of their polity was fixed and the Veda written, they pushed down the valleys of the rivers Ganges and Indus to the sea, which is mentioned in the Veda, and across the Vindhya Range into Mabarashtra, but they found the country already occupied by darker and less cultured tribes, represented, to the present time, by the non Arian races of the Dravidian, Kolian and Tibeto-Berman. Now, many of these have been Hinduized, and, therefore, from the point of view of Religion, are correctly entered as Hindu. But these races may be divided into another category. Part of these non Arian races retired before the invaders into impenetrable mountains and forests, and there maintained a rude independence and individuality, but a portion were overrun, and came under the domination of the invaders and became hewers of wood and drawers of water, helot and servile races discharging certain duties in every village and town of a very necessary character, but not blended with the superior race, and never admitted to their religion. Of these helot races the Chhums are a notable instance, who count as many as eleven millions, and ought never to be reckoned as Hindu. According to this view, the return of the Census is very defective, and it will be found that the number of non Arian Nature worshippers far exceeds the six millions assigned to them. This is a branch of the subject, which will require special notice at the next Census and the Returns must be compiled by one, who is an adept in anthropological studies. There is no reason why the phenomena recorded should not be reduced to order, and it may be found possible to divide the population according to their peculiar beliefs, duties, and customs, into subgroups. It must, however, be recollected that these aboriginal races are slowly passing under a process of assimilation with their more powerful neighbours. In the Provinces of Bengal, millions have adopted the faith of Mahomet, in the Central Provinces there is a tendency to Hinduize, and in Burma the attraction is to Buddhism. The Khond will still be a non Arian, notwithstanding that he may have been admitted into one of the lower strata of the Brahminical fold, and have adopted the Arian language of Orissa. Education and administrative arrangements may unintentionally accelerate this process, though for the sake of the stability of the English Empire in India, it is to be deprecated. As long as Race is the leading feature any combined action of the different units of the population to form a Nationality is impossible, but when the dominant Religion and language have been adopted, the feature of Race falls to the background, and populations sometimes gravitate

together by the more demonstrative links of Religion and language. The chances are, however, against the phenomenon in India for many centuries.

The Census returns exhibit the Nat-worshippers as a separate item: they are recorded only in British Burma, and it was illogical to record them as a main subdivision; they stand on the same platform with the Bhût-worshippers of Southern India, and are but a species of Nature-worship. Nats are spirits supposed to inhabit natural objects, celestial and terrestrial, and to interfere freely in the affairs of man. Some are evil, and their ill-will has to be propitiated by offerings of plantains, coconuts, fowls, or other such gifts. Some are kind, and their favour has to be secured. This belief has remained underlying the creed of Buddha: many Karen, and wild tribes, call themselves Buddhist, though in reality they cling to their old conceptions of animate Nature. It is the same feeling, that gave birth to the beautiful visions of the Greeks and Romans, peopling the hills, and the groves, and the streams, with nymphs and satyrs. The same feeling has transformed itself into the worship of local saints in the Roman Catholic Church, and, in another form, the fairy and the sprite have dwelt in the fancy of the English rustic up to this century. As was to be expected, the cold, hopeless, passionless form of a theistic morality was not adapted to the ignorant, degraded, yet excitable Oriental races of the Indo-Gangetic peninsula, without a large admixture of the follics and extravagancies of Nature-worship, which clung to the skirts of its clothing. The mind of man cannot get free of anthropomorphic conceptions, and cannot get beyond its own intellectual environments. We shall find this phenomenon more distinctly exhibited, when we come to treat of the far purer, and more exalted, tenets of the Mahometan Monotheism.

But the reflex effect of the Pagan Cults has been felt upon the Brahminical conception and ritual: hence comes the worship of local Shrines, like the lofty hill of Naini Devi, of the Naphtha fires at Jwala-Mukhi, and the floating rock in the Lake at Mandi, all in the Panjâb. There are local objects of pilgrimage elsewhere, where the priests in charge are not Brahmins, and yet they are frequented by devout Hindu. On the other hand, the non Arian races, as they advanced in culture, had a tendency to establish places and ritual of worship, and to secure the services of the lower class of Brahmins to officiate, just as we read in the Old Testament of the non-Hebrew settlers in Palestine securing a Levite to establish a ritual for their Teraphim. There is a fashion in Religious Cults, as in many other matters. In the South of India we hear of ghost-worshipping, and devil-worshipping; the Brahminical religion did not extend to these classes more than in name. The bulk of Hinduism has not hardened round them, and

hence we find that the spread of the Christian religion has been more extensive there than anywhere else. In the Central Provinces the Santal and Kola were equally outside of the Hindu fold, and the English Government is not restricted from the reasonable encouragement of the missionaries to civilize and convert such pagan tribes, as their pledges of religious neutrality are solely to the Hindu and Mahometan.

The Chumars have been already alluded to and to these may be added a legion of names of the same nondescript class, and so called out-castes, they eat dead animals, the idea of which is enough to make a good Hindu crazy. I once came suddenly upon the Ganges at Banaras in my evening walk, and found a party of these gentry cutting up a dead horse with all the gusto, which is credited to the African in the books of travellers, when an elephant, or a hippopotamus, or a rhinoceros, or an English traveller is killed. The greatest difference occurs in the disposal of the dead. The Chumars carry their dead on biers calling out,

"Tu hi hai - tain no pada hai, aur tainne mara"

"There is but Thou. Thou hast given, and Thou hast taken away." This shows that in this particular, at least, they have got to the root of the matter.

We pass on to the Hindu. On the subject of the Brahminical Religion profound books have been written but they all fail entirely to convey the faintest idea of the Religion so-called but actually practised. They describe Hinduism as it ought to be or as at some remote and imaginary period it once was and as some educated Brahmins still try, or pretend to practise it. The remarks of the Continental scholar, who has never visited India, on the subject of the Brahmin the ritual, and the Temple, seem to one, who has lived among the people quite ridiculous. To him the officiating priest seems to be a learned and devout ecclesiastic, to the ordinary Anglo-Indian the same individual appears as a dirty, uninteresting wretched native. The esoteric doctrines play a very small part indeed in the dull belief of the masses. All is centred in ritual, and one member of the family does all that is required. In fact, the modern form of Hinduism is extremely material, debased by the contact of Mahometanism by the absorption of the deities of the pagans, by the worship of household and village goddesses by a low kind of fetishism by a loration of plague, like "the small pox" of the wretched dead of ancestors, the malevolent dead, by the use of charms, divination, and exorcism and by the wildest superstitions and fancies, add to this an unbounded variety of practice by different Castes in different localities.

It is not clear why the compilers excluded the Sikh or Singh of the Panjab from the Hindu Family they would be much surprised

Agarwal. One of the chief features of their religious observances is their extreme respect for animal life, which they carry to the absurdity of keeping their mouths covered with veils to prevent the chance absorption of an insect. Two-thirds of their number are in Rajputana and the Bombay Province. It is to be hoped, that at the next Census we shall have more accurate information on this subject.

Little need be said with regard to the fifty million of Mahometans, except to notify that their number is increasing by the peaceful absorption of non-Arian tribes. Of the whole number, not less than half are found in the Province of Bengal, who are lax Mahometans, being in fact non-Arians, nominally converted, and known as Ferda. In the Panjab there are ten millions, some of whom are of the stock of the original invaders, but in the time of the Great Moguls, many great tribes were by force or bribes converted, and are Mahometans, without giving up their proud Caste-title of Rajpút, and preserving their own Hindu customs having the force of law with regard to Marriage and Inheritance. One of the Rajas of a great Rajpút clan in the Himaláya is a Mahometan, and rules without prejudice over his Hindu clansmen. Many of the Indian Mahometans would be considered very lax professors of their faith, for they sacrifice to local deities, let their wives sacrifice to Sitala, the small-pox: they keep a Hindu family priest, are very lax in their prayers, and totally neglect their fasts: to some extent Hindu and Mahometans go to the same shrines: in two districts I discovered that they intermarry. There is a great deal of opportunity for a Wahabi reformer, but it is as well for the peace of the Empire, that they should be as we find them. They are quite as much observers of Caste-rules as the Hindu, and it is with a feeling of surprise, that the Englishman finds himself allowed to eat and drink with a Mahometan in Kashmir, as he is in Western Asia. One thing, however, is obvious. Under the scorching light of Education, and the electric contact with other nations, Buddhism, despised; but this not the case with the Mahometan; he has nothing of his Koran, if he can read it, if he can once understand them, and set up to it. He may yet be a powerful factor in the history of India, and a fierce antagonist to the spread of Christianity. The idea is ridiculous, that the Mahometans of India know, or care, for the Sultan of Turkey, or recognize him as Khalif. The Great Mogul of Delhi was a far greater Potentate than the Osmanli sovereign. The Fire-worshippers are Persian refugees at Bombay and on the West Coast at the time when the sword of Islam destroyed their religion in Iran: they have an Indian domicile of several generations, and have adopted an Indian language, the Gujaráti, in supercession of their own; but they keep to a limited profession of their

ancestral worship. They are respectable, wealthy, enterprising, and in every respect come nearer to the British, but their number is very inconsiderable, and they will never form a factor in politics.

The existence of the Jews is interesting no doubt, like the Lalasha of Abyssinia, they are not, and do not pretend to be, of Semitic origin, but they are alien proselytes. They call themselves Beni Israel, and are insignificant, and may probably disappear, having no reason for existence. They have no knowledge of Hebrew, nor any translation of the Law in their own Vernacular. If they had, they could hardly convince themselves, that there was any Covenant to them, and then Gentile offspring. The world is full of surprises, perhaps the existence of the Talusha and the Indian Black Jew is not the least.

The Christian population is one and three quarter millions, but the whole of the English Army, and all officers in Civil or Military employ must be deducted, being undomesticated aliens. It may be doubted whether any European British subject is domiciled. On the other hand, the Syrian Christians and the Armenians belong to a period antecedent to British rule. The great majority of the Roman Catholics are merely skin-deep Christians, who have exchanged Ram Ram for Ave Maria. There remain the Laramians, and the converts of the numerous Protestant Missions of all the Churches. These may hereafter be a formidable factor, but go for nothing now.

First in the list is the youngest religious development known as the Brahmo. The numbers recorded are few, and in the report it is stated, that these numbers are much understated, which seems strange, as the tenets are very distinctive, and the holders of those tenets are men of Education, and not a harem of them. It is emphatically a new Religion, the result of the contact of the Christian, or at least European, civilization with the decaying Hindu fabric. As it cannot be enumerated under the Hindu heading, which it has entirely broken with, and the Christian, which it has not attained it must necessarily stand alone. Standing on the confines of an old and new Faith, it is a mixed Religion, in the same sense as we write of a mixed Language. The tendency of such a religious conception is to pass away into Theism, Agnosticism, or Indifferentism.

It must be recollected, that the calm, and even disdainful tolerance of the British Government has greatly tended to re-establish Hinduism, which had been persecuted by the Mohammedans, notably by the Rulers of the Punjab. The rules of Cast have been tightened, Temples have been built, pilgrimages of enormous distances have been facilitated for vast crowds, who formerly would have shrunk from the perils of the way. All taxes upon Temples have been remitted, and, in many cases, large endowments have been left in possession. On the other hand, any idea that the Hindu

to find that they were not deemed Hindu. The Sikh is certainly Hindu, and becomes a Sikh by taking the Pahal, and submitting to certain customs, such as never shaving or smoking tobacco. In its later development, it was essentially a political movement of the lower classes: few of the higher Castes became Sikhs; and now that power and prestige are gone, it must be on the decline. I lived among them many years, and learned to appreciate their manly virtues: over and above the Hindu books and ritual, they had their own sacred book, the Granth, and their own ritual. As a rule, they are essentially respectable agriculturists, with a potentiality of becoming soldiers. If credit were given to books, we should find Mahometan Sikhs. I never heard of such a thing: the Sikhs are the deadly enemies of Mahometans; whatever Nanak may have dreamt of, when he formed his community of Sikhs or "disciples," Govind founded a community of Singhs or lions of "warriors."

The "Satnami" should also be included among the Hindu. At least for the present: they are found only in the Central Provinces, and numerically do not reach half a million, and already have two irreconcilable factions in their midst. Unlike the Sikh, and the Buddhist, and the Brahmo, they have borrowed nothing from the outer world: their attempt is to reform out of their own consciousness their hereditary faith: they have obtained a glimpse of the truth, i.e. the worship of the one true God, "the true name," and hatred of idols, and levelling of Caste-distinctions, though this last feature loses its value, when we are informed, that the majority are Chumars, men with no Caste, whom I have classed with Nature-worshippers; but the Satnami are something better than that, for they appear to be Hindu improving into something more exalted, not Nature-worshippers improving into becoming Hindu. Some of them have learnt to abstain from liquors and drugs, animal food, and the observance of Hindu festivals, and they hate the Hindu and the Brahmin. They have no place of worship or priesthood, and no deified heroes. It is the old story, that pure theism is incompatible with a low state of intellectual culture: they cannot see beyond the near horizon into the far distant one: they have no elevated dogma like that of Mahomet: their worldly circumstances are very bad: education is almost non-existent. As a matter of fact, the Satnami is as superstitious an idolater as the most ignorant Hindu.

The Kadirpanthi are only recorded in the Central Provinces, and are less numerous than the Satnami. Kadir was one of the disciples of the celebrated Vaishnavite reformer, Ramanand, who in the fifteenth century of the Christian era, with great boldness, attacked both the Veils of the Hindu, and the Koran of the Mahometan. He left a Sect behind him, but they never attained a political existence: he lived and died at Banaras. Nanak, the

founder of the Sikh sect, was his more fortunate pupil and follower Kabir must be classed as a reformer within the body of the Hindu Religion, and his followers are reformed Hindu, just as much as the Wanali are reformed Mahometans, and the Protestants are reformed Christians. The very fact, that the disciples of Kabir rever him *as an incarnation of the Deity*, shows that they are still Hindu. The followers of Buddha have no such delusion. The mantra of initiation, with which he received his disciples, is in the name of Rama, one of the Hindu Avatars. We find that though theoretically there is no distinction of Caste, yet each Caste of the Kabirpanthi keeps very much to it self, and more than that, they identify with pure Hindu of the same Caste: the tendency is to give up all but the mere name. Under these circumstances the Reporters of the Census were wrong in entering such creeds as a separate heading, especially as they included the much more pronounced Chuvir and Langate as Hindu. It is admitted by the Reporters, that the Kumbhupatra were entered as a separate heading wrongfully, and the same error applies to the Sikh, Satriani, and Kabirpanthi.

Separated by a vast abyss of religious concept from the Hindu as the Buddhist. Volumes have been written on the subject of this mighty movement the very thought of which causes amazement. One of the most astonishing features is that there are not 200,000 Buddhists to be found in the whole of India. West of the Ganges the birthplace of the doctrine, where once, as evinced by the widely-spread pillars of Asoka it ruled supreme. In the Indo Chinese peninsula it is the dominant religious form: there are more than four thousand Buddhist monasteries in British Burma and the number of priests (celibate) amounts to one in every five hundred of the population. The annexation of the Kingdom of Assam, or Independent Burma will have added largely to the number of Buddhists in the next Census. About 3,000 are enumerated in the Spiti district, in the Himalaya, in the Punjab.

I have, contrary to the enumeration of the Reporters annexed the Jain to the Buddhist. I admit there are difficulties, but, although they are often described as a sect of the Hindu, they are more than in their religious professions to the Buddhist, and I am at this moment regarding the population from the point of view of Religion. The subject has not been fully studied. The Jains have played a great part in the history of India, and left an enormous literature behind them. Rhys Davids is of opinion, that the few Buddhists who were left in India at the Mahometan conquest of Kashmir in the twelfth century, preserved an ignoble existence by joining the Jain Sect, and by adopting the principal tenets as to Caste and ceremonial observances of the antecedent Hindu creeds. Forty-two thousand Jains are enumerated in the Punjab returns. I have come into contact with men, who were said to be Jains, and at the same time were Surajji Banya, called in vulgar parlance

of manners, their dignity of address, their bravery in battle, and their wisdom in council. Those, who have lived among them, far from the confusion of great cities can testify to the purity of their family life, and their freedom from those sensual vices, which disgrace the European with all his vaunted civilization, and the fearful crimes of Cannibalism, Human Sacrifice, Slavery and Sorcery, that torment the poor African and the South Sea Islander, who have given nothing to the world to benefit, or ennoble, or enrich it.

Passing on to the great subject of language, I cannot congratulate the compiler either on the method adopted, or the success of the compilation. In fact, it is as bad as could well be imagined. In spite of my advice communicated before the Census, no list was supplied to the local compilers of the languages and dialects, which they were sent to meet, and the synonyme, which would probably occur. The consequence has been a most discreditable and unprofitable return, made absolutely ridiculous by the following peculiarities.

No less than twenty two million seven hundred thousand are entered with no specification of language at all. thirteen thousand nine hundred are similarly entered as Wild Tribes, yet wild though they were, they must have been Hindu and had a form of speech. In all probability any Text book would have supplied the language. European language, dead and living, are heedlessly entered. I should like to know more about the single individual, who entered his Vernacular as Latin the thirteen hundred as speaking Sanskrit, and the one, who spoke Slavonic.

We have next to clear away the following European languages, which are all mixed up in the alphabetical list with the languages of India. English, Scotch, alias Keltic, alias Gaelic, for they are all entered, Irish, Welsh, French, Dutch, Flemish, German, Russian, Italian, and Maltese, Greek, Rumanian, Spanish, Portuguese, Danish, Swedish, Norwegian, Finnish, Magyar, Polish, Lapp and Swiss. The following Asiatic languages follow, which belong to regions beyond India: the Indo Chinese peninsula, and the Indian archipelago. Persian, Japanese, Chinese, Turki, Armenian and Arabi. Nine hundred persons are entered as employing Hebrew as their Vernacular, which is ridiculous, it is doubtful whether since the Babylonian captivity any man has used Hebrew as his sole Vernacular. Two residents of India are credited as communicating their ideas in Syria, and two thousand as speaking a language called African. Why not enter the others as speaking European or Asiatic? To no one is it imputed that they speak Australian or American. It is amazing that a Census Return of India for 1881 should record 124 speakers of Scotch, 149 of Gaelic, and two of Keltic!

We now approach India in its direct sense. Many names are entered twice under slightly varying forms. Twenty three

thousand are entered as speaking Panjābi dialects. Now, the Report for the Panjāb is singularly full and instructive, and with a little care these dialects could have been entered under their parent language. The form of speech of a region or a tribe is called a Language: the local variations of such language, spoken in particular districts, or by particular subtribes, are Dialects, just as the Venetian, Neapolitan, and Sardinian are dialects of Italian. It is obvious, that, where the returns have been prepared in this way, the work has fallen into unsympathetic hands, and there is much left to be desired. The transliteration of names is not that adopted by Hunter's Gazetteer, and scores of names of recognized languages or dialects have been omitted. There are, no doubt, great difficulties: a great deal of additional information is required, but this end can only be reached by keeping to the lines already laid down. There are transitional regions on the border of a language-field, or a mixed patois in a debatable region; aliens who have domiciled for many generations and have adopted the Vernacular of the region, often retain a household patois borrowed from their ancestral language. This may account for 15,700 speakers of Persian.

The received classification of the languages of India, Indo-China, and the Indian Archipelago is as follows:

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|------------------------|--------------------|
| 1 Arian Family. | { A Iranic branch. |
| | { B Indic branch. |
| 2 Dravidian Family. | |
| 3 Kolarian Group. | |
| 4 Tibeto-Burman Group. | |
| 5 Khasi. | |
| 6 Tai Family. | |
| 7 Mon-Adam Group. | |
| 8 Malayan Family. | |

In the Arian family we find the two leading languages of the Iranic branch, the Pashto and Baluchi and ten leading languages of the Indic branch, Kashmiri, Sindhi, Panjabi, Hindi, Nepali, Assami, Bengali, Uriya, Marathi and Gujarati. Some interesting particulars with regard to dialects are added. The relation of Hindustani or Urdu, the great lingua franca of India, is misunderstood; it is only a dialect of Hindi, which is spoken by the largest population in the world, and has a tendency to expand and absorb its neighbours, notably the Panjabi. It is every way more convenient for the present to treat Hindi as the unit, and then allow full room to its magnificent dialects such as Bhojpuri, Maithili, Braj Bhasha, Bagri, Lubari, Jathiki, Marwari, Chateauri, or any others. In course of time they will establish an independent literature of their own, and raise themselves to the position of independent languages, their special idiosyncracies and divergences being brought to book. Whether the Hindustani has attained an existence geographically is doubtful; it is the language of the educated classes, over a vast region, and the official language in two great Provinces. However, in a country like India, where the agricultural classes form such a vast majority, we must know what language they speak. Hindustani does, indeed, resemble English in its hybrid character, and power of absorption of foreign word-stories and foreign word-formations, yet it differs in two essentials. It has fallen into the fatal error of arranging the words in a non-natural sequence, contrary to the position in which the idea lies in the mind; *eg* instead of, "Why have you not obeyed my order?" we unsensibly, in Hindustani, following the Sanskrit idiom, say, "By you my order why not obeyed?" A still more formidable obstacle to its world-wide expansion is its slavish adherence to the shackles of Gender and Number, from which the English, destined to be the World Language of the next century, has freed itself. Of what possible use was it to make adjectives and pronouns, and even verbs alter their final vowel with reference to the gender of the noun? The Persian language to which the Hindu is so largely indebted, had got rid of this badge of linguistic slavery, and the English is as free as air, making no difference betwixt an old man and an old woman, or a naughty man and a naughty woman, without any loss of perspicuity.

We are greatly indebted to Hoernle, Kellogg, Beames, Grierson, Growse, and others for their important studies on different portions of the Hindi language, but much remains to be done to record the effect of the contact of this lordly Vernacular with Dravidian and Kolarian element, and with its sister Vernacular in Central India. The reporter of the Census for the Panjab, Ibbotson, though he disclaims any pretence to being a philologist, has contributed most important information. What is now required is, that a large map of the Hindi language field should be prepared, and after information has been received from each sub-Collectorate, of the propor-

tion of the population speaking each dialect, it should be exhibited on the language-map by shades of colour. It is of the utmost importance for the well-being and peace of the people, that the official, native as well as English, should be able to hold converse with the agriculturists in their villages. The sections of the population marked by these variations of dialects are not petty tribes, but in some cases are counted by millions.

I pass on to the Dravidian Family. New names of dialects come to the surface, and old well-known ones have been ignominiously and unsympathetically treated. The four great Dravidian languages will probably swallow up their small and adjacent congeners, but the Goud, the Rhond, the Uraon, and Rajpūthi, or Mahr must either hold their own, or fall before their great Arian neighbours. If this happens by a natural process, it can neither be arrested, nor ought it to be regretted; but it is a terrible scandal, that there should not be a single Goud-speaking school amidst a population of more than a million. I strongly remonstrated against this some years ago, and was answered, that the Goud had no written Character, and had no right to exist. This is a policy more worthy of the French, German, and Austrian Governments than the British. The Goud language is described by Caldwell as being a language of great linguistic capacity. If the absence of a written Character be the test of vitality, what will become of the great Vernaculars of South Africa? Neither administrator nor missionary has a right to set aside a great Vernacular, living in the mouths of the people, from mere laziness or sheer stupidity. The unanimous judgment of the English statesman and the Protestant philanthropist is—just such a course.

ties, the report of the language of that Province is most unsatisfactory. The identity of the Kakkun and Singapo had escaped notice. The languages of the tribes in the intermediate zone, between Bangal and Barma, have escaped observation, though fully reported by officers of Government such as McCulloch. Of British Barma we have full information in the local Report, and an additional notice by Dr Fockhhammer of the Educational Department. The isolated language of Khasi, and the languages of the Tu, Mon-Anam and Malayan Families are inadequately noticed. It requires no little study and consideration to find out the locality of such random and mis-spelt entries as Bhuia, Chin, Chin, Dancet Hing, Yebau, Salone, and others. One entry defies all research. The brief notices attached to each name are singularly inadequate, and often misleading.

No passing allusion is made to the multiform variety of Written Characters used in India for literature that passes through the press in published works, and in the scores of unshuffled daily and weekly newspapers, in the vast epistolary correspondence, that is conveyed with rapidity and unviolated sanctity from one end of the Empire to the other, in the account books of the banker, the merchant, the village accountant, and the copyist of religious manuscripts. No country can display a parallel. The indigenous characters were undoubtedly all developed from one parent stock, as exhibited in the Tablets of Asoka, and the Characters then used two centuries before the Christian era. In contact with the great Phœnician Alphabet, the great mother of the Alphabets of the world. Over and above the indigenous Alphabets is the great Alphabet of Arabia, and over and above that is now the great Alphabet of Rome, and those, who have used them all three concurrently, and with no exertion, in the discharge of their duty, know that all three, however different they may appear in their modern form, are sprung from the one great Phœnician Alphabet, which Lyman merchants, at some remote period, brought back with them from a study of the Hieratic manuscripts in Egypt.

The preparation of the next Census should be entrusted to a Commission of three persons, possessing distinct qualifications. I. An Official versed in Statistics, and no doubt the compiler of the present Report was eminently qualified for that portion of the operation. II. An individual who has studied Anthropology, ordinarily a medical man. III. A philologist from the ranks of the Educational Department. To them should be entrusted the duty of preparing the instructions to the local Census takers, and the forms as well as compiling the results, and the whole operation should take place in India, down to the correction of the last proof, and not in London, where it is impossible, by a reference to a correspondent on the spot, to clear up a difficulty, or correct

a manifest error, which springs up at the last moment. It is of no use throwing voluminous Tables of naked figures at the heads of the readers, like a lamelle of bones of a skeleton. They must be clothed with flesh, their purport explained, and the conclusion to be drawn therefrom philosophically indicated. A Census is prepared, not as a matter of antiquarian interest, but as a barometer to warn and caution administrators of complications with which he may have to deal.

The East India Moral and Material Progress and Condition Report during the year 1882-83 is a remarkably valuable work. It recapitulates the history, from the earliest day, of every branch of the subject: it appears intended for the edification, or perhaps the Education of the ambitious new members of Parliament, who actually know nothing about India, and who fall into the old belief, that a zemindar and a jemadar, and Scindia and Sindh, are synonyms. Still, at best, it is that dangerous telescopic knowledge obtained by an examination of distant scenes through lenses carefully manipulated for the purpose, and full far short of that microscopic knowledge only to be obtained by dwelling among the people. The series of maps in the second volume is wonderful: they have been devised so as to submit to the eye all the salient phenomena of India, both moral and material, from the meteorological map, showing the rainfall, the gift of God, to the railway map, recording the science, industry and enterprise of man. We have done our duty to India at least in this particular, and there is proof that, vast as is the population of the region, the soil is so fertile, that it could support a much larger one: infinitely various as are the products of the soil, they could be amplified: vast as the natural wealth of the country is, it could be indefinitely increased. The great Pax Romana of the last quarter of a century has worked out this result.

in Galatia, or Anlus Gellius in the *Sahara*, had taken the trouble to make such a tour, and had recorded it with the precision, in which Xenophon and Cæsar recorded their military operations, how much more ample would our knowledge be of the tribes, their languages, their customs, their forms of worship, than that which we now possess. If Pontius Pilate had left some record of his general mode of administering justice, and collecting the imperial taxes, of the establishments, which he kept up for the purpose, of the representations and complaints made to him by the Jews, what a clearer view we should have of his character and of his environment!

Such life-like diaries please and instruct more than the stately and defiant Minutes left behind them by the great Proconsuls Dalhousie and Lawrence. These last rank more with the *Ancyran Tablets*, wherein Augustus, in his pompous style, tells future ages, how much he had done for Rome, or, in other words, at what price the Romans had sold their liberties to the crafty tyrant: such records are emphatically the story of the man, who held the whip, not the story of the dog, which had to bear the stripes. In fact, the people went for nothing then in Europe, and till lately, for nothing in Asia. It was no uncommon incident for an English officer to call upon a Raja and have a talk with him, and then report to his Government, that he had taken the opinion of the country-side. Municipalities had not come into existence, and the idea of an address from planters, merchants, land-owners, and tenants would have seemed ridiculous.

What will it be a quarter of a century later? We may imagine an ingredient of discontent, a spice of malcontents, a suggestion of foreign emissaries sent on purpose to propagate grievances, a French man-of-war in the offing, a Russian agent in the cities, a class of noude-cript aliens claiming French protection, an Irish feeling about tenant-right, a Bulgarian feeling about a right of independence, a new theory started by the speakers of Telugu and Tamil, that a unity of language constitutes a nationality, the old theory, that a unity of religious notions justifies a struggle for political union; an unprincipled Native Press; a periodical, like the notorious *Bosphore* published at Pondicherry, and circulating thence over the Peninsula. In all these elements of disturbance we can see the germs of weakness and decay, then will come the cry for federation with the English Empire, or a statutory Parliament, and a paper constitution, reducing Government to as low a state of degradation as is represented in Rome by the immortal letters S. P. Q. R. "*Senatus Populus que Romanus*" on the scavenger's carts of the city.

A French writer, Guizot, in a late review of the resources of India, remarks that the sentiment, which is called patriotism in Europe, is unknown in India. There is neither unity of Race, Religion, Language, nor common interest; they cannot appeal to the same traditions, the same gods, or communicate with each other

founder of new dynasties, whether Hindu or Mahometan, would be something very different from the educated natives of the Calcutta and Bombay College, and the editors of newspapers. This latter class had better reflect, that it is under the English Government, and the English Government only, that they would be allowed to exist. A Russian, German, or French administration would snuff them out without a day's delay. Men of stronger calibre would spring up. The year of the mutinies in Northern India supplied a fair idea of what would be the state of the country, if the strong, but gentle and sympathising Central Government were withdrawn. And the educated classes should reflect upon this, and limit their aspirations to municipal institutions, provincial councils of finance, provincial legislatures, the right to rise by proved merit to the highest Offices of the State, and absolute equality of man with man in every court of justice, police and administration without any disqualification of race, religion or language, whatsoever. Alboertry should cease, if the Indian Empire is to be maintained.

The English system in India is too much like tying bunches of flowers to dead branches, instead of patiently watering and manuring the hidden roots of a newly planted sapling. The first duty of the Government was to protect the weak against the strong, and this has been done. The danger now is let European notions of right and wrong should be forced upon an Asiatic people. Such forces, though called moral, and the outcome of a higher civilisation, are in very deed the projected shadow of physical force. It is the man teaching the dog to dance and learn tricks. In matters affecting the Religion and Customs of the People extreme caution is necessary, for the very attempt to lay down the limits of persecution and wrongdoing is dangerous. The Religious world in England and Scotland is up in arms, if they hear an unwarlike injury is done to a convert to Christianity, while deep injuries done to the Hindu and Mahometan provoke no sympathy. This may be right and just, but it may be the Empire of India. The young Legation in London goes out to India to fill his pockets during a temporary residence in India or his manner of right to interfere with the laws of the country or rights of the people. He is but an itinerant slave-driver, copying a British India the same position, as a valued and respectable one, who has occupied by a Frenchman a lifetime in the French Islands, and the sooner he understands that the better. He must submit to the laws of India and act, or leave the country.

On the other hand, the Nations of India must not suppose that they are to passively surrender up their lives into the position of a great imperialist. Nations and Kingdoms are hammered with a will of iron, pass through the hot and cold seasons before they are broken. The future of India will be determined by the young India of the nineteenth century is something

very different from a real statesman, he is more of the type of the so-called Irish Patriot, who is paid for the job which he undertakes. It is bad enough that we have introduced new diseases, gunpowder and intoxicating liquors (if we really have done so), but it would be worse to introduce representative Government among a people totally unfit and untrained. I read with astonishment of the Indian National Congress, and the desire of those present to form themselves into Volunteer Military Corps. We quote the words of a leading Journal on the subject of such Congresses: "Thus we have to deal with public opinion of a kind, but it is important to remember that it is the public opinion of a class, whose aims and interests are not by any means identical with those of the great masses of the Indian populations, for whom we have to care. It

world. Each general or propounds, discusses, and decides its own problems and no greater problem is recorded in History than the attempt to find some means of keeping the two Empires united without injury to the one or the other.

Standing by the side of the sons of my two Masters, Sir Henry Lawrence and Lord Lawrence, I pleaded the right of the people of India to be tried by the same Courts and Judges as the European British subject. Science claims that Truth is the highest object to attain and the greatest good. Tandy and Tindall have proved this. Poets and Painters have achieved imperishable fame but in my opinion a wise, equal handed, sympathetic, patient, and firm Government of a great Kingdom is a greater achievement for the benefit of mankind than the work of the Scientist, Poet, or Painter. It is Wisdom, Philosophy, and Philanthropy united and practically applied. The highest Art, the noblest Profession, is that of *ruling men for their own good*. From this point of view the last half century of British Rule in India stands unequalled in the History of Mankind. There are no State-Prisons, no Siberia, no Ostracisms, no tyranny of Priests, no Mob Rule, no Despotic Irresponsible Sovereign, but Free Press, Free Trade, Free Religion, Free Public Meetings, Free Agriculture, Free Manufacture, Free Locomotion, Written Laws, Open Courts of Justice, and a strong Public Opinion.

"O Fortunate son si boni norint!"

LONDON March 23, 1886

APPENDIX *

The Committee, over which you preside, being appointed to inquire into the best mode of extending Education to the Masses, I earnestly solicit your attention to the question of the Vernacular Language, in which that Education is to be conveyed so as to reach the various tribes, which compose the motley population of British India. The returns of the Census will place incontrovertible facts at your disposal.

I think that the subject is overlooked, or misunderstood. Certain Vernaculars obtain a preponderant favour with the European and Native officials, and it is often presumed, without well-considered reflection, that the people understand the Vernaculars used by the governing or influential classes of the towns. Now it is a terrible oppression, when justice is administered, or rather a mock form of justice is administered, in a language not intelligible to the people. Very many of the political troubles in European States have arisen from the insane idea of forcing

* See No. 5, p. 296-7.

a dominant language upon an unwilling population. It is a charge constantly made by the Slavonic subjects of the German and Austrian Empires. It is a positive danger to the Peace of the Country, and the stability of the British Empire in India, that the Officials should be ignorant of the languages of the different tribes. My own conviction is, that many of the troubles, that have lately arisen in the management of the Non-Arian races, may be traced back to the fact, that none of the higher Officials, English or Native, were able to assemble the notables, and hold a palaver with them without the intervention of untrustworthy interpreters.

If it were a question of introducing the English language, there might be a shroud of an argument in its favour, inasmuch as the English would be the vehicle of extended knowledge, and new ideas: but such is not the case: the indigenous Vernaculars are generally crowded out, or stamped under, by the invasion of a powerful Vernacular, just as it happens that the official colonization of the District takes place from the North, the South, the East, or the West. The absurdity of a Grammar of the Khond Language written in the Uriya language and Character is but an exaggerated instance of the tendency.

I ventured this time last year to draw the attention of Her Majesty's Secretary of State for India to the fact, that the Gonds in the Central Provinces exceeded one million in number, and yet that in the Educational Returns of the Province there appears to have been no provision for instructing the Officers of the State in that language, or of conveying instruction to the Gonds through the means of their own Vernacular. I beg to call your attention to the reply of the Viceroy of India in Council (No. 14 of 1881, Government of India, Home Department, Education), and should feel obliged to you, if you would apply for a copy of that despatch and its inclosures. It must be remembered, that this is but one instance out of many: the Santál, Kols, Gond, Khond tribes are large, important, and increasing factors in the constituent elements of the Empire: it is of moment to the maintenance of our Rule, that they should not be absorbed into their Hindu neighbours, but maintain an existence, as a counterpoise to the Brahminical and Mahomedan elements, and this can best be done by arresting, as far as an equitable system of government permits, the decay of their language, the extinction of their lawful customs, and the destruction of their national existence. "Divide et Impera" was the great maxim of our Roman predecessors, and masters, in the art of ruling Subject Nations.

The Central Provinces were chiefly supplied with Officers selected from the Provinces, the inhabitants of which speak one or other of the Great Arian Vernaculars, or their leading dialects. The Chief Commissioner, therefore, in his letter of September 14, 1881, records his opinion that "the Gonds converse perfectly well with

"the Officers of Government in Hindi, Marathi, or Chatesgarhi, a "dialect of Hindi" Had the supply of Officers been from the Madras Presidency, the Gonds would no doubt, and with more reason, have been expected to understand their Rulers in the kindred languages of Tamil and Telugu

But the Chief Commissioner goes further, and condemns the Gond language "because it has never been reduced to writing, and "has not *even* an Alphabet of its own" The Inspector General of Education cannot imagine a greater misfortune for the Gonds of the Central Provinces than that the numerous dialects of their language should be reduced to writing The consequence is, that it is proposed to efface it from the list of the languages of India, and the World This may be an undertaking beyond the strength of an Inspector General and a Chief Commissioner, as it is one in which the Empires of Russia, Austria, and Germany have notably failed The language of the Finns, the Magyars, and the other agglutinative languages of Europe and Western Asia, have held their own, in spite of threatened absorption by Arian neighbours, and instances have not been wanting, in which blood has been shed in defence of a National Vernacular If the Gond language has indeed not been reduced to writing in any form of the great Indian alphabetic system, so much the better for it, as it will more easily adopt a modified form of the Roman Alphabet out of the languages of the world it is but a small minority, that have been reduced previous to this century, to alphabetic expression of the millions in Africa, Australia, Oceania, and America, who are now sought by Englishmen to make use of their own Vernaculars, and are now developing an extensive indigenous literature, not one has had the advantage of, as the Chief Commissioner expresses it, "having *even* an Alphabet of its own" I beg to remark with deference, that my attentive study of the languages of India saved me from the risk of assuming "that Gond was a written language, "with a literature of its own," but I did assume, and not without reason, that the Gond language was the vehicle of thought, and means of intercommunication (and in many cases the *only* means), of a million of Her Majesty's subjects, who were, under an unsympathising, or an uninquiring, system of administration, to be left uneducated, or to be compelled to adopt the language of an alien race, and not in its parent form If there are several dialects of the Gond it will be a matter of judgment to select, as has happened in England, France, Italy, and Germany, that dialect, which exceeds its sisters in purity, and popular predominance

In the unanimity of the Officials of the Central Provinces there appears to me to be danger, as the case has not been argued The Commissioner of the Nagpur Division seems to doubt, whether the Gonds, as regards their Arian neighbours, are an isolated race of Dravidian origin, and "whether giving them the privilege of

surpassed elaborateness of combinations, surpassing that of the Greek.

To establish separate schools would, in the opinion of the Commissioner of Nagpur be "the height of absurdity. Masters would not be obtainable, an Alphabet would have to be formed and books would have to be written. In fact, an artificial language would have to be created, and all this to arrest a movement, whereby these wilder races are abandoning their own *barbarous and defective language* for the richer and more expressive Hindi dialects." The Austrian Military Ruler of a Slavonic Province, or the German Ruler of Alsace Lorraine, could not have expressed themselves more decidedly, or have more entirely ignored the great work, which is now being done by the British nation in every part of the World in teaching and instructing inferior races in their own proper Vernaculars. Gentlemen with the views of the Commissioner of Nagpur would have suppressed the wonderful languages of the Zulu, Kafir, and Chuanan, and established Dutch Schools and Dutch Courts of Justice in the South African Provinces.

The Census Returns will place before you the exact distribution of the tribes, religions, and languages of the people of British India. If the Education of the Masses is to be a reality, it must proceed upon sound principles. It is not pretended that the language of the few hundred of a broken tribe in the lowest state of nomadic existence of culture, like the Iuanas is to be preserved, but, where there is a population, counting by hundreds of thousands, given to agriculture, settled in villages, living decent, domestic, honest lives, it is impossible to deny to them schools in their own vulgar tongue if you give them schools at all. It cannot be seriously urged that the degraded Hindi of the Chutesgarhu District is a better vehicle of thought "yes" so than the Gond as described by Bishop Caldwell. In the struggle for life let the strongest Vernacular conquer here as elsewhere. But let it be a fair fight. The process must be gradual, masters must be trained, elementary books written, but, if such details are possible in Africa and Oceania, they may at least be thought out in the Central Provinces of India.

CHAPTER IV.

A NEWLY-CONQUERED DISTRICT IN THE PANJAB.

THE advantages of the British rule over that of any Native Potentate, be he who he may, Hindu, or Mahomedan, an upstart yesterday, as Ranjit Singh of Lahore, or the descendant of a royal line, coeval with the world, as the Rajput of Rajpootana, a young foolish licentious profligate, or a prudent and experienced ruler, as so constantly quoted by British Officials, British historians and the public in general, that it appears an admitted fact, upon which any further superstructure of argument may be built. Some soothing and flattering allusions to the benefits of British rule are generally found at the close of divisional reports submitted for the consideration of Government, or transmission to the Home Authorities while the general idea is prevalent, that under Native rule rapine and anarchy are rampant, that the poor have no remedy from petty exaction, and the rich no security for their ill-gotten treasures.

There are some, however, who have gone on a contrary tack and whether from pique, or prejudice, have endeavored to give the Native system a preference over that introduced by the British they have painted in glowing colours the satisfaction felt by the people in being ruled over by National sovereigns, the greatest outlet afforded for indigenous talent, crushed under the other system by the influence of strangers. They maintain that justice, though less ostentatiously brought to notice, is administered more completely, and more effectively by judges capable of entering into the feelings of the disputants, and from whom the real merits of the case cannot remain concealed; the charge of rhyas against the Native princes as a system they deny, and, if occasional instances do occur, they consider such individual cases of suffering in the one system more than set off by the vexatious and expensive law delays, the tyranny of the Police, and the exhaustive drain of the Revenue, in the other. Arguers of this class stand upon no certainties in their illustrations, and quote unjust decisions of the Supreme Court in a Presidency town, to palliate, as it were, acts of downright wanton extortion on the part of some of the worst Native princes: their argument seems to be, that the seeds of oppression and injury lie

at the roots of Society, that it matters little, whether the fruit develops itself in the oppressive, though formal, working of a Revenue Regulation, or the indiscriminate exchequer-filling of a rapacious Dewan.

Truth lies, as is usually the case, in the middle, we cannot assent to the doctrine of the early Anglo Indian legislator, that the introduction of our system is the sure forerunner of inestimable blessings, which cannot exist otherwise on a native soil, nor can we subscribe to the doctrine advanced by the other section. Absolute irresponsible power without checks other than the armed resistance of an outraged people, without limits other than the forbearance of a half educated, pumpered despot, never can form the basis of good Government in any country, or under any circumstances.

There are advantages to be traced by a close observer in both systems, and neither of them can be so extravagantly good or bad, in all instances, as their supporters or maligners would pretend. If Native Governments are so bad, so boundlessly oppressive, how is it that their subjects are content to wear out their existence in such misery, and do not emigrate into the more favoured districts immediately adjoining? If the Anglo Indian system is so excellent, how is it that room is daily found for such striking and palpable improvements, as are from time to time promulgated? The whole system of our Indian legislation has been a course of experiment, and can we wonder that the patient should have sometimes suffered under the hand of the operator? Each measure, that has been successively enforced, bears the stamp of the age, and the individual. In introducing our earliest measures we have rarely been free agents, and they bear consequently always the indications of haste, and are of a tendency both narrow and temporary. We have attempted also to graft upon an Asiatic and most imperfect stock the intricate machinery of a British procedure, when it would have been better to have introduced an entirely new system, adapting the principles of a tried and approved code to the wants of a population three hundred years behind us in civilization. If the complaint can be made against a Native Government of a want of law, it may with greater truth be urged against us, that we are borne down by an excess of law, which few from among our selves perfectly comprehend, and which to the Natives of India bear so awful and perplexing a form, that they become in practice worse than the most oppressive of their former tyrannies.

In weighing the advantages and disadvantages of the system, the Natives of India have to thank the Anglo Indian Government for two substantial blessings, which no Native Government was ever strong, or liberal enough entirely to bestow. A freedom from the invasion of foreign foes, and the overturning of foreign arms, and a complete tolerance of religious tenets and observances. These, however, are blessings, which are never fully estimated by a gener-

to that of the British Government, into which the system we adopt, improved by the experience of years, has been deliberately introduced to the extinction of every vestige of former Government, or *our* Government. We would not, however, quote the former Government of the Doab as even a fair sample of the Native system, inasmuch as the peculiar circumstances of its history, and the corruption of its Rulers, have exercised a more than ordinarily unfavourable influence on its character. We gave it, simply as an instance of the Native system, which will ere long become extinct, caught alive in our hands, and by bringing out into strong relief the peculiarities of the former system, we may possibly enable others to form an opinion of the antipathetic principles of British and Native Government. It is seldom in the annals of the world, that such great and sudden changes have been made in the form of the Government of any Province. Changes are generally the result of progressive events, and influenced by the feelings of the people governed. Here by one stroke of the pen of two parties, populous districts, containing millions of inhabitants, were transferred from a Government of so simple a machinery, as to give the accused no chance of escape except by admitted and open bribery, of so benevolent a temperament, as to punish larceny with the amputation of the nose, or hamstringing the foot of the thief; founded on such discriminating and wise principles, as to make penal the slaying of a cow, and permit, or rather sanction, the crime of infanticide, slavery, and inhumanity of lepers transferred from a system of the most inert, and unimproving kind, to one the most intricate and artificial, the most elaborate in its details, and most benevolent in its intentions, whatever it may be in practice, upon the improving and adapting of which, good and wise men are daily employing their best faculties and energies, urged on thereto as well by the spirit of the age, as the principles of the Government.

Upwards of a century ago, and at the time of the decadence of the great Mogul Empire, the fertile Province of Jalandhar was a dependency of the Province of Lahore, but was governed by a Deputy, resident within its boundaries, who, supreme in all departments, paid a certain portion of the Revenue to his superior. The last and most famous of these Deputies was Adini Beg Khan, whose name serves as the last land mark of the Mahometan rule anterior to the Sikh deluge. Of the internal administration of his Province little is known: if a more than an ordinary tyrant, at least the memory of his tyrannies has perished with his victories. In all probability he differed but little from other Mahometan Proconsuls in considering Provinces but as preserves for refilling exhausted Treasuries, and enabling the fortunate administrators, endowed with more talent for exaction than principle, to amass pro-consular fortunes. Whatever may have been the character of his internal administration, his talents

power had been composed. His feeble widows, for he died childless, were unable to hold the reins, which his grasp could barely control, and the Province was left to his family, and not only to his family, but to the Empire. The power of the Mogul was now shattered to its foundation, and the incursions of the Afghans bore more the character of incursions for plunder, than expeditions with a view of acquiring permanent empire, and thus the field lay open to a new and more active invader. Nor were they long in taking advantage of the opportunity, which the utter extinction of all outward form of Government presented. It was the doom of the highly civilized Mahomedan, to give way to the brawny arm and savage resoluteness of the hardy cultivator of the soil. The same era had arrived to the Mahomedan Monarchy, of which the page of History presents us so many, and so mournful examples. The same tale must be told of institutions overturned, of cities sacked and levelled, of the entire disorganization of Society, and return to the primary elements of brute life, where strength is Law, which marked the irruption of the hardy tribes of the North of Europe into the plains of Italy, a new race of Longobards had sprung into existence to found dynasties and lord it over the conquered soil.

The Junagars of Adina Beg Khan saw their opportunity, and began to take possession for themselves of the Province, which they had been engaged to protect. Their numbers were reinforced by their relations from the neighbouring Districts, and no sooner was it found how profitable a trade was that of a marauder, how soon a single Chief of enterprise could collect round him a party of horsemen, and convert himself into an independent Prince, and his followers into landed proprietors than the ploughshare was converted into the sword by every Jat agriculturist, each village sent forth its detachment of hardy youths to carve out for themselves a respectable fortune, and to pay out old scores with their ancient oppressors. Thus it came to pass that in a few years the Dellar Monarchy became a shadowy and empty name, while the solid and substantial advantages of power and wealth passed into the hands of the lowest class in the scale of civilization, the hardy but ignorant cultivator of the soil.

These were fine times for those, who were gifted with the sterling gifts of a resolute spirit and a stalwart frame. No accomplishments of the mind, no cultivated talents no boasted descent of an illustrious ancestry, were required to constitute this new and self-formed Aristocracy. Enterprise and success made the Chieftain. As large a tract of country as the walls of his Fort could overawe, and his dependent horsemen could overrun were the limits of his dominion. His code of policy embraced the ready gathering in of his harvest. his only allies were those, whom mutual advantage bound to him. his only law was his sword.

magnitude and fame of his armies, gave his rule the semblance of strength the administration, though composed of various faiths, bore the garb of nationality the Army, though a large proportion were natives of Hindustan, and subjects of a foreign state, bore the name of the Khalsa, and deliberated as a great patriot confederation. But the secret springs of the strength of a nation, and a Government, did not exist the army melted away, as the snow in the spring the kingdom of the Sikhs who in their haughtiness had fancied themselves the salt of the earth, was dismembered, and divided between the British Government and the King of Kahlur.

At the time of the first treaty entered into by the British power with Ranjit Singh in 1806 when Lord Lake with his handful of veterans chased the discomfited Holkar across the River Beas and held with a comparatively small army the frontier which we now hold with six times the force, Ranjit Singh possessed not an acre in this District and it was on the boundary of the Sikh land, in which he and Pitch Singh were supreme, that the first compact of amity and friendship was concluded. It was within the subsequent forty years between January, 1806, when Lord Lake crossed the Satlej at Indana, to February, 1846 when Brigadier Wheeler marched from the same place to Talandhar, that the Province was conquered and managed by Ranjit Singh and his successors. For the three years subsequent to Lord Lake's retirement, the cupidity of Ranjit Singh was excited by the richness and defenceless state of the plains between the Juma and the Satlej, and his religious vanity was flattered by the possibility of extending his rule to the Ganges these hopes were crushed in 1809 by the forward policy of Lord Minto, by the negotiations of Metcalfe, and the military demonstration of Ochterlony. But no sooner had this crafty politician satisfied himself, that there was no fear of further interference on the side of Hindustan, no sooner had he reconciled

* The position of the andiv dual known in England as Maharaja Diulch Singh is not fully understood. I knew him as a boy, when he had been placed on the throne of Lahore by mutinous soldiers who had killed his predecessor. He had no claim whatever to that dignity for he was only the supposititious child of Ranjit Singh. When that Marquis was in extreme old age and did provide for the use of his descendants, one of the Chiefs offered him his daughter Jundin in marriage. He had already a large number of wives and concubines the old King having not set the girl Shah Namagyar and that was the only reason. He laughed heartily when he was told that a son was born then the father of the child a common carpet-sweeper was well known. The mother is described by Sir Herbert Edwardes as the Mesama of the Langids. She and her lover Pasa Lal Singh brought on the first catastrophe of her country.

When the Langids were annexed a handsome pension was assigned to him the Diulch Singh and the Kolich which I saw for the first time fastened on his little arm, was taken away and sent to the Queen of England. The boy went to England became a Christian married a teacher in one of the American Missionary Schools at Calcutta and has now left Lalul and if report be true ceased to be a Christian. His name is scarcely forgotten in the Langids.

himself to the armed intervention, which had prescribed the River Satlaj as his limits, than he set himself vigorously to work to bring under his immediate control the Provinces, the privilege of retaining which had been conceded to him. No ties of relationship saved the estates of his maternal uncles and his step-mother; no claim of friendship averted the evil from his turban-brother, or his equal and ally: year after year the feast of Dusserah found Ranjit preparing for an expedition of plunder and annexation, and the death of each Chieftain of the old school was the signal of the attachment of his territories, and the confiscation of his wealth, till one by one all the former possessors were annihilated, or reduced to insignificance. At the close of twenty years the heads of the three most powerful families remaining in the District fled precipitately across the Satlaj, preferring independence in the small estates, which they possessed in the Territories protected by Great Britain, to the uncertain enjoyment of their extensive patrimonies under the daily increasing exactions of their unprincipled neighbour.

Thus it fell out, that Ranjit Singh became the undisputed lord of the Jalandhar Doab. But it must not be supposed, that the whole Revenues of this fertile province found their way to his treasury: a large portion of the country was still left in the possession of the less powerful of the old Sikh Chiefs, who bravely bent to the storm: a proportion was conceded for the subsistence of the descendants of those, who had been summarily ejected, Ranjit Singh being too politic to exasperate: a large proportion was re-distributed as a bribe to the military followers, who had assisted in the conquest, and who formed the new Aristocracy; and a still larger proportion became the prize of intriguing priests, or was disposed of in religious grants to the shrines, or generally for the maintenance of the professors of the Sikh Sect of the Hardy Religion. Like the majority of unprincipled plunderers, Ranjit Singh was pre-eminently superstitious, and his religious advisers were forward in assuring him, that the readiest and most certain method of obtaining for past offences was by enriching the shrines of his religion with some portion of the ill-gotten spoils.

Each small remnant of territory as remained after the extensive appropriation for religious and secular purposes, was committed to the tender mercies of the farmers. Having entered into engagements for the payment of a certain amount of revenue, he was vested with supreme fiscal and judicial power, with uncontrolled privileges of imprisonment, and rack-rent, his orders being without appeal, and his processes most summary. So long as the fixed instalment was paid in, so long as the Royal ear was not pestered with too importunate, and too frequent complaints, so long as well-timed donations kept friendly the possessor of the Royal ear, so long as no higher bid was made for the farm, so long was the term

described is not injurious to the people, or that the prosperity of the producing classes is not affected by Social and Political institutions.

The resemblance, however, of the mutual relations of the Ruler, the Nobility and the people in these Provinces to that of Europe in the middle ages under the Feudal system must occur to anybody, who is acquainted with the history of those times and who has read Hallam's *Middle Ages*. We have here the superior Lord, or Suzerain holding direct of the Crown on tenure of service in war, and attendance on days of ceremony with an appointed force under him are the different grades of vassals, the subinfeudation of fiefs, the smaller chief holding of his superior Lord upon terms of service, harsher, more binding, but of the same kind as the one which bound the holder in chief to the Crown. Power has the same effect upon the human mind in all climes but the leading feudal principles seem to have invariably developed themselves in the same form in the distant countries of Europe and Asia. The weak must yield to the strong and as the free tenure in Chivalry, by continued exactions of the Crown and Superior Barons, degenerated gradually, but certainly, in England into the most odious and oppressive of tenures, till in the days of Charles I. they could no longer be tolerated and were abolished by his son at the Restoration, so the easy tenure of service upon which the fiefs were held by the Sikh Chiefs became arduous under Rangat Singh, and has eventually swallowed up nearly the whole under the uncompromising system of British Rule. The pages of Blackstone, in his chapter on tenures in Chivalry, may apply with equal force to these tenures. Aids "are a natural incident of fief-holdings and none more natural, than that of *a fine of recovery*" nothing more simple than for the Suzerain to step in during the confusion incidental on the death of his vassal, and wring a final sum of money from his widow and orphan. The marriage of the Chief, or his sons presented another plausible pretext for exaction under the garb of a present. The usurpation of estates of childless Chiefs, the confiscation of those of rebellious Chiefs, the annexation of defenceless ones and the arbitrary management of the estates of minors to the advantage of the self-constituted guardian were opportunities, which were greedily made available by both Hindu and Norman.

In another particular the Sikh chief resembled his European prototype. The hand of man may be strong, but in proportion as the physical triumphs over the intellectual faculties, so do superstition and bigotry establish their empire. The professional ghallat is invariably a devout Paganist: with his hands steeped with the blood of the slaughtered victims, he heaps the praises of his favourite *Satguru* *Thurstan*, and feels confident, that if he has not fully atoned for the deed he has not yet made the *Durg* a slaver in his crime, there are always to be found wolves

he showed me not only the villages, of which he was still in possession, but with an upbraiding tone he pointed out those, which Ranjit Singh according to him most unjustly seized, forgetting that his own father, whose white cenotaph appeared in the neighbouring garden, had himself appropriated these villages from the Mahometan Ruler, and that Ranjit Singh's right was at least as good as his. But this the old man could not or would not comprehend; he remonstrated with me at the dismantling of his fort, and the tardiness of the landowners in the payment of their dues, now that he had no longer power to imprison and to torture: and all this with so much good humour, that I could not be angry with him, and with the air of a man, who had been deeply injured, complaining of the deprivation of an established right, while in fact he was the son of a highwayman, who would have not the least scruple to enrich himself at the expense of his neighbour, should opportunity offer or powerful friends protect him.

The Sikh Chief is dead to the voice of honour, shame, or affection, as long as his own interests are affected: ideas of justice he has none, except that the strongest has a right to appropriate, and that it is the privilege of the weakest to submit:

For why, because the good old rule,
Sufficeth him, the simple plan,
That they should take, who have the power,
And they should keep, who can.

Dissensions with his wives, or his brothers, occupy his youth and manhood, and in his old age, he is obliged to divide his property among his own sons, who take vengeance upon him for his conduct to his own father: his hand has been against all, and the hands of all have been against him, and it is only by the number of his family, his hired menials, his ditch, and walls, that he has held his own and been able to collect the fruits of the earth in the season of harvest: it is only by force of arms and by bloodshed, that he has been enabled to maintain the boundaries of his own villages, and it was no unusual sight to see forts erected within musket-shot of each other to maintain a disputed boundary.

Were no others but themselves affected by this unsettled state of things, it would be comparatively a matter of indifference, if these fields were estates in the English sense of the word, cultivated by the owner's tenants or servants: so long as their haunts were not extended beyond their own boundary, the world at large would be unaffected. within the limits of his own jungle the wild beast may be allowed his pleasure, his ravages are confined to himself, and those of his own kind. But in estimating the injurious effect of the state of things, it must be borne in mind, that these fields comprehend only the share of the produce, which immemorial usage has reserved to the Law of Government as the protector of the soil,

leading generally to the insolvency and destruction of the Dynasty. The continuation of such grants can be in no way incumbent even upon an hereditary successor, and if so, what shall be said of the grants made by local Rulers, whose ephemeral connection generally ended in their own catastrophe, who were unable to preserve their own? And if such is the tenure upon actual grants, what right can remain to the deliberate plunderers and appropriators of the sources of public revenue during a season of convulsion? Such however is the Sikh Sardar, his right is founded on no grant he is the son of a successful freebooter, who ousted and perhaps slew the subordinate of the former Governor, and he has as much claim to the Government share of the produce, as the Highlander may have to the excise duties of a country, of which his grandfather may have in former days robbed the Provincial Treasury. The Government of India have taken this view, but its clemency has provided for the gradual, and not immediate extinction of the class, and the lien of the Sikh upon the soil will lapse with the death of the children of the present incumbent. We trust that the same policy may be gradually extended to British India, towards which our relations are more complicated, but to which the grand principle should still extend that the Sovereign's share of the rent should be appropriated only by those who are capable as well as willing to discharge the duties of the Governor.

We have no sympathy with a Ruler unable to discharge the duties of his high station, with a Sovereign rejected by his subjects. In the words of a modern writer "Sceptres were committed, and Governors were instituted for public protection and public happiness not certainly for the benefit of Rulers or the security of particular Dynasties. No prejudice has less in its favour, and none has been more fatal to the peace of mankind than that which regards a nation of subjects as a family's private inheritance. For, as this opinion induces reigning princes and their courtiers to look on the people as made only to obey them, so when the tide of event has swept them from their thrones, it brings a strong hope for restoration a sense of injury and impriscriptible right, which give the show of justice to fresh disturbances of public order, and rebellions against established authority."

It behoves all those who are concerned in the future Administration of India to consider well these words and to remember well, that the people are the strength of the country that it is apart from duty as well as policy to uphold those whose capability to rule with advantage to their subjects is gone, the spawn of the moment who would have been swept away long since but for the fortuitous interference of our Power, who are drones for good but can be wasps for evil who are incapable of giving assistance as many a war has fully shown, but are capable of annoying and who

without one quality to recommend them, are freed from the restraint of all law, and are allowed to fatten on the revenue alienated from the Government, which has the protecting of all.

My remarks apply to measures and not to men, and what I now write is not for the empty lamblation of individuals; but some account of the measures adopted for bringing this Province under the system of the British Government is necessary to conclude the history of the country. By the treaty of March, 1846, the whole of the Jalandhar Doab, both hill and plain, and without reservation, was ceded to Great Britain. A Commissioner and Assistant* were appointed to go into the land and settle it, build up the form of justice, where it formerly did not exist, smooth down asperities, and reconcile affections, settle revenue, and punish crime, report upon facts, and assign land for military cantonments, and all this, in the month of April, in a houseless country. When once the machinery is set a-going, it requires but system, judgment, and regularity to carry on the details of Civil Government, but in a newly-ceded Province, we had to create where nothing previously existed, to collect together the heterogeneous components, to meet the thousand and one calls upon time and resources. To those, who are inclined to underestimate the laborious duties of Officers thus employed, we recommend that their judgment be suspended, till personal experience has enabled them to form an opinion.

Much has been done within the last two years, though much still remains undone. A light assessment of the revenue of the country is a blessing, which has been widely appreciated, and the benefit of which will not perish with the term of the contract. Peace has been restored to the borders of a country, which never knew a season pass without a foray and blood-bath; the boundaries of every village have been permanently demarcated, and all cause for future contention on that head removed. Straight and wide lines of roads lead in every direction from river to river, and the abolition of all restraint on trade, the security of property and person, and the opening wide the means of communication, have given new life to commerce. Towns are being re-built, and, as the den of the robber and the lawless is cleared away, the rest-house for the traveller and the residence of peaceful men spring up in the plain. All forts and defensible places, capable of resisting the police, saving such as are required for the use of Government, have been dismantled, and their materials sold into the hands of the agriculturist for the construction of granaries and walls; truly, and in deed, the sword has been turned into the ploughshare, and the spear into the pruning-hook. The plundering Sikh has quietly returned to his patrimonial acres, and the common report has gone forth trumpet-toned into

* The Commissioner was John Lord Lawrence. The Assistants were Robert Cust, Sir Herbert Edwards, and Edward Lake.

every village, into every corner of the country, that the doors of Justice are open to all, that, as none are so high, but that they must bend their head to it, so none are so low, but they may crawl to its threshold. Crime against the person or property scarcely exists, and the state of the internal peace of this newly conquered Province might vie with that of any in India. The thunders of our artillery at Sobn on still ring too loudly in the ears of the population, and personal fear of their Rulers, who have destroyed the Khalsa, is still sufficient to deter from plunder and robbery, while the European system of Criminal Justice has not been sufficiently long established to allow of the introduction of the social art of potty larceny, which flourishes so plentifully under its auspices. Widow burning and female infanticide, if not entirely suppressed, are at least known and admitted to be offences against God and man, which will assuredly be punished, and no supposed custom of family or precept of Religion will be admitted in defence of an action, which is in itself a breach of the first great principles of our nature. Nor have the minor arts of peace been forgotten. School for the instruction of the mind, and public hospitals for the cure of bodily ailments, have been established by the liberality of Government in both of the great towns, as nuclei from which in due time we trust, that the healing principle of both may spread over the whole country, and be available to the poorest inhabitant.

In matters of Policy the policy of Government has been marked with liberality and straightforwardness and freedom to all to profess their own faith, to worship the Deity in the way in which it seemed best to them, has been proclaimed. After a violent suspension of fifty years, the outward ceremonies of the Mahometan Religion are openly professed and any interdiction upon the slaughter of hinc, which might have previously existed, has been removed, at the same time the taxes upon the Hindu shrines have been remitted, and all connection of Government with either faith dissolved, a Protestant mission has been established, and the principles of toleration which are extended to all, are demanded and enforced from all.

The treatment of the numerous claimants of the County of the Supreme Government, the assigners of the Land Revenue and the other religious and secular dependents of the former Rulers has been just, and yet tempered with mercy. That a moiety of the Revenue of the country could be permitted to remain alienated in favour of the Priests and servants of a foreign power was out of the question, but that the right of each should be examined on its own merits, and that specially and that a number of individuals should not heedlessly be deprived of the means of existence, was a subject worthy of the consideration of a great Government. And although the lavish prodigality of the corrupt Lahore Government for the last four years rendered large assumptions necessary, and

the fond hopes of some idle sycophants and crafty Mendicants have thereby been blasted, yet still the principle, upon which the decisions of Government were grounded, will be admitted by all capable of giving an opinion on the subject, to be as liberal as they are unquestionably equitable. Upon the same principle an unpalatable but necessary lesson has been read to the descendants of the original Khulsa, the sons of the robber chiefs, who pulled down the pillars of the Mahometan Empire, that they must remain as peaceful subjects liable to the same rule as their neighbours, or not remain at all: that the possession of Forts, Cannon and Troops of armed men are the privileges of Government alone and quite incompatible with the position of good subjects. The equally unpalatable lesson has been read to them, and practically inculcated, that the producer of the rich gifts of the soil has rights as well as the consumer, that the World was not made for an upstart and ignorant Aristocracy, and that, under a centralizing and paternal Government, strong to put down internal commotion, strong to meet foreign incursions, while all will be maintained in their just rights, none will be allowed to trench upon the rights of others.

Such are the leading provisions, which have been made for the welfare of the people who have been transferred to British rule, meaning by the people the agricultural and commercial population; the sinews of the strength of a nation, and who ought to be the first care of an enlightened Government. In their eyes, in their unbought exclamations let the question of the popularity of the British Government be read, and those, that read truly, will find that the rule of Great Britain has been hailed as a blessing, and that, in spite of all its failings and shortcomings, it is still so esteemed. We care not for, we seek not the approbation of, the aristocratical spawn, the sons of the freebooters, who have been sent back to their hereditary duties of the plough by the operation of the new system. As we seek not an opinion on the purity of the British Parliament from the sinecurist, and borough-monger, so we ask not the good opinion of the Provincial Governor, who has been relieved of the charge of Provinces, which he was utterly unable to manage to the advantage of the people, or the seditious Priest, who has been compelled to disgorge the Revenues of the State, which he had misappropriated. The memory of former exactions is still fresh in the recollection of all; the blessing of peace within the borders, and of protection from personal violence is one, that is fully estimated by the generation, which has felt the misery of their absence, though little thought of, if not entirely forgotten by those, who never saw their fields harried, who never wept over their plundered homestead. But the rule of Great Britain conveys higher and more positive blessings, and we may feel confident, that the impartial administration of Justice, and the extension of the means of civilization, bringing plenty and

enlightenment in their train, will be appreciated as benefits by the children's children of those who trembled at the distant echo of our artillery, long after the memory of the time of the Sikhs, and the eighty years of confusion subsequent to the upbreathing of the Mahometan Empire have passed away, or are hushed down by grey hairs as the annals of the past. And the names of John Lawrence and his faithful followers in the noble but arduous and mighty work of bringing order and harmony out of the chaos of anarchy, which has resulted from the despotism and misrule of unnumbered ages, will be enshrined in the memories of a grateful posterity.

MOSHYPUR IN THE PUNJAB, 1847

I wrote the above in 1847, just forty years ago, and to the best of my knowledge have never read it since. As I read it now, the green fields and luxuriant Mango-trees of my beautiful District, Moshyapur, my first charge, rise up in my memory, and all my old friends seem moving around me, although, without doubt, with rare exceptions, all those, with whom I then held converse, have long ago been consumed on the funeral pile, if Hindu, or put away in their narrow shallow graves, if Mahometan. These were the Patriarchal days of British Rule in India when the solitary District Officer dwelt alone among his people without guards and by personal influence, a compound of love and fear, maintained his authority, and, when the time came for such a Ruler to leave his District, tears were shed by both the Ruler and the people. Things are changed now, and we have entered the legal period. The Law is administered, but there is scant sympathy between the Ruler and the people.

And the people have changed. In the District above described no one had seen an Englishman before, and the people, with whom the ruler came into contact, were Indians pure and simple, and the Chiefs and Nobles of that period had no vision of a half-civilization. I have sat holding friendly intercourse with Priests, who had killed every one of their female blood relations for many generations, and yet were a good kind of fellow—sociable and civil, and I have conversed with a great Sovereign who allowed neither Prostitute, nor Poet Office, nor Inquest Shop, nor Butcher's Shop in his dominions, and could not see the sin of Female Infanticide, or the innocence of eating Beef.

into contact with the decaying, but not extinct, elements of Native Government. I had traversed the whole of the Panjáb in the first year of annexation, including Kashmir, being on intimate terms with the Sovereign of that country. At another period of my career I was well acquainted with the independent Chiefs of Bundelkhand and the subject of the respective merits and demerits of Native Government had been constantly under my consideration.

I freely admitted the blots and blemishes of our Anglicized system, the over-centralization, the influx of very inferior English men, and the consequent partial exclusion of Natives from ordinary posts, and the crushing of all enthusiasm and talent by closing the higher ranks of Office against the Natives, which was a Political necessity for holding the country. Having lived through the period of the great Sepoy Mutiny, I knew that the Empire had been maintained by the fact, that every important post was held by an Englishman, who would die at his post, but who could make no compromise with a rebel.

The hungry class of Native Officials, who long for a lazy, easy-going life, such as that of a Member of a Native Council, or the petty Ruler of a fat District, would greatly prefer the re-introduction of a Native State; but I doubted very much, whether the owner and cultivator of land, and the better commercial and manufacturing classes, would entertain the same preference. A feeling of Nationality might incline them in that direction, but when it came to the point, they would draw back. Sir Dinkar Rao told me that, if the people of Agra were annexed this year to a Native State, they would be sorry for it two years hence. The worst type of a British administration is preferable to the best-governed Native State. The British system will probably improve, and at any rate endure some little time: the Native system, if good for the moment by the accident of one good Ruler, or able Prime Minister, will relapse in a few years to a worse state by the demise of the one, or the expulsion of the other.

In a Native State there is no distinction between the Legislative and the Executive-Power: there is no Legislature at all, no inviolate Courts of Justice: little attempt at Education, no complete religious freedom: no certain property in land, no enlightened commercial principles, not one of the civilized elements of Civil Government. It is reported by the Political Agent of Central India, that in the large kingdom ruled over by Maharaja Holkar, there is no written Code of law, and the decrees of Judicial Officers are reversed at pleasure by the Head of the Executive.

Since the annexation of Oudh hundreds of cultivators have flocked back to their Native villages from the English Districts, in which they had taken refuge. This certainly suggests in some degree the estimation of a very numerous class of Natives.

Admitting that the highest stations under Government are closed

to Natives, it must be recollected that Government Service is not everything, that under British rule a career is open to the Merchant, the Manufacturer, the Lawyer, the Landed Proprietor, and the Contractor, and many other honourable and lucrative Professions.

If we cannot attempt to give India as good a Government as lies within our power, we had better take to our ships. What would be said in Europe, if we allowed India to be governed on low principles, as a kind of "culture-enterprize," such as the Dutch maintain in Java. We must act up to our lights and the Genius of our Institutions. I have heard the Penal Code abused, but, if we are to have a Criminal Law at all, it is as well to have one based on sound principles and set out with logical accuracy.

In Europe India and the British rule have become synonymous. Is nothing to be said in the cause of morality when a comparison is made between the two systems? Those, who, during the last twenty years, have seen the Augean stables of the Palaces of Delhi, Lahore, and Lucknow, emptied and exposed to public gaze, may perhaps doubt as to the excellence of pure Native institutions. Yet the Pension List of a newly-annexed Province, such as the Panjáb, be examined, and the varieties of licentious, adulterous, and incestuous connexions be considered, the issue of which have to be provided for. Let the trail left behind by an extinct Native State of courtezans, fiddlers, astrologers, priests, dancers, and still lower grades of infamy, be examined. In the last Census of these Provinces, two thousand eunuchs are reported; perhaps in the next decade, owing to the extinction of the palaces of Delhi and Lucknow, this wretched class may cease to exist.

And it is in vain to say that Delhi and Lucknow are exceptionally bad; where all depends on the accident of one irresponsible Ruler, and there are no recognized principles, all may be equally bad. When there is the happy accident of an honest and able minister, the fate of Dinkur Rao and Salar Jung is always to be anticipated.

I do not, in conclusion, admit that, in the estimation of right-thinking Natives, or of Natives, who are able to form an opinion at all, there can be a general well-grounded preference for a Native State of the ordinary type, nor do I think that, after admitting all our shortcomings, there can be any doubt as to the vast superiority of the British system, and I write this without any object but that of recording my opinion on the eve of leaving India for ever.

Another twenty years have passed away since I wrote this, and freed from all connection with India, and with nothing to hope for from the authorities, who rule India, and still less to thank them for (as I served the State faithfully for a quarter of a century less by, a few weeks, both in times of peace and times of war, and got

nothing, not even a Pension), I have had my attention constantly fixed on the subject of our duty to British India. I visited the French Provinces in Algeria and Tunisia, and looked carefully into their system. I went down to the Caspian Sea to find out how Russia managed her affairs in Trans-Caucasia, and I studied by careful reading her methods in her Provinces on the Oxus. Twice have I carefully considered the Turkish system of domination on the spot at the interval of thirty years, in Constantinople, Palestine, and Egypt, recording my experiences in each case, which will be found in this volume.

I have had leisure to make myself better acquainted with the whole of India than was possible, when wholly occupied in the affairs of one portion. The result which I have arrived at is that, in spite of all its faults, all its shortcomings, all the selfish prejudices of the British interloper, all the crude aspirations of the Native Pseudo-Patriot, at no period of her long history has India had so sympathetic, so self-restrained, and so well-intentioned a Government: under no other European or Asiatic Ruler could this hard but necessary lesson of Law-abiding, Religious Toleration, Commercial Freedom, Individual Liberty, and Impartial Justice be learnt, and, until that lesson has been thoroughly learnt, any scheme of Political Independence can be nothing but a dream of Blood, Confusion, and Destruction of all Moral and Material Progress.

LONDON, 1887.

P.S. I subjoin extracts from the last Reports* of Sir Lepel Griffin, Agent to the Viceroy of Central India, who received his training under our system in the Panjāb:

"Gwalior and Indore are exactly those, in which the rulers spend the least on administration and most neglect all those requirements which we specially associate with progress and civilization. In Gwalior hardly anything is devoted to education, sanitation, or dispensaries, and there is scarcely a metalled road in Gwalior territory, which has not been directly constructed by English engineers. To maintain certain roads in his territories which the British Government considers essential for the commerce of the country and military requirements, the Mahatajah gives an annual grant of 50,000 rupees, but this is practically less than we are compelled to spend on repairs on the single road from Agra to Indore, which mostly passes within Gwalior territory, and which was until the construction of the railway the principal line of communication between Bombay and Northern India. It is still a road of much military and commercial importance, and having been freed of transit dues forms a check on the exorbitant rates levied on through traffic by Gwalior and Indore."

The section relating to Gwalior refers to still more serious matters:

"Those districts of His Highness Scindiah, that are under the direct control of his officials, give little cause for trouble or complaint to the

Government, although the administration is lax and apathetic. Those, however, which are given in Jagir to his great courtiers are constant sources of anxiety. Neglected by the grantees, who reside at the Capital, they are made over to rack renting agents, who support their authority by Afghan and Mahratta mercenaries, who are the scourge of the country side. I have lately been able to deal a blow, which will be long felt in Malwa, at one of these evil communities. Damodar Panth, the agent of the Sirdar Appa Sahib Angria, one of the principal nobles of the Maharaja, has long been notorious for his open encouragement and support of crime in his master's Jagir of Neori. Having sufficient proof of his complicity in numerous cases of dacoity and robbery, I have, with the full consent of the Maharaja, caused his arrest, and he is now being tried on these serious charges, while the bands of dacoits which had been allowed with impunity to plunder that part of Malwa, finding their shelter in Neori, are being broken up. In one serious case in which the people of a Gwalior village on the Bhopal border destroyed boundary marks and assaulted the British boundary officials, I have been compelled to impose a fine of 1000 rupees, as an example was urgently required."

In the adjoining State of Indore the principal evil noted is the perversion or miscarriage of justice.

"I have had during the past year to remonstrate with the Durbar on many occasions and in strong terms against actions, which appeared to me to have been taken against individuals unjustly and in defiance of the commonest principles of justice and equity. Chief among these cases is a suit, which has been wilfully protracted for many months against opium merchants of high character and position, on whom fanciful claims as indebted to the confiscated estate of an ancient minister of the Durbar have been made. Against the procedure followed in this case I have had several times to protest. The judicial administration of Indore must be held to be deteriorating and not improving. The reforms instituted by Sir Madhava Rao are being gradually abandoned from motives of false economy. The separate district judges appointed have been reduced, and judicial and executive functions have again been entrusted to the charge of overworked and incompetent Nazims. If I am unable to say much that is good of the two great Mahratta States, included in Central India, this is no matter for surmise. In the Rajpoot States, which abound in Central India, and which are rather oligarchical than autocratic, there is on the part of the chiefs a far more kindly and unselfish attitude towards the brotherhood and the people generally than in a Maratha State: the despotic egoism of which is fatal to all progress and civilization. The ruler considers the soul of the State as his own, the people are his slaves, the entire revenue is his private pocket money, to hoard, lavish, or waste, without any right of remonstrance or complaint on the part of his subjects. The disease of such government is chronic and intolerable. It is impossible that they can be other than evil, and it is a false and foolish policy to use towards them the language of false compliment and to pretend that they are other than irretrievably bad, until a better civilization and the example of the British Government shall have demonstrated that the rights of princes have no existence apart from the rights of the people."

CHAPTER V.

MODERN INDIGENOUS LITERATURE OF BRITISH INDIA.

Under the provisions of Act XXV. of 1857 (of British India) it was enacted that all books printed in India should be registered, and quarterly returns made to the Government by the eight subordinate Governments and Administrations. Some of these find their way to English Libraries. The interest of these returns is twofold, political and literary; it is with the latter aspect alone that I propose to occupy myself.

British India presents a phenomenon quite unparalleled in ancient or modern times: a Press entirely free (so long as no offence is committed against public morals or private character) in a country deprived of the smallest portion of political freedom, with the additional complication of multiplicity of religious beliefs and plurality of languages and written Characters. An imperfectly educated people, entirely devoid of the critical faculty or the means of testing the truth of statements, swallow what they read, and the understanding of the reading portion of the community would be pretty well confused, if they took in even a small portion of the annual supply of printed matter.

The subjects may once for all be divided into:

- I. Biography.
- II. Fiction (including Drama).
- III. History, often connected with the foregoing.
- IV. Linguistic knowledge.
- V. Law and general administration.
- VI. Medicine.
- VII. Poetry.
- VIII. Philosophy.
- IX. Religion.
- X. Science.
- XI. Mathematics.
- XII. Logic.
- XIII. Geography.
- XIV. Politics.
- XV. *Voyages and Travels.*

There is a very large proportion of very indifferent poetry of a bombastic, turgid, and rummy-pummy style, such as a man of taste.

would reject, and tinged occasionally with indecencies, which a man of delicacy would decline to read. We believe that in the early literary stages of all nations poetry has preceded prose, and poetry of a jingling and monotonous character.

The works are either original, or translations, or reprints: they are printed or lithographed either at the expense of the State, private individuals, or speculating publishers at many different places, in editions of various sizes, but of fair execution, and at moderate prices: such a thing as an *édition de luxe* is unknown. In some cases the books are illustrated by wood-cuts: some books are bilingual, or even trilingual.

I now proceed to review each Province separately.

The Punjab I have before me the catalogues of 1871 and 1872 and a review on the former by the Director of Public Instruction. The languages used are English, Persian, Arabic, Sanskrit, and the Vernaculars of the Province: Pishtu for the Trans Indus Districts, old Panjabi or Gurmukhi, Hindi tani or Urdu, and Hindi. This Province extends from the River Indus to the Jammu, and comprises a population of nineteen millions, all in the enjoyment of an ancient Oriental civilization, and professing the Mahometan faith of the two types, Shia and Suni, or the Hindu cult, with its Sikh variety, and (to a very limited extent) Christianity in its two developments of Protestantism and Popery. It may be proper to remark, that in this Province there is a prolific Government Press for printing Reports and treatises connected with the Administration: there is an active and all-pervading State Education Department, issuing Educational works: and there are several independent bodies of Protestant Missionaries, who consider it part of their method to work the Press so as to get at the millions. Thus in 1871 no less than three hundred and thirty-four works were published, and in 1872 two hundred and eighty-two works.

In these practical days the title of a prose work conveys a fair idea of the subject of the volume, but it was not so formerly in England, and it is not so now in India. The fanciful and grotesque names entered in the catalogues are quite useless as guides to the subject, even to those, who from a knowledge of the language know very well the meaning of the words.

It may be added that there was a large number of works which come under the head of Periodicals, as the Press throws off not only newspapers but magazines: reports of learned Societies, series of publications: the people of India are highly imitative, and readily adopt the prevailing fashion of the Ruling Power in this particular.

Anything, that approaches so nearly the deepest interests of the human race as the religious creed, which attaches them to the unknown future, and the imperfectly comprehended Creator and Ruler of the Universe, must always awaken the deepest sympathy and

Of biography and fiction, which go so far to educate a people to higher aspirations, there is absolutely nothing. The great legends of the nation, which might be re-set in a fashion to suit the altered civilization of the century, and play the part of the *Chansons de Roland* and the *Legende d'Arthur* in Europe, are still buried in the mass of ridiculous and often indecent absurdities. Of History there is just the germ of better things: a sketch of the history of the Mahometans to the fall of the Abbasides; a history of Kashmīr from an industrial point of view: and a history of one of the districts of the Panjāb.

The publication of linguistic knowledge emanates from the Education Department, and those of general administration from the Government Press: they are typical of the Anglo-Indian mode of handling these departments, and rather out of sympathy with the feelings of the people.

It is doubtful whether, from an intellectual or religious point of view, much is gained to the interest of mankind by the sudden and wide expansion given to the Mahometan type of publications, which are of the worst literary and moral style; but the advantages of a free Press must be taken with its corresponding disadvantages. We must be liberal all round. It is also worthy of remark that there are no books or pamphlets on political subjects whatsoever: this development remains for the next generation. I wish that I could notice in this Province collections of indigenous ballads, such as float from mouth to mouth among the people. I should liked to have seen Vocabularies of local words and idioms, collections of proverbs or lists of tribes and races, collected from the Brahmans, and places of pilgrimage. I wish that I could have found books of local legends; tales of the mountains and rivers. Those who have lived long among the people, know how necessary it is to have the mind strung as it were to the pitch of the popular feelings: touched gently by the skilful hand, the chords then give out that strange music, which is found in the legends and ballads of an ancient people.

I pass now to the great Province, miscalled the North-Western, that occupies the region which lies betwixt the rivers Ganges and Jamna, and the adjoining Districts on both sides. Here the people speak and write the Urdu or camp-language, known as Hindustāni, in its perfection, and alongside of it is the Hindi and Braj Bhākka. Both the Urdu and Hindi are strong Vernaculars, capable of great development.

The out-turn of publications during the year 1872 amounts to 243, amidst a population of thirty one millions, partly Hindu, partly Mahometan, with a few Christians, rich and comfortable, and with some very large cities of world-wide repute, such as Banāras and Agra. An elaborate State-Education system embraces the whole community. No provincial Report accompanies the dry

registers. I meet with works in Persian, Urdu, Sanskrit, Hindi, Arabic and English. A late Lieutenant-Governor of the Province was one of the most enlightened patrons of learning that India has ever known, and himself a distinguished author and Oriental scholar. Among the residents and contributors to the works of the year are Syud Ahmed Khan Bahidar, C.S.I., and Siva Pershad, C.S.I. The names of the following books suggest conflicting thoughts.

- A pleasing account of Mahomet, Urdu.
- A Treatise on Arabic Grammar, Urdu.
- Translation of the Mahabharat, Hindi.
- History of the Andamans (the Conyct Settlement), Urdu.
- Practical Surgery, Urdu.
- Commentary on the Epistle to the Colossians, Urdu.
- War of the Goddess Chandi with the Giants, Sanskrit.
- Technical terms used by a Fakir, Urdu.
- Ceremonial of Mahometan Rites, Urdu.
- The object of second Marriage, Urdu.
- Rules for Letter-writing, Urdu and Persian.
- Treatise on Astrology, Sanskrit.
- Poems in praise of Mahomet and other saints, Urdu.
- Vaccination, Hindi.
- The Pious Orphan, English.
- A Treatise on Logic, Sanskrit.
- Poems of Shirin, Nasir Ali, etc., Persian, Urdu.
- The Koran, Arabic, Persian and Urdu.
- Treatise on Electro-plating, Urdu.
- The Dart of Love, an amorous Poem, Urdu.
- A Hand-book of Etiquette, Arabic.
- Repentance, Faith and the Gospel, English.
- Verses in praise of Vishnu, Hindi.
- Directions for purification from defilements contracted by Births and Deaths, Sanskrit, 1000 copies, an unusually large edition for this Province.
- Story of Krishna and the Gopi, Hindi, 1,000 copies.
- Stanzas in praise of the God, Siva, Sanskrit and Hindi, 500 copies.

To the above must be added numerous official publications of the Government in the different departments, educational treatises, pamphlets of the Civil Engineering College, and numerous excellent periodicals.

It must needs be, that the tares should grow up with the wheat. But the juxtaposition of astrology with photography, the most ancient delusion with the latest practical discovery, of Krishna with Mahomet and Paul, of rules regarding purification with vaccination, suggests subjects for deep and anxious reflection. Did such material facilities for propagating error ever exist in any

country at any previous period of the World's history, as are now supplied by a free Press in British India? One political treatise appears in the Province; but the name *Narcissus*, and the language, English, take from it all interest, as it is probably the outburst of a splenetic Briton, who could not get the job done which he desired.

I pass on to British Burma, and I find thirteen publications amidst a population of two and a half millions, speaking the Burmese language and Buddhist in Religion, and lying outside of the great current of civilization. The following works are suggestive.

Songs in praise of the New Umbrella for					
the Dagon Pagoda, Burmese	...	...	300	copies at	Rs. 2 each.
Religious exhortations, having regard to					
the transitory nature of Life, Pali,					
Burmese	...	...	350	"	"
A vocabulary, Burmese	...	...	1000	"	"
Body and Mind, Pali	...	...	1200	"	at Rs. 1 each.
Religion, Pali, Burmese	...	...	500	"	"
Prince Woujaya, Fiction, Burmese	...	...	500	"	"
Burmese Common Prayers, Burmese	...	...	1000	"	at Rs. 2 each.

Here we have the spectacle of a nation being aroused from the sleep of centuries by the diffusion of such extraordinary intellectual food as the praise of a new umbrella, and a treatise on body and mind: the large issues and high price suggest a brisk demand for the wares.

For the Central Provinces the returns of three quarters of 1872 only have come to hand; these Provinces contain a population of nine millions, speaking the Muráthi and Hindi languages, chiefly Hindu, in the centre of India, and lying on the very high road of civilization, being in contact with all the great Provinces of British India. The returns show five publications, including

A collection of Incantations, Rules for astrological calculations, 500 copies at Rs. 3-2 per copy.

All the rest are issues from the Educational Press. So the only use made in this province of the Press by private individuals has been to propagate the debasing practices of Incantation and Astrology.

I now come to that vast Province, which has been more than a century under British rule, with a population of sixty-six millions, Hindu and Mahomedan, with the vast Anglo-English metropolis of Calcutta, and the two cities of Patna and Dacca. The wealth of a portion of this Province is enormous: the extent of civilization and education in parts is very considerable; but there is not wealth or civilization everywhere: and some outlying districts are behind the rest of India. The returns are exceedingly bulky, and no general Report for the whole Province has reached me. There cannot be less

Gita Govinda, a well-known book, a great deal of it very obscene, Sanskrit, 1000 copies, 8 annas

Seven hundred verses and a long hymn, in praise of the Goddess Durga, Sanskrit, 1000 copies

An interesting collection of prayers and hymns of the Brahma Samaj; English and Bangali.

Monthly Journal of the Society for preserving the ancient Religion of India, 700 copies

A poetical love tale, with much that is indecent, Bangali, 1000 copies

Translations of the Meghaduta or Cloud Messenger, Bangali

A treatise on the evils of Polygamy, Bangali, 1000 copies

A treatise on the religious duties of the followers of Islam, 1000 copies

A description of Krishna, Uriya, 500 copies

Collection of short essays, by native female writers, Bangali, 1000 copies

A Novel designed to inculcate female chastity, Bangali, 1000 copies

An obscene Drama, Bangali, 500 copies

Lives of the Apostles and early saints of the Christian Church, Bangali, 1000 copies

A Novel, showing how a certain man and a widow, being prevented by Hindu law from getting married, committed suicide in the hope of marrying each other in the next world Bangali, 1000 copies

Songs addressed by the God Krishna to his wife to soothe her wounded feelings, Bangali, 750 copies

An adaptation of Pope's Essay on Man, Bangali, 250 copies

Nil Durpin, a drama designed to show the oppression practised by Indigo Planters, Bangali, 1100 copies

Discourse expository of, Brahmoism from the Adi Brahma Samaj Press Bangali, 200 copies

A translation of the Mahabharata, Bangali, 2000 copies

Christian Tracts, Bangali, 5000 copies

Verses on the eight sentiments or emotions. Contains much that is indecent, Bangali, 1000 copies

Description of the distress of young women married to old Kulin Brahmins Bangali, 1000 copies

The religious exercises enjoined by Brahmoism, Bangali, 1000 copies

An attempt to show the sufficiency of intuition as a religious guide, Bangali, 500 copies

A collection of proverbs, English, 1000 copies

Bunyan's Pilgrim's Progress Urdu, 2000 copies

Poem describing the loves of Krishna, Uriya, 1000 copies

Poem representing a goose as employed to carry messages from

the Milkmaids to the God Krishna, Sanskrit and Bangali, 100 copies.

Songs descriptive of Krishna's dalliances, Uriya, 1000 copies.

Translation of Thomas à Kempis's Imitation of Christ, Bangali 500 copies.

Lament in verse on the death of Lord Mayo, and description of his funeral, Bangali, 1000 copies.

A book detailing the infidelity of wives. Obscene from beginning to end, Bangali, 1000 copies. Another book, even worse, obscene throughout, 2000 copies.

The difficulties of a man, who has to please two wives, Bangali, 1000 copies.

Rewards and punishments in a future state, the praise of those who engage in warfare against Infidels, 1000 copies.

Roman Catholic Hymns for children, English, 500 copies.

A collection of Religious Mantra, Sanskrit, 1100 copies.

A treatise against Atheism, Buddhism and Idolatry, Sanskrit, 1000 copies.

A defence of Polygamy, Sanskrit, 1000 copies.

After deducting the contributions of the State and Missionary Presses, such is a fair sample of the out-turn of the literature of the Bangali in the year 1872. The application of an Act, analogous to Lord Campbell's in England, is necessary in many cases, and may possibly have been had recourse to. But the policy of the Government of India is, Gallic-like, not to care for such things, and the entire absence of political brochures justifies the wisdom of the *poco curante* policy, not however a very moral one.

I come now to the little protected kingdom of Malsir in the centre of the Madras Presidency with a population of one million, chiefly Hindu. The out-turn of publications for 1872 amounted to 50 works. This Province lies out of the busy highway of civilization. The languages employed are Karnata, Sanskrit, English, Tamil, Persian and Urdu. Here also we find:

Verses in praise of Vishnu, Sanskrit and Karnata, 1000 copies.

Prayers to Ganesha, Karnata, 1000 copies.

Morality, Karnata, 2000 copies.

Catechism of Wesleyan Methodists, Karnata, 8000 copies.

Stories about Rama, Sita, and the Gopi, Karnata, 4500 copies.

The Life of Mahomet, Urdu, 500 copies.

The thousand names of Vishnu, Sanskrit, 2000 copies.

Thus we find that in this small Province the great genius of the Press is with few exceptions yoked to the car of Idolatry: it may, indeed, be said, of the vast majority of the issues of the Malsir Press, that it would have been better for mankind, that the power of distributing knowledge in a readable form had not existed.

The returns from the Madras Province come next under review. About 350 works were registered in the English, Sanskrit, Tamil,

Telugu, Malayálim, Karnáta, Persian, and Urdu languages. The State and the Missionary bodies have extensively influenced the out-turn of this Province. The population amounts to thirty-one millions, Hindu chiefly, with some Mahometans, and a large number of Christians. The town of Madras is the administrative and intellectual centre of the Peninsula. The population is distinct and separate from the Northern Provinces of India, in custom, sentiment and language. The Tamil is a strong and superior Vernacular, capable of unlimited development. Setting aside for the time the State and Missionary publications, which are homogeneous with those of other Provinces of British India, it is interesting to watch the tendencies of the native intellect and aspirations as evidenced in the still small voice of the Press.

Strings of spiritual Pearls, a book of sacred lyrics, verses and dramatic acts; but whether in the praise of Christianity, Krishna, or Mahomet is uncertain, Tamil.

History of the sixty-three devotees of Siva, also a book of lyrics, Tamil, 1000 copies.

A Satirical piece, abounding in obscene language and matter, Tamil, 1250 copies.

The story of Rama in beautiful verse, Telugu, 1000 copies.

A love tale of the daughter of a King and her tutor, Sanskrit, 1000 copies.

Verses in praise of Siva. The writer runs down ignorance, Telugu, 1000 copies.

Tract on the various matters of meritorious devotion, Malayálim, 2000 copies.

Morning, noon, and evening prayers for Brahmans, Sanskrit, 600 copies.

Tract advocating idol-worship, and the truth of the incarnations of God, Tamil, 400 copies.

Astrology, Tamil, 1050 copies to be distributed gratis.

Monthly Magazine for the Hindu, treating of religious and sectarian matters, Tamil, 600 copies.

Collection of proverbs, not in good taste, Tamil.

Book of sacred verses in praise of the Virgin Mary, with comment or paraphrase, Tamil, 1000 copies.

Astrology and divination, for popular use, and commanding a ready sale, Telugu, 1,000 copies.

Translations of the Mahabharata, Tamil and Telugu.

Tracts in verse in honour of Siva, Tamil, 500 copies.

Hymns in praise of Vishnu, original work 300 years old, with a modern commentary, Sanskrit, 300 copies.

A coloured photograph of an idol and the assembly of Brahmans chanting the Veda at a feast, 500 copies.

Tract denouncing Christianity, and finding fault with the use of animal food and intoxicating drinks, Tamil, 500 copies.

Illustrated edition of legendary tales of the sixty-three Siva devotees. Some of the illustrations have shocked the feelings of the followers of Vishnu. Tamil, 1000 copies.

Marriage of Siva and Parvati, entertaining and erotic, Telugu, 1000 copies.

Marriage of Krishna and Rukmani. Poems, said to be four centuries old, Telugu, 1500 copies.

Astronomy, the horoscope expanded. The author lived 1900 years ago, Sanskrit, 2500 copies.

Melodies on the adventures of Krishna, Sanskrit, 1000 copies.

A standard work on amatory poetry, Sanskrit, 1000 copies.

A prose tale of a demon with 1000 heads, Telugu, 1000 copies.

A century of easy verses in praise of the Man-Lion Avatar of Vishnu, Telugu, 2000 copies.

I have passed over endless prose and poetical works on Vishnu and Siva. The Mahometans are silent in this Province, and the Hindu idolatry monopolizes the Press, with a sprinkling (not excessive) of indecent erotics; the religious works of the Hindu insensibly glide into obscene details.

The last Province on our list is that of Bombay, small in area and heterogeneous in population, but presumed to be advanced in civilization. The returns for only three quarters of the year 1872 have reached us; but the out-turn of the year may be estimated at 365 works. The population of the Province amounts to fourteen millions, Hindu, Mahometans, Christians, Jews, with an important Parsi element. The languages used are Urdu, Persian, Arabic, English, Gujarati, Kachehi, Sanskrit, Marathi, Karnata, Sindhi, Pahlavi, Zind, and Portuguese. Of the living Vernaculars, the Marathi, Gujarati and Sindhi are strong languages of the great Arian stock, quite capable of holding their own, and susceptible of development; of the other languages mentioned, some are aliens, some extinct, and some weak Vernaculars, which may, probably, in the struggle for linguistic life, that accompanies an epoch of literary development, be absorbed by their stronger neighbours.

The State, the Missionary bodies, and the British community have great influence here: there is a free intercourse with the coasts of Asia and Africa: a large community of Parsi aliens have become domiciled, still preserving a distinct Religion and distinct customs, though they have sacrificed their Vernacular. I might therefore have expected a better class of works from the independent Press of this Province. I find however the following:

Legendary sketch of, the founder of a school of the Vedant philosophy, Gujarati, 1000 copies.

Translation of Gil Blas, Marathi, 1000 copies.

Bhagavat Puran, the sports of Krishna, Gujarati, 1000 copies.

Story of a virtuous and loving wife, Gujarati, 1000 copies.

Prayers and hymns addressed to Jain Saints, Gujaráti, 1000 copies.

Lamentation of the Gopi for the absence of Krishna, Gujaráti, 1000 copies.

String of pearls, a compilation of hymns to Jain saints, in Sanskrit, Urdu, Gujaráti, and Magadhi, 1000 copies.

Legendary account of Wallabha, Gujaráti, 3000 copies.

Praise of the River Godávari, Sanskrit, 1000 copies.

Exposure of jugglers' tricks, to undeceive people from their belief in magical arts, Gujaráti, 1000 copies.

Poems describing the miseries of young women married too young, or too old, husbands, Gujaráti, 1000 copies.

Proverbs, Maráthi, 500 copies.

Divination, Gujaráti, 1000 copies.

Drama of the marriage of Siva with Parvati, Sanskrit and Maráthi, 1000 copies.

The seven different ways of reading the Koran, Arabic, Persian, Urdu, 1000 copies.

Legendary account of a Mahometan Saint, Urdu, 1500 copies.

Poetical Riddle, amusing and witty, Gujaráti, 1000 copies.

The Scriptures of the Zoroastrians, Pahlavi and Zend, in Gujaráti written-character, 500 copies.

A farce with a tragical conclusion, Maráthi, 1000 copies.

Poem descriptive of the amours of Krishna with the Gopi, Gujaráti, 1200 copies.

Collection of pleasing songs, chiefly amorous, Gujaráti, 1000 copies.

Genealogy of Brahman families, useful in contracting marriages, Maráthi, 300 copies.

Shah Namah, the ancient Parsi Kings, Gujaráti, 1000 copies.

Drama of Hatim Tai, Urdu, in Gujarati character, 500 copies.

Popular and joyous songs for festival days, Gujaráti, 500 copies.

Poems by Kabir, Gujaráti, 500 copies.

Drama by Kesar Wijaya, a very superior work, free from vulgarisms or indecencies, Gujaráti, 700 copies.

Prayers of a Zoroastrian, Gujaráti, 2000 copies.

Description of the misfortunes prognosticated by the fall of a house-lizard, a superstitious book, Sanskrit and Maráthi, 750 copies.

Calendar, Gujaráti, 1000 copies.

The voice of the people. Songs lamenting the misrule and miseries of the people of the Kachch State, Gujaráti, 1000 copies.

Lament of a poetess for the absence of her beloved husband, Maráthi, 400 copies.

The light of religious elements of the Jain faith, Gujaráti, 550 copies.

Praise of the goddess Kali, Gujaráti, 500 copies.

The Mirror of Health, a medical work, Gujarāṭi, 1000 copies.

Highly amusing farces and stories, Gujarāṭi, 1200 copies.

Tract to warn against swindlers, Gujarāṭi, 1600 copies.

Poem on separation from the beloved, Gujarāṭi, 1000 copies.

Shakespeare's *Julius Cæsar* adapted, Marāṭhi, 1000 copies.

In conclusion I must suggest certain improvements which might be made in the mechanism of the returns. The subject is one of great importance, and each Government and Administration should call upon the head of the Educational Department to give a general *résumé* of the publications of this year, much in the manner adopted by the Panjāb Government. The books should themselves be inspected by competent officers, and opinions given as to the style of the work, both as to language and mode of treatment. Where the contents are decidedly obscene, due warning should be given to the publisher, or proceedings taken under the Code of Criminal Procedure. Copies of these returns are supplied to the learned Societies of the Continent, and it will be a scandal, if this blemish be not removed. Inquiry should be made from the publisher, and notice taken of the rapidity, with which large editions are exhausted, and a system of pecuniary rewards in some shape or other for deserving works should be part of the Educational system of each Province. Authors of merit are proverbially in want of pecuniary assistance, and enterprising publishers are deserving of assistance from the State. And the net should make a clean sweep, and take in all fish. I look in vain for the publications of the Text-Societies of Calcutta and Bombay: were there no issues of their valuable series in 1871?

When I consider the whole subject with reference to the intellectual state of the nation, feelings of humiliation cannot fail to arise. How is it that indecent erotica and discordant religious dogma have monopolized a free Press? It is really a question, whether the Anglo-Indian Government is doing what is just to the people in allowing the wholesale propagation of so much error. The wonderful art of printing, which had remained unrevealed to the Latins and Greeks, was granted to European nations just at the moment, when the state of their intellectual progress enabled them to make a good use of it. But all the slowly-elaborated discoveries of Europe, including those of lithography and photography, are suddenly poured into the lap of a nation deficient in moral culture, which has not undergone the discipline of self-government, and which is unshackled by the control of a superior power. No nation up to this time has been placed in such circumstances. The Anglo-Saxon takes with him his principles of self-government and self-restraint. The inferior races of Europe (I will not specify them) are kept in subjection by the censorship of absolute monarchs, who with their advisers are influenced by the public opinion of other nations and their own feelings of self-

respect The absolute Governments of the first half of this century would have placed nearly the whole of the independent publications of India on the Index Expurgatorius, either as contrary to morals or to true faith, as established by law The great constitutional question then arises. Is the Doctrine of a free Press of universal application, and for the real good of a people backward in intellectual and moral development?

Still we have reason to be proud and to be thankful, that there are absolutely no diatribes against the Government in the form of permanent literature The newspaper Press is also free, and its contents are not unnoticed by the local authorities, but prosecutions under the Press Act are rare, if not non-existent Mark the contrast from the Ireland of the eighteenth century The *saxa indignantia* of pseudo patriots, who could not get the place for which they sued, the fictitious outpourings of statesmen waiting to be bribed, the hostility of religious sectarians intolerant of each other's proper rights, are absolutely non-existent under a strong Government, which maintains the civil and religious freedom of all classes Even the keener and more manly hostility of the Ireland of the nineteenth century is absent also There may come a time when the ruling authorities of India will look back on the returns of the literature of 1872 with regret, and would be willing to compound by the presence of obscenity and idolatry for the absence of political rancour and rebel incendiarism

LONDON, 1873

That time has arrived, and with it the abuse of the liberty of a free Press against the great Government, which alone among European and Asiatic States tolerates its existence Would any person in his senses wish to gag the Press of Ireland? why then do so in India? The warlike classes of India cannot read the class, which reads Newspapers, cannot fight - at any rate a wise Ruler wishes to hear what the people say To stifle a free Press is to deprive a rattlesnake of its warning rattle, without removing the sting at any rate it relieves a man's conscience to abuse the Government Since 1876 Books of impure tendency are not registered, so the evil complained of, though it still exists, is not exposed to view

LONDON, 1887

CHAPTER. VI.

NOTICE OF THE SCHOLARS WHO HAVE CONTRIBUTED TO
THE EXTENSION OF OUR KNOWLEDGE OF THE LAN-
GUAGES OF BRITISH INDIA DURING THE LAST FORTY
YEARS.

PROFESSOR MONIER WILLIAMS, of Oxford, in the course of his speech at the Annual Meeting of the Royal Asiatic Society in May, 1878, remarked on the scant interest shown in Oriental studies by the University Commissioners, and by the University itself. It is true that there is not in England, as in France and Russia, a special School for instruction in the living Oriental languages: but I think I can show, that the out-turn of work done by volunteer scholars during the last thirty years is most creditable. Many of their names are either unknown in Europe, or have not received that honour, of which they are deserving.

the East Indies, with their handmaids Palæography and Archæology. Much has been done for Sanskrit, Prakrit, and Pali, and a little for Kavi; but the day of the tyranny of dead languages is past both in England and India, and it has been discovered, that the Vernaculars are worthy of the study devoted to them, and are much more important to the well-being of the people. Education of the masses in their respective Vernaculars, and administration of justice in the colloquial languages of the people, are recognized as a first duty. English, Arabic, and Persian, may be valuable as vehicles of Science, Literature, and Religion, and as instruments of secondary Education; but what are they when weighed in the balance with such magnificent Vernaculars as Hindi, Bangali, Maráthi, Tamil, Telugu, and Barmese, having a wider area of currency than nearly any European language, possessing already an amount of indigenous literature, susceptible of a much more extensive development, and destined also to be the vehicle of a new culture, and, perhaps, of a new Religion?

I begin my survey from Bombay, and proceed to cast a net over the whole of India. It is impossible to mention all the works of each author; as my object is to bring before the public certain names, and to indicate the branch of the subject to which they have devoted themselves.

In Bombay, the *Indian Antiquary*, edited by Mr. Burgess, has brought together many excellent scholars in the linguistic and palæographic field, viz. Mr. Fleet, Mr. Sinclair, Dr. Buhler, Dr. Gerson da Cunha, and Professors Bhandarkar, Kielhorn and Shuker Pandurang. The *Journal of the Bombay Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society* has other able contributors; still it may be regretted that there is no sufficient Grammar of the Gujaráti or Maráthi languages, and no good Dictionary of the former: we require something better than the Gujaráti Grammar and Dictionary of Shapurji Edalji, or the Grammar of Maráthi published anonymously. Dr. Gerson da Cunha is about to publish a Grammar of Kánkar, which has been provisionally classed by me as a dialect of Maráthi, subject to correction, if need be, from so good an authority.

Of Sindhi we have a Grammar by Dr. Trumpp of Munich, of high order as a linguistic work on the comparative method: he has also published a Sindhi Reader. A good Dictionary is required.

Of Balúchi we have a Grammar in the Makráni dialect by Major Mockler, and Grammatical notes of the Sulimámi dialect, spoken in the Dera Ghazi Khan District of the Panjáb, by Mr. Gladstone. There are also grammatical notes on the Makráni dialect in the *Journal of the Bombay Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society* by Mr. Pierce. A good deal is, however, still required.

The Brahu population is intermixed with the Balúchi, but we have no original information as to the Brahuí language, beyond the

Grammatical notes of Major Leech of 1838, followed up by Professor Lassen, and of Dr. Bellew in his work, "From the Indus to the Tigris." Captain Nicholson, of the Staff Corps, has, however, published a translation of an English book in this language, a copy of which I forwarded to Dr. Trumpp, who published an important Grammatical Note in German, which has been rendered accessible to English scholars by Dr. Theodore Duka.

For the Pashtu language we have capital scholars: Major Raverty, Dr. Trumpp, Dr. Bellew, Professor Bernhard Dorn of St. Petersburg, and the Rev. T. Hughes of Peshawar. Nothing further seems required but to study their books.

Of the mysterious language of the Káfirs all that is known has been supplied by Sir A. Burnes, Sir H. Lumsden, Dr. Trumpp, and Dr. Kuhn.

Of the Ghalcha language spoken along the steppes of the Pamir in Wakhan and Sir-i-Kol, we have Grammatical notes by the late Mr. Shaw in the Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society of the highest interest, and contributions by M. Ujfalvy, of Paris.

Dr. Leitner was the first to bring to notice the dialects of Dardistan: Mr. Drew, General Cunningham, and Dr. Trumpp, have added to our knowledge in this respect.

Mr. Shaw has also done good service in describing the form of the Turki language spoken in East Turkistan, which has now again

of the Bihâri: Mr. Beames and Mr. Growse, both of the Civil Service, have dealt with the older forms of this magnificent language, as exhibited in the poems of Chand and Talsi Dâs. Mr. Fitz-Edward Hall, Mr. Etberington, and M. Gascin de Tassy, have contributed to our knowledge of this language. Mr. G. A. Grierson has now commenced such a systematic study of the forms of the speech of the whole Hindi-Field, as will probably revolutionize our knowledge. In Hindustâni, or Urdu, the principal dialect or *lingua franca* of this language, we have a further band of workmen: Messrs. Fallon and Bryce with Dictionaries; Messrs. Dowson, Platts, Holroyd, Monier-Williams, and Eastwick, with Grammars of different degrees of merit.; Shakespear's esteemed works are rather falling out of date.

In the great language of Bangâli we have a Grammar by Dr. Wenger, and a remarkable Essay by Shama Charan Sirkar Gangohi, who has also written a Grammar. No Dictionary has yet superseded that of Sir Graves Haughton.

In Uriya we have a Grammar by Mr. Maltby; but, as this important language is spoken by about eight millions, it deserves more attention. In Asâmi we have a Dictionary by the Rev. Mr. Bronson, and a Grammar by the Rev. Nathan Brown, both missionaries, and staunch advocates for the independence of this language.

In Sinhâli we have valuable Grammatical notes by Mr. Childers, in the Journal of this Society, in which he contends for the Arian classification of this language, denied by others. The late Mr. D'Alwis has also published a Translation of a native Grammar. Dr. Goldschmidt has given valuable accounts of the Inscriptions of a very early date. Mr. Gray, too, has recently published interesting details on the dialect prevailing in the Maldivé Islands.

In the Dravidian Family of languages we have a still larger amount of work done. Foremost is the Comparative Grammar of Bishop Caldwell, which has passed through two editions, and places our knowledge on a sound basis. Dr. Pope has published a Grammar, and Hottler a Dictionary of Tamil; Mr. Brown and the Rev. Mr. Arden, Grammars of Telugu, and the former a Dictionary. Mr. Burnell, of the Civil Service, has published a series of short descriptions of the dialects of Southern India, including the Mappala dialect of Malayâlim of the West Coast, and of the Laccadive Islands. The late Mr. Gover has published a book on the Folklore of Southern India. Reeve has published a Dictionary of Karnâta; Hodgson, a Grammar; the Rev. Dr. Kittel, a Grammar of archaic Karnâta. In Malayâlim, Dr. Gundert has issued a Dictionary on the comparative method; Mr. Peet has given us a Grammar. Of the Tulu language we have a Grammar by the Rev. Dr. Brigel. Passing on to the uncultivated Dravidian languages, we have a Grammar of Koorg by Major Cole. The Rev. Mr.

Mr. Shaw, Captain Gerard, General Cunningham, Captain Herbert, and M. Schlagintweit.

In the Assam Sub Group more has been done. Mr W. Robinson has published in the Journal of the Bengal Asiatic Society, Grammatical notes of several of the languages; the Rev. Nathan Brown extensive Vocabularies; and Mr. Brian Hodgson some remarkable Essays. The Rev. Mr. Knell, a Grammar of Kachari, with Vocabulary and Texts, Mr. Needham of the Shaiyang-Miri. Mr. Soppitt of the Kachhar Nagar. Professor Avery has published a Grammatical note on the Garo and Ao Naga languages, Major Macgregor of the Singphu, Mr. Needham of the Abor, Mr. McCabe of the Angami Naga; others are in contemplation. The Rev. Mr. Keith has written a Grammar of the Guro language; while Captain Butler, the Rev. Mr. Neighbor, Mr. Pent, Captain Gordon, Mr. Dymant, Bamrath Chukibutty, and others have contributed to our general fund of knowledge; but so much still remains to be done, that I must look to the future with regard to this Sub Group, rather than the past.

I may allude her, for geographical convenience, as to exhaust the surroundings of the Assam Valley, to the interesting language of the Khasi tribe, which, though morphologically quite distinct from the Tibeto-Barman Group, is geographically situated in their midst. The Rev. Mr. Pryce has published an excellent Grammar of this unique language, and there is also a Dictionary. Dr. Schott, M. Havelock, and Von der Gabelentz have turned their attention to this language.

Returning to the Tibeto-Barman Group, I come upon the Maripur-Chittagong Sub Group, illustrated by the labours of Major McCulloch, Major Lewis, Lieut. Stewart, Mr. Dymant, Captain Treckell, the Rev. Nathan Brown, and the ubiquitous Brian Hodgson. Yet, this Sub-Group may be still described as "terra incognita." I can just see dimly that there is a great deal more that we ought to know. We ought to feel grateful to the distinguished public Officers, who have supplied us with such information as we possess, supplying, as this does, a solid basis for future superstructure.

In the Burma Sub-Group of the Tibeto-Barman Group, we come on a clearer light, let in by different scholars, both servants of the State and missionaries settled on the banks of the Irrawadi. Among these I may notice Captain Lister, Sir A. Phayre, Major Fryer, Captain Forbes, the Rev. Mr. Judson, the Rev. Mr. Mason, the Rev. Mr. Silber, Mr. St. Barle, and Bishop Bigandet. It is wonderful to consider, how much they have known of the Burmese and Karen languages.

There remain of the great Tibeto-Barman Sub Group the languages, of which we have only vague reports on the Chinese frontier, from Dr. Anderson, Lieut. Gamier, Mr. Cooper, and Mr. Margery, viz. the Loosan and others, and the all but fabulous Mantsi, whom we find in the heart of China. In this direction there are rich dis-

overies reserved for the future. In the islands of the Bay of Bin the Andamans, the Nicobars, and the Mengui Archipelago, I am to begin to see light dimly in the works of Lieutenant Temple, and Mau, Mr. de Boppetoff, and other contributors to Indian periodicals.

The languages of the Tai Family are spoken by populations who, to a great degree, are independent of British India, viz. the Siamese, Shan, and Lao; but as a portion is within the Administration of the Commissioner of Assam, it may be convenient to mention the whole. Bishop Palleroix has published a Dictionary and Grammar of Siamese, and M. de Roem, Dr. Schott, Dr. Bastin and Lieutenant Garnier, supply all that is known regarding the independent territories, with the exception of the Shans of Burma. A Grammar and Dictionary of white language has been published by the Rev. Mr. Cushing. Of the language of the Khamti within the limits of Assam, we have but scant Vocabularies.

Of the Mon-Anam family, Pegu is within British India; and the Mon or Peguan language is illustrated by a Grammar by the Rev. Mr. Haswell. For our knowledge of the Annamite and Kambojan we depend on the French scholars, MM. Taberd, Aubret, Aymeret, Des Michels, Azemar and Dr. Bastin, a German; but a great deal more has to be done, and as yet no Englishman has broken ground.

Independently of the particular works devoted to one language, many most valuable works have been published in a collective form, such as Colonel Dalton's *Ethnology of Bengal*, Sir W. W. Hunter's *Non-Arian Languages*, Max Muller's *Lectures on the Sanskrit Language* (an Appendix to Bunsen's *Philosophy of History*), and *Lectures*, Sir G. Campbell's *Languages of India*, Crawford's *Dictionary of the Indian Islands*, Latham's *Comparative Philology*, Hovelacque's *La Linguistique*, Fried. Muller's *Grundriss*, 'Reise des Novara,' and 'Ethnologie,' and the 'Anonymous Dictionary of Languages,' published by Hall and Co., Paternoster Row. Add to these the Journals of the Royal Asiatic Society, of its several branches, and of the Mother-Society in Calcutta, the *Journal of the Indian Archipelago*, which died with the lamented Dr. Logan, the *Indian Antiquary*, and the *Calcutta Review*, all replete with original matter, while the compilations previously noted are necessarily composed of information at second-hand, although some, like Colonel Dalton's *Ethnology*, have the merits both of original research and skilful compilation.

The Bengal Asiatic Society has for a long period extended its fostering care to the subject of philological and ethnical knowledge. The school of Calcutta scholars has been always in great repute, and been represented by such men as Rajendra Lala Mitra, Iswara Chandra Vidyasagara, Krishna Mohun Banerjee, Jita Nanda Vidyasagara, Taranatha Tarlayacharya, and Mr. Blochmann. There are, however, many others, and each year adds to the

number of enlightened scholars. Few Europeans, it is true, have made the modern languages of India the object of their studies: but the late M. Garcin de Tassy for twenty-seven years published an Annual Report of the progress made in the study of the Hindi language; while M. Vinson has contributed to the knowledge of the Dravidian languages, Tamil being the Vernacular of the French settlement of Pondicherry.

The necessity of Translations of the whole or of portions of the Holy Scriptures into the languages of India has greatly increased, and many excellent Versions, in various languages hitherto unwritten, have become the standard of purity and elegance, from which the new literature will form itself. The convenience to linguists of these independent Translations of the same Texts in languages totally differing in structure, can hardly be estimated at its full value. Thus Mr. Barnell, following the lead of Prince L.-L. Bonaparte, has attempted the Translation into certain dialects of South India of the Parable of the Sower, but this is hardly of sufficient length to illustrate fully the Vocabulary and structure of a language: the Translation of one of the Gospels by a missionary, who uses it duly in his schools and place of worship, with the further test of its being used by the missionaries of rival bodies, is the best, and most sufficient exemplar of a language, that could be imagined.

My own conclusion is, that having the support of the Government of India, together with the unselfish labour of the servants of the State, the missionaries and the scholars of Europe, we need not trouble ourselves with what appears to us the supineness of the English Universities, who, by reserving to certain branches of knowledge the funds, which were intended for the advance of knowledge as a whole, have not done what has been done by many and smaller Universities in Continental Europe. There can be no doubt, that, up to the present time, the Modern Languages of British India have not received from our Universities the support they would have had, had their value been at all known by the educated people of this country.

1879.

A certain amount of progress has been made since, and the Universities are commencing slowly to recognize their duty. Considering the obvious meaning of the word "University," and the position, which Great Britain occupies towards its great Dependencies, and Colonies, and the ample resources of the Colleges, and the University, it is to be hoped, that they will rise to the level of their great position; and make their curriculum of study more practical, and their opportunities and facilities of teaching and acquiring knowledge universal.

1887

CHAPTER VII.

THE ORIGIN OF PLACE-NAMES IN BRITISH INDIA.

THE Rev. Isaac Taylor has carried through several editions a practical treatise on the origin of Place-Names, or, as he calls it, *Etymological Illustrations of History, Ethnology, and Geography*. As on such a subject it is safest to argue from the known to the unknown, he has wisely commenced by a study of Place-Names in the New World, the language, history, and origin of which can be identified beyond doubt, as being the creatures of yesterday. 'A marvellous tale is unfolded even within that short period, and a clue is given to the principles, the tendencies, the affections, the weaknesses, and the unintelligible errors, that have directed and accompanied the nomenclature of regions which were unknown and unnamed in the time of the Plantagenets. My object in noticing the subject is to induce some one to apply the process, which has been worked out by him as regards North America and Europe, to Asia, and more especially to British India.

How much do those, whose career in India is over, for whom that wonderful country is enveloped with the romance of the Past and the Unforgotten, regret that in the course of the quarter of a century, during which they were hurrying hither and thither, and engaged from morn to eve in work, which has left little or no trace behind, wish that they had found leisure to store up in commonplace books all that came under their observation regarding the Ethnology and Language and Religion and other kindred subjects, of India! The most casual observer and the shortest visitor must have been struck by the multiplicity and strangeness of the names of places in India; but, until this book has appeared, there was no model, on which the information collected could be arranged, and it may not have occurred to many to reflect what a vast store of historical, critical, and philological, information lies hidden under the unceasing and unintelligible sounds, by which, according to the common consent of the inhabitants, the physical features and the local divisions of Province, District, Town, Village, and Hamlet, are known.

And yet it has been thoroughly admitted and acknowledged from the earliest time, that names were not originally given at hazard, that they were not fortuitous concurrences of syllables; on the contrary, we find that in the earliest records that have come down to us, an attempt to assign rightly or wrongly a meaning to particular nomenclature, and to account for not obvious names. Poetry and fiction, myth and tradition, were called upon for assistance. Thus in Genesis the name of Bethel is explained by the story of Jacob's Ladder, though the obvious meaning of the word was not hard to divine, and the Sanskrit poets delighted to account for names, even for such a simple one as Ganga, by a fanciful legend, nor were the more fastidious tastes of Virgil and Horace free from the infection, for while the former connects in most beautiful lines the name of Caeta the modern Gueta, with the legendary Nurse of Turnus, the latter has immortalised the tale of Europa, and surrounded with a halo of semi-truth the legend of the origin of the name of our Continent.

"Tua secus orbis
Nomen ducet"

Forty years ago, in most of the Reports of the Settlements of Hind Revenue in Upper India, an attempt was made to explain the meanings of the names of places, political divisions, and physical features, and with some success, for in truth the meaning of a large proportion of such names is obvious. A few were explained by scholars, a few more by fanciful stories or traditions of the country side, but a considerable residuum remained, words which had in course of ages lost their initial and final letters, been inverted, or transposed, whose consonants had in the lips of men been unconsciously changed by the action of Grimm's law, whose vowels had been absorbed, or altered by laws of accentuation, which have not yet been fairly worked out. Yet, if once a sufficiency of facts were collected, if the character of neighbouring names were collated and contrasted, if the recurrence of similar names in whole, or part, in other parts of the country, and in other combinations, were duly weighed, no doubt the number of unexplained sounds might be largely reduced. This work commends itself to an ingenious and order loving intellect, even if the elaborated result went no further than to explain the phenomena of the names existing, but to any one, who has studied Mr Taylor's book, and who has entered on the subject with the *real and penetrating*, which it deserves, it will soon appear how very much has been done. The dry bones in the cabinet of the geologist may appear to the unlearned to be nothing but orderly arranged fossils, but to the initiated they can be clothed with flesh, and from them he is able to conjure back past periods of the World, which have left no other trace. So to the scientific philologist the names of places, which have lived from century

to century on the lips of men, if rightly arranged, and rightly interpreted, cannot fail to disclose strange ethnological and political facts which were unwittingly entrusted to their keeping; and tribes, which have long since been extinct out of the land, have left behind them traces more enduring than their hill-fortresses more deeply incised on the face of the country, than their deep dykes, and more enduring than their coins. The pre-historic animals, slowly traversing the soft sands, left marks of their feet impressed on a surface, which has since hardened into rock, and which tells of the existence of animal life with a force beyond the reach of argument to gainstry; and, in like manner, savage and migrating tribes in the early annals of mankind placed their phonetic impress on certain spots in their own peculiar combination, or syllables, which have been severally adopted by the more civilized races, which have succeeded to their inheritance.

This fact is most fully exemplified in North America, and, if ever there had been an opportunity for making a clean sweep of the Past and commencing afresh on a *tabula rasa*, it was, when the Western colonists landed in the New World. In the infancy of their civilization, the heirs of all the ages, and the dispensers at pleasure of the treasury of names of ancient and modern Europe, the British colonists have founded a new Jerusalem, a new Rome, a new Tyre, and a new Troy; but they have been no more able to oust the indigenous names of mountain and stream from their lists of names, than they have been able to banish the redskin from their streets. Thus, side by side on their maps with the most celebrated names of Europe and Asia, whose composition can be traced back to illustrious Indo-European pedigrees, we have Niagara, Potomac, Ottawa, Huronhannak, Susquehanna, Arkansas, Wisconsin, and Michigan, which mark of the backwoods and hunting grounds, and of a Vocabulary and dialect, as far removed from the great Arian Family as the Chinese.

comprise the strata of names, which are capable of solution by reference to well-known languages, and to the Primary must be relegated that portion of the Name-list of a Country, which belongs to the dim twilight period of the settlement of the earlier races. It will be found, that this division of the subject will be readily applicable to any new country, to which the inquiry may be extended, for it may at once be stated that but a corner of the vast area, to which inquiry extends, has been occupied. It is not pretended that, as regards any Country, except the British Isles, more than a general survey is attempted. If, indeed, information has been statistically arranged in France and Germany, what of the rest of Europe, of Asia, Africa, America and Oceania? But on the other hand it may be safely contended, that such a forecast of the subject has been made, as will greatly facilitate the labour of those who follow, and such principles have been laid down, as will tend to prevent future labours in the same field from being haphazard, erroneous and fruitless.

Chapter III treats of the ethnological value of local names, and applies to the method of research, illustrated and tested in Chapter II as regards the modern names of North America to the more obscure periods of history in the older continent of Europe, and Chapter IV to its exhaustively of the primarily important branch of the subject, 'the Names of Nations.' The value of this one Chapter can scarcely be overstated and its perusal will at once tempt the reader to go deeper into the subject by opening out new vistas of thought, ringing in older scattered information long since possessed, but not appreciated, and convincing most unmistakably of the importance of the subject.

Chapters V to IX treat in succession of the different races, or nationalities, which have left their mark on the Name lists of Western Europe to which geographical expression the subject is now narrowed. First in order come the Phenicians then the Arabs, both being aliens from another Continent. The subject seems thenceforth to shrink into still narrower territorial limits, and to restrict itself to the regions occupied at different periods of their history by Anglo Saxons, Northmen of all kind and, at the dawn of historical knowledge by the Kelts. No doubt it was of importance or even of necessity, to narrow the subject but it indicates by the exclusion of the Græco-Latin, Slavonic, and Jewish races, how large a portion of even the Indo-Germanic or Aryan Family is left unaccounted for.

Chapter X, which is headed "The historic value of local names," does, indeed, give all that can be collected of the period of Roman occupation, and of the marks, which that great conquering, but not colonizing, people left upon subject countries. The Normans passed lightly over the ground and left traces only in castles and abbeys and military or civil stations, the Saxons colonized in the

"Persicus" being a Persian fruit. The "damson" hails from Damascus, as well as the "Damask Rose." The "tamarind" is clearly "the fruit of India." Indian, gimboze, calico, Kashmir are too obvious to be more than alluded to. In this Chapter we have the whole subject discussed at very great length, but it is foreign to the main object of the volume under review.

Chapters XV and XVII go over the ground of the greatest interest to future investigator, for in the first the "changes and errors" are detailed, which have come to light in past times, and in the second, the principles, and method of Scientific Onomatology are laid down, and on both these subjects I must make some remarks, before I proceed to apply the principles of some of the preceding Chapters to Indian investigations.

I will first remark on the subject of Changes and Errors. Any person with the most superficial knowledge of the Science of Language must be aware of the wear and tear, which all words have undergone as they have been handed down from mouth to mouth of succeeding generations. The names of places if they have not suffered to the same extent as ordinary words, have nevertheless yielded to the all conquering influences of time, and as Mr Taylor states "The influences are of two kinds. The first is simply phonetic. A conquering nation finds it difficult to pronounce certain vocables which enter into the names used by the conquered people, and changes consequently arise which break the ancient names into harmony with the phonetic laws of the language used by the conquerors. Many illustrations of this process may be found in Doomsday book. The ~~inhabitants~~ seem to have been slow to catch the pronunciation of the Saxon names and were moreover ignorant of their etymologies and we meet consequently with many ludicrous transformations. We have now to consider a class of corruptions which have arisen from a totally different cause. Men have felt a natural desire to assign a plausible meaning to names to make them, in fact, no longer sound, but words. This instinctive consciousness of the human mind, this perpetual endeavour to find a reason, or a plausible explanation, for everything, has corrupted many of the words which we have in daily use, and a large allowance for this source of error must be made when we are investigating the original forms of ancient names. No cause has been more fruitful in producing corruptions than popular attempts to explain from the Vernacular, and bring into harmony with a supposed etymology, names, whose real explanation is to be sought in some Language known only to the learned. Names, significant in the Vernacular, are constructed out of the ruins of the ancient unintelligible names just as we find the modern village of Mesopotamia built of bricks stamped with the Cuneiform legend of "Nebuchadnezzar."

interpretation of other names in the neighbourhood, bearing in mind the possible immigration at different epochs, of races and languages, all of which have left their mark within limited areas.

Secondly, The linguistic result may be tested by topographical or physical considerations; if the interpretation brings out physical features, is it confirmed by the facts? If, on the other hand, historical features are indicated, are they confirmed by independent history, should such exist? Much must indeed, depend upon happy guesses, or bold presumptions, verified by subsequent corroborating proofs, but the method proposed is at least safe and scientific, and, as far as the lapse of years, and the confusion caused by the domination of races and languages during long periods of ignorance will permit, a successful one.

Eighthly, A scientific analysis of names of places will inevitably lead to the establishment of this fact, that in far the greater number there are two component elements, which, for the sake of convenience, may be called the adjectival and substantival elements respectively, and it is of the essence of some languages to present the substantival element in the form of a suffix, and in others of a prefix to the adjectival element, the word generally means road, bridge, ford, boundary, small river, mountain, valley, dwelling or enclosure, as the case may be, qualified by a personal or descriptive word, denoting the possessor, the builder or the relative position, antiquity, excellence, or other characteristic feature.

We will illustrate this position by quoting a few Teutonic Suffixes and Celtic Prefixes, for in England by a singular chance, we have the two practices side by side. A Teutonic location is known by the terminations of "ham," "ton," "hurst," "ley," "worth," "ly," "den," "don," "combe," "sted," "borough," "thorpe," "cote," "stoke," "set," "thwaite," "holt," "bourne," "hill," "shuck," "stow," "wick," "fell," "law," "ey," "stone," "beck," or the other hand a Celtic location is identified by "aber," "inver," "ath," "bally," "kil," "llyn," "bon," "glen," "strath," "loch," "innis," "mech." A full enumeration of a locative forms would obviously partake of the character of a Dictionary, but they may be grouped generally under one of the following heads: I Relative magnitude II Relative position III Relative age IV Numerals V Natural productions or features such as animals, trees, rivers, rocks, minerals, and fruits VI Names implying excellence or the reverse VII Configuration VIII Colour. IX Caste, religion or tribe X Historical event.

It must be remembered, that some times there is a consciousness of the meaning of the name, at other times the meaning is so entirely forgotten, that it is repeated in another language as the "River Aon," the "River Ish," "Mon Gisello," "Pea hill," "Wansbeck-writer," and many other hybrid compounds. It often may be a question, whether the name is the record of a person or an event,

thus centuries hence it may be a question, whether the name Victoria scattered so profusely over the world, records a victory, or a sovereign, or a State, or a railway-station, or the name of the wife of some local authority.

How strangely names are altered merely by the rendering of the words from one language to another, is illustrated by the travels of Fa Hsien and the other Chinese pilgrims, who visited India for the purpose of local inquiries. Being men of learning and piety, they took the greatest pains to record the names of places and shrines correctly, and yet their works present a linguistic puzzle owing to the peculiarities of the Chinese language.

In extracting a meaning out of hitherto meaningless words; in awakening up echoes of history, which have long since been silent; in conjuring up traditions, and in starting delightful ethereal theories, there is great danger, and the greatest caution must be used as to the conclusions drawn, and especially in regard to the branch of the subject, which relates to personages, who have often a mythical, or eponymic existence. "This phrase is used to convey the suggestion that a personal name has been evolved by popular speculation to account for some geographical term, the true meaning of which has not been understood." In the annals of every country there have existed the wildest absurdities: France is said to have taken its name from a fabulous son of Hector, and Britain from "Brutus," a son of Aeneas. The atmosphere of the Indian world is impregnated with the wildest notions, independent of all shackles of Chronology, or Probability, or Geography. But there may be germs of truth lying hidden amid a mass of traditional rubbish, and they are worth the trouble of extracting.

I proceed to throw out suggestions for applying the principles, worked out for a portion of Western Europe, to the virgin field of India. As regards Upper India betwixt the rivers Karanāsā, and the Indus, I can say without fear of contradiction, that a list of every Hamlet, Village, Town, Subdivision, Province, Mountain, River, and Lake, can be supplied from the Offices of Government in two distinct Characters, the Arabic and the Nāgari, thus limiting the field of error by a system of checks. Many of these names have been reduced to writing for many hundreds of years, and appear in archaic forms in Sanskrit words. Much attention to the subject has been paid in different Districts, but the information has never been collected together and grouped, and no serious scientific attempt has been made to solve the meaning of those names, which have not yielded to the first attempt. It may be said that hundreds of the same names appear in every District, and some are repeated scores of times. Assuming roughly, that there are sixty Districts in the two great Provinces of Northern India, and allowing an average of one thousand villages to a District, we have an accumulation of sixty thousand Names, which

the three languages of this category belong to essentially different Families, and the degree of their separation is one, that cannot be indicated by any measure of time within human knowledge or speculation. Admitting that mankind sprang from a single pair, it is not easy to speculate at what distant period, the Persian, a member of the Arian Family, the Arabic, a member of the Semitic Family, and the Turki, a member of the Altaic Family, separated; yet all these poured into India with different degrees of profusion within the Historic Period, and, though the organic structure of the three is essentially different, they were all spoken by the conquering races, and have left their traces in the great lingua franca. The latter portion of this period is occupied by European languages, the Portuguese, French, English, and Dutch.

Thus much about languages; but cognizance must be taken of another great feature in the History of India. In Europe, by fair means or foul, by reason, interest, colonization, or the sword, the Christian Religion has succeeded in stamping out the ancient Religions of the older world; whatever of the early Semitic cults the Phenicians introduced into their European Colonies; whatever were the beauties or defects of the great and romantic State-worships of Greece and Rome; whatever was the savagery of the Scandinavians, or the cruelty of the Druidical rites among the old Norse and the Kelt; they have all long since perished. The great monotheistic idea of the Arabian Prophet made an analogous clean sweep of Fire-worship and all the Fetichisms of North Africa and West Asia as far as the Indus. But in India no such clean sweep has been made. As wave upon wave the new races were imported, or the new ideas were wrought out, they had, with some local and temporary exceptions, leave to expand, and have left their mark. Religious Tolerance has ever been the common law of India. We have: I. The primeval cult of the aborigines, or earliest immigrants, by whatever name they are known. Often superficially ranged among the Hindus, they differ from them essentially, and the time has come, when their language and Religion must be recognized. II. The great Brahminical polytheistic system. III. The great heresy of Budhism and the subsequent Jain development. IV. The great monotheistic dogma of Mahomet. V. The Christian Faith. With the exception of the last, all these Religious-persuasions have left their mark on the nomenclature of Indian Places.

A third feature is that of Races: in Europe we read of the Phenician, the Teuton, the Hellenic, the Latin, the Iberian, the Northman, the Slav, and the Kelt; all have left their mark, and many others, to mention whose names there is not space; without the historic knowledge of some, many names would have been unintelligible; of others the names themselves form the basis of

historical hypothesis. So it is in India, the student must avail himself of the ethnological knowledge accumulated during the last half century. The very names, by which some of the Provinces are known, or have in days bygone been known, the very name of India, are suggestive of historical facts. One of the results of this investigation into the meanings of names would be the preparation of maps showing by spots the comparatively sparse, or excessive, sprinkling of names of a particular race or language in particular localities. In the book under review some very striking features of the extent of the Saxon and Danish Colonies in Britain have been exhibited by the continuance of maps prepared in the mode above described.

I now proceed to notice the most faultier of the substantial elements in Indian names. Prefixes are rare, but some few may be noted of an obvious character, and many more may come to light upon a close analysis of non Arian names, which have, by lapse of time or perversion of articulation, been robbed of terminal, medial, and initial letters, and have huddled into rough monosyllables, or suffered capricious transposition of their composing letters. I note "Kilih," "Derih," "Chak," "Seru." The suffixes are more numerous, and the list may be considerably enlarged. I note "bi," "abid," "kot," "patan," "pur," "garh" or "grha," "ganj," "kand," "pet," "goun" or "gong," "shahr," "sra," "nagar," "bazar," "ghat," "pind," "tal." Human nature is true to itself in all countries, and these words represent precisely the class of objects, which, a few pages back, appeared clothed in a Teutonic or Celtic dress.

I propose now to give some instances of names to illustrate each period commencing with the latest, or Teutonic, where all is historically certain. Of the European names some are pure and un-mixed with indigenous elements, some are hybrids of the first kind are Fort William, Fort St George, Victoria Fort, names derived from England direct. Dillhaur, Amberst, Auckland Bay, Port Canning, Fort Hastm., Willesley Province, Montgomery, named after Governors. Lichen Rocks, Porto Novo, Port Blair, Diamond Harbour, False Point, Palmyra Point, explain themselves. I myself named a tract of newly-recovered land in the District of Hoshiarpur in the Panjab, which I am as little likely ever to see again, as ever to forget, with the name of London and as such it will go to posterity, explaining its own imperial origin, unless some jealous satrap has changed the name to Snook-abid or Smith pur.

As specimens of the hybrids I give Abbotabad Campbell pur, Revell ganj, Morrell-ganj, Kydd ganj, East-ganj, Larkins ganj, Barrack pur, Ldwalls abal, George ghar, Captain ganj, Bazar pet, Birl pur, Bankipur, Maholm pet, etc., etc. From a linguistic point of view, there is nothing unusual or incorrect in these com-

historical hypothesis. So it is in India, the student must avail himself of the ethnological knowledge accumulated during the last half century. The very names, by which some of the Provinces are known, or have in days bygone been known, the very name of India, are suggestive of historical facts. One of the results of this investigation into the meanings of names would be the preparation of maps showing by spots the comparatively sparse, or excessive, sprinkling of names of a particular race or language in particular localities. In the book under review some very striking features of the extent of the Saxon and Danish Colonies in Britain have been exhibited by the contrivance of maps prepared in the mode above described.

I now proceed to notice the most familiar of the substantial elements in Indian names. Prefixes are rare, but some few may be noted of an obvious character, and many more may come to light upon a close analysis of non Aryan names, which have, by lapse of time or perversion of articulation, been robbed of terminal, medial, and initial letters, and have huddled into rough monosyllables, or suffered capricious transposition of their composing letters. I note "Kilah," "Darah," "Chik," "Sera." The Suffixes are more numerous, and the list may be considerably enlarged. I note "bās," "abad," "kot," "patan," "pur," "garh" or "graha," "ganj," "land," "pet," "goun" or "gong," "shahr," "serai," "nagar," "bazar," "ghat," "pand," "tal." Human nature is true to itself in all countries, and these words represent precisely the class of objects, which, a few pages back, appeared clothed in a Gnostic or Keltic dress.

I propose now to give some instances of names to illustrate each period commencing with the latest, or Tertiary, where all is historically certain. Of the European names some are pure and un-mixed with indigenous elements, some are hybrids. Of the first kind are Port William, Port St George, Victoria. Fort names derived from England direct. Dillhouse, Amherst, Auckland Bay, Fort Canning, Fort Hastings, Wellesley Province, Montgomery, named after Governors. French Rocks, Porto Nuevo, Port Blair, Diamond Harbour, Fildes Point, Palmyra Point, explain themselves. I may also name a tract of newly recovered land in the District of Hoshiarpur in the Panjáb, which I am as little likely ever to see again, as ever to forget, with the name of London, and as such it will go to posterity, explaining its own imperial origin, unless some jealous successor has changed the name to Snooksland or Smithy.

As specimens of the hybrids I give Abbotabad Campbellpur, Revellganj, Morellganj, Kyddganj, Eastganj, Larkinsganj, Barrackpur, Edwardsabad, Georgeghar, Captainganj, Irizar, 1st Birdpur, Bunkapur, Malcolm's pet etc, etc. From a linguistic point of view, there is nothing unusual or incorrect in these com-

binations; but what shall be said of the native name for Barrackpore, "Achának," from Job Charnock, the first English inhabitant.

There is a great variety in the form of the names used to indicate Provinces, or large tracts of country: there is one set of Rohil-kand, Bandal-kand, Bhagel-kand, and another Rájpút-ánda, Bhatti-ánda, Hari-ánda; and a third Afghanistan, Belúchistán, Hindustán, Sistán; there are archaic names such as Anga, Banga, Karnáta; Dakshina, Bháratá-Varsha, Maháráshtra. All these are tribal, national, or political names; but beneath them come names, which can be traced back to physical features, such as Din, Doár, Kohistán, Doáb, Ma-war-al-Nahr (the two latter reminding us of Mesopotamia and Persia), Antarbéd, Bar, Thál, Panjáb, Panjnad, Sind, Ságar, Sirhind.

Then comes another class of names, in which the evidence of artificial composition is most marked; such as the well-known names for the four great Doábs of the Panjáb, which are actually formed by a combination of the initial letters of their respective rivers: thus the country betwixt the rivers Bías and Satlaj is called the "Bis" Doáb; that betwixt the Bías and Ravi is called the Bari Doáb; that betwixt the Ravi and Chenáb is called the "Rochn" Doáb; that betwixt the Jhelam and Chenáb is called the "Jhach" Doáb. These names were well understood, and accepted by the people, and I am not aware of any country having names so thoroughly based on literary artifice. The same remark applies to the Province of Deraít (the encampments), and the term "Eurasian" for the descendants of people of Europe and Asia.

An interesting Chapter might be written to bring together all the lore connected with the names of Indian rivers and mountains. The five rivers of the Panjáb can all be identified with their Sanskrit names, which contain a meaning, and the Greek version of the names brought back by the historians of Alexander in an Hellenic form. The same may be said with regard to the Jamna, the Gangá, the Gogra, the Gindak, the Clumbal, the Sona, which is described in Arrian by the name of "Eranneboas," the Hellenic version of "Hiranyabúja," the other name of the same river, but both equally meaning "Gold."

I come now to the secondary or historic period of names of towns or villages. The Mahometan Rulers ventured upon the fruitless enterprise of giving new names to the ancient cities of India. The Romans dared to re-noue Jerusalem as Elia, and London as Augusta, and we know from History the amount of success which attended their efforts. In some cases, at least, the Mahometan names of the great cities of India are concurrent with the old ones. Thus Dehli is known as Shahjahanábád, and Agra as Akharábád, and Allahábád is still called Prayág, and Patna is known as Azimábád, and Chittagong as Islámábád, and Aligarh and Coel are

exchangeable terms. Famine, pestilence, and war have periodically depopulated India, and thus new locations have been made on old sites, to which often an ancient name, still clinging to the soil, is vaguely attached in the traditions of the country-side. Here we have an innocent conflict of names, but the same result has in many cases happened from fraud and violence.

Within the Historic period the adjectival portions of the name can be traced to diverse reasons:

I Dynastic. The names of sovereigns speak out in Aurangabad, Ranjitghar, Subampur, Ludianah, Jannapur, and in our own days, Dhahp,har.

II Official titles, applied by way of compliment, such as Shihpur, and the other numerous compounds of Shah and Raja Nawabganj, Wazirabad, Dewanganj, Mahkpur, and Imimganj.

III Next come the personal names of the founders, the patrons, of which I can give but a specimen. Azimabád, Moradabad, Hosliarpur, Derah Fateh Khán, Begampur, Daranagar, Japur.

IV Another class owe their names to religious causes such as Amritsar, Dharampur, Gurulá pur, Islimganj, Dharamsala.

V Next comes the tribal or professional name, though the specification has long ceased to apply. We have Gujerát and Gujarpur, Mhairwara, Bainswara, Gorakhpur, Pathankot, Gosainganj.

VI The names of deities, saints, heroes, and temples supply another very large class and I need only quote Rampúr, Sitapur, Hardwar, Sri Rampur, Pirnagar, Govindghar.

VII To record a conquest or a power of successful resistance, of these we have Fatehpur, Jafarabad, Ayyghar, Pujighar, Ferozabad, Ajodhya.

VIII The abundance of particular products is a natural origin to a name, such as Gulpur, Ambala, Banpur, Baghpur, Mahaban, Machhli-shahr.

IX. A still more fertile origin of nomenclature may be found in physical features, such as Paharpur, Ghatpur, Nahrpur, Daryanabad, Safaidkogh, Dimankoh, Uchha Doh, Humdaya.

X. Then come a vast class of cases, which come under no head, in which the name has been given much on the same principle that the ship builder names his vessel "Polly" or "Joy." We have Anandpur, Fairabad, Bantpur, Hamirpur, Lardwán, Chandpur, Pak Patan and the ubiquitous analogues of the equally ubiquitous Newton, Newhaven, Newport indicating the poverty of the wit of the first settlers, unless, perhaps, the name grew insensibly by the same process as the "East end" and "West-end" of London are now growing.

XI. Of another class of names some have no substantival, and others no adjectival element, of the latter are Sagar, Mandi, Hissar, Kot, landi, Serdi, Chak, of the latter are Kasi, Hazara.

of the Jews Lalastina, on account of their earlier acquaintance with the Ishistines, the most deadly enemies of the Jews.

Other cautions must be given. Words may have worn down to precisely the same form, but from entirely different originals. In England the Suffix *vick* may in some cases be traced back to *vicus* and indicate only a village, and in other cases to *vic*, a bay, where ordinarily brack salt was formed by the process of evaporation, hence the word has by analogy found its way to places, where only rock-salt is found. So in India the word *tepo* may be traced back to *Tipu*, and mean an island or a plantation of trees, or *Stupa*, and mean a Buddhist tomb. *Bahir* comes from *Vihāra* a monastery, and not from the word familiar as spring and the word *Medina* may have either a Semitic or an Arian origin. Many a pitfall is open to the unwary from this alternative of two distinct families of languages brought into constant hybrid conjunction.

Another snare may arise from too hasty ethncal deductions. The phenomenon of a large majority of the villages bearing the prefix of *hant* must, and may probably with correctness, lead to the conclusion that the district was first colonized by Christians, and in a remote corner of the world out of the passage of great tribes and the occurrence of great events like Cornwall this may possibly hold good, but the North of India has been trodden down periodically by great local flights of nations, so that tracts have been occupied, laid waste, abandoned, and has become water, and water become land, the action of the mighty rivers has been such as is not conceivable to those, who have not left Europe. Thus waves of population has followed wave and layer has overlaid layer, extending over a vast period of time. In the time of Alexander the Great there were great and populous kingdoms in India, while Britain was in a state of savagery.

Some definite results may be attained by a percentage analysis of local names within limited area as soon as the names have been sorted and distributed in classes. The occurrence of a vast number of substantial elements must lead to the fair inference of the existing settlement of sites, and boundaries dating back to the particular race, who have left their mark. Moreover, the words in relation divisions of Provinces or clusters of Villages, may lead to results. It is established that the term *Hundred* was introduced by the Saxon, the *Wapentake* by the Dane, the *Rape* by the Norman, and the *Canton* by the Celt. May it not be that the local name of *Pragmata*, *Tajala*, *Talukda*, and other similar terms, can be traced back to particular epochs and races?

The Chapters on sacred sites and historic sites are replete with interest all over the old world which has a History. The names of Battle in Sussex and Battle Hills in Yorkshire record the fact of the triumph of Harold, the son of Godwin over Harold, the King of Norway, and his own defeat and death a few days after. The

name of Slaughter Bridge near Tintagel Castle in Cornwall tells us where King Arthur traditionally suffered his last defeat. Sanguinetto still marks the spot of Thrasympene. In India we must not connect the numerous compounds of Sekandar with Alexander the Great, any more than the compounds of Dara with Darius; but Ibrahim Lodi, Humayun, Akbar, Shah Jehan, Jahangir, Aurangzeb, Farokhsir, and a host of the great men of former ages have left their names behind them. If we find no Saints recorded, there are no less unmistakable evidences of religious feeling, in the compounds of Siva, Vishnu, Krishna, Arjun, Rama, Sita, Lakshmi, Devi, Sadhi, Gosain, Brahman, Ghazi, Pir, Sayad, and others.

In the thousands of Cities, Villages, and Hamlets of India, a wider field of available inquiry is thrown open than in any other Country, if only the workmen can be found armed with knowledge, patience, and intelligence. Would that I were young to help in this work, as I was "Consule Planco," when I went in to rule and settle the newly-annexed Districts of the Panjab. At any rate, from the safe and long-wished-for retreat, where I have time to reflect on much that was not done well, and much that was left undone altogether, I think that I have not done wholly unwell, if, in the service of Ethnology and Philology, I have opened up the road by which younger and more vigorous spirits may advance.

LONDON, NOVEMBER, 1873.

CHAPTER VIII

HOME RULE IN INDIA

Among the many *nostro*, which State quacks have suggested for the cure of the evils of the Anglo Indian system of Government none appear more plausible and more reasonable than the application to India of the time honoured institution of unpaid and honorary Magistrates. The question really cuts deep into the foundations of Government, and touches the secret springs of the art of subordinating the many to the few in the interest of all which is called Civil Rule. The subject has, however, been handled very superficially. The measure has a very liberal exterior, and is very easily brought into a nominal existence and thus it has obtained favour in many quarters, and support from many men. As one of the phenomena of the times it deserves a careful examination.

The Anglo Indian Government has always set up the character of being conducted on the highest principle—that is to say, for the benefit of the people, the mass of our subjects. In spite of the abuse and contempt which have been lavished upon the grand old Regulations of Lord Cornwallis no unprejudiced reader can rise from their perusal without a high idea of the benevolence and wisdom, which dictated them. A great contrast is in this respect presented by the avowed principles and practice of the Dutch Government of Java, a Government essentially on low principles under which the people went absolutely for nothing, and the energy of the rulers was directed to the expansion of a culture to benefit European speculators, and the shareholders of a Home Company. So deeply ingrained in the spirit and consciences of the Civil servants of British India is the feeling that the rule of the British can only exist if it tend to the benefit of India, that it is to that instinct that is to be traced the resistance offered by the public servants to the interlopers towards whom sympathy of education, country, and religion, would naturally have attracted them.

Another feature of the Anglo Indian system was the entire absence of the aristocratic element, which exerts so powerful an influence in the Mother Country. A proper subordination of rank

to rank, and grade to grade, in the Official hierarchy, we found to co-exist without difficulty with a complete sense of equality of man with man. Every Englishman considered himself as good as any other Englishman. Even a wider phraseology has been assumed, and the whole community has been grouped upon European platform. It is only with difficulty, that the social distinctions of the educated and the gently born are maintained, and the distinction between classes is scarcely observed in a community, where every one considers himself just as good as his neighbour, and, finding it convenient to ignore his own antecedents, spares himself the trouble of inquiry as to the birth and education of any one else. The same principle has been extended to natives and the vulgar theory, that one black man is as good as any other black man, has often been offensively and practically acted upon. Indeed, one of the complaints made by the better classes on the conquest of any new Province is, that the English try to be just to all, but make no distinction of persons. The civilly disposed treats noble and peasant with the same civility, and the man of loose speech and unrestrained hands treats all classes with the same want of sympathy, and with the same disregard.

the most apathetic indifference or virulent opposition on the other. The great Mother country, disfigured by insular eccentricities, vaunting absurd customs, which nothing but the lapse of centuries would render tolerable, incapable of organic reforms and intolerant of alien races and religions, is no more an example for Oriental Administrations than is London in an architectural point of view for cities elsewhere. Looking outwards my attention was attracted by the institutions of Turkey, the most degraded, but the most orientalized of European monarchies, and those of France, the most recently and most highly organized. With these thoughts in my mind, in 1852 I visited Italy, and have reasons for believing, that British India is not the most misgoverned country in Asia, and in 1856 and 1857, I visited France, sat in her Courts of Justice, considered her system and her Judicial organization.

The Turkish Government have adopted, in their system of managing conquered Provinces, entirely opposite principles. Instead of being rendered subject to all the laws of their Mohammedan conquerors, the Christian communities are allowed to govern themselves, and have no relations to the State, except that of paying tribute. Although these communities are not safe from lawless acts of tyranny, and are reminded from time to time that they are a conquered people, yet they are never interfered with as the citizens of European States are, for the sake of uniformity and good government. Most of their institutions and laws are so completely their own, and administered by themselves, that they might almost be said to form independent republics in the midst of a Military Empire. Moreover, the Heads of each nationality are in the pay of the Government and find their own interest and their own dignity in maintaining the existing state of affairs and under ordinary circumstances would be the first to convey intelligence of an impending storm. Such a system of rule is incompatible with the high notions of a Christian Government which looks upon subject nations as solemn trusts committed to their charge in the great interests of humanity.

When I examined the Italian Institutions I discovered that the men, who planted the foundation of the legal system, were not lawyers, who looked on Courts as preserves for their sport and profit but citizens and statesmen. The great curse of all Courts is the delays, the expenses and the distance to be travelled by litigants and witnesses. So much also depends upon local inspection, and special knowledge, so much may be done to stay a suit in motion by a few words of conciliation, by a correct expounding of the law, or a mild reasoning with wrong-headed persons. Parties once committed to a struggle fear the champion of the affair in the excitement of the struggle. The pugnacious feelings of a rival are excited and he unflinchingly exposes the secrets of his family, he makes disingenuous suppressions of the truth, or hazards through

a hireling spokesman downright falsehood. Cases of an entangled nature arise, which none but those whose daily life is spent on them, can satisfactorily decide. The Assembly recognized these wants, and instituted: I. *Juges des Paix*. II. *Conseil des Prud'hommes*. III. *Tribunal de Commerce*. IV. *Conseil de Famille*. It is to these that the attention of the Indian Legislature requires more particularly to be drawn, for in all attempts at "conciliation," in all effective use of "experts," "municipal institutions," or "family organizations," we are sadly deficient.

Is there no way in which the people of India can be employed to their own profit in the task of self-government? Are there no details of the Executive and Judicial machine, which can safely be trusted to Honorary agency? Can no assistance be derived from the general public? Much every way, but that assistance must be sought for in a manner suitable to the habits of the people, and in a mode, which harmonizes with those institutions which we introduced, and to those principles of good government which we cannot as Christians abandon. I proceed to enumerate them.

I. Municipal organizations for executive duties. II. City and rural Councils for the expression of opinions, and representation of grievances. III. Honorary Police Officers. IV. Arbitrators under the guidance of Civil Courts and Jurors. V. Assessors in Criminal Trials. VI. Jurors for discovery of local customs, or refinement of landmarks. VII. *Tribunals of Commerce*. VIII. Honorary Boards of City Magistrates. IX. Honorary Registrars of Deeds. X. Councils for adjudications of trade disputes. XI. Councils of conciliation in family quarrels.

It must be remembered, that in India there are no educated classes living on the capital realized by their ancestors. The service of the Government is the aspiration of the educated classes, and the remainder live by petty trades and manufactures, or by agriculture. It is true, that every one seems to find unlimited leisure for holidays and pilgrimages, but this arises from the uneconomic distribution of labour, and the fact, that at least three men are found doing the work which might be well done by one. The more wealthy classes are generally very luxurious and very lazy, and, as a rule, entirely devoid of public spirit. Power, if desired at all, is coveted as an instrument of oppression, an engine of revenge, or a means of unlawful gain. It must also not be forgotten, that in India race has trodden out, or rather trodden down, race, religion has jostled with religion, and the community itself, like the language which it uses, and the dress which it wears, is made up of heterogeneous elements, which no time or art ever will weld or fuse together. Thus, in any attempt to make use of the people, we are met with irreconcilable claims of dignity, and inextinguishable animosities and contentions. A new element of discord is flung into a family by the unexpected and uncorrec-

elevation of one member to an unsuitable dignity, leading to false accusations, bribery, anonymous petitions, and even midnight assassinations. The gaols of some districts hold prisoners, who might never have erred, but for this additional poison introduced into the body corporate.

I proceed to notice in detail the functions, which may be entrusted to honorary agents.

I. Municipalities. In every city or town there is the germ of this organization, which has only to be regulated and developed. We must neither be deceived by the snare of the reformed corporations of England, nor by the degraded shadow, which has been allowed to survive in such countries as Turkey. It has been remarked by a writer well acquainted with the subject that the municipal institutions of Turkey amounted to little more than an arrangement for facilitating the collection of the taxes. Fiscal convenience was the end and object of the institution. Each district or town was assessed to pay a certain amount, and the repartition of that was left to the Municipality. The system was, therefore, too intimately connected with a bad system of taxation to become the means of turning a nation to freedom and justice. The alien ruler allied himself with the chief people in a league of plunder of the poorer classes. We must start therefore on the basis, that the Municipality has nothing to do with *Imperial taxation or the administration of Justice*. The principle should be that of election of a limited number, with reference to the peculiar size and constitution of the community for a fixed period. No hereditary claim should be admitted. The members must be of good character and repute, in full possession of their faculties, resident and in tolerable circumstances. Their duties should be to provide for the conservancy of the town, and be the mouth piece and representative of their fellow citizens. Byelaws for their guidance should be drawn up steering clear of the two rocks of shawl subervience to the Officers of Government and complete independence. Gradually, as the art of self government is learnt, and liberty is distinguished from licence, the reins should be relaxed and the influence of the local Officer be felt more by advice than by orders, and in this way the next generation may be trained.

By such a Municipality would be arranged the *farm*, which local rating is to assume, and the mode of collection. Penalties would be enforced on their prosecution. The assessments for the Municipal Police, being contribution to the Police fund of the Province, must be fixed for the year in consultation with the Officers of Government, but the remainder should be spent at the discretion of the Committee subject to a formal audit and report. Conservancy, improvement, and ornamentation of streets, erection of public buildings and the numerous petty details, which vex the hearts of Magis rates, should be made over to the Municipal body, who

will communicate freely but demi-officially with the Magistrate, upon whose intelligence, forbearance, and knowledge of mankind, much will depend. Unless there are funds to spend, such a body is not required. If they are properly constituted, the members should be allowed free scope to work, and not be crushed or humiliated. At the same time there should be no plundering, no civil jobbing, no oppression of the lower classes, and, if the lethargy of the upper classes induce a stagnation, the Officers of Government must resume those powers, which were delegated neither to be abused, nor to be neglected.

II. But another and more crying want will be supplied by such Municipalities. As already remarked, we daily walk upon volcanoes: we neither know the feelings of the subject millions nor do we care. It would be ludicrous, if it were not dangerous, to read the reports of some District-Officer vouching, as if, by inspiration, for the opinions of the hundreds of thousands, whom he is supposed to represent. Round each European community, like flies round the honey-pot, flutter and look a few select sycophants and toadies, who represent to the official eye the general Public. As well-dressed natives, with a conventional lawn and flatter, they get access to the Ruler, to urge their own or their neighbour's cases. At odd times, they feel the direction, in which the Court-wind blows, and trim their sails accordingly. Thus are accounted for the inconsistent opinions forwarded at different times from the same locality, being the reflection of the same thing through different coloured glasses. Moreover, there are subjects, on which the best natives would give wrong opinions, or partial opinions. Let us reflect on the suggestions with regard to Polygamy, Divorce, or the treatment of women, which a Mahomedan Deputy-Collector of lax morality would tender, or the advice with regard to Rent-rates, which would be gleaned from a council of landowners. The only remedy to this evil is to hold periodical City and Provincial Councils in each District, for the expression of opinions, and the representation of grievances. The city Municipalities and the village Headmen, as legally constituted, should be convened annually, and often if required, to form the common Council of the District, or subdivision of District. The new measure should be propounded and explained. The secret grievances, long gnawing the vitals of the community, would be boldly spoken out, or guessed from the murmurings. The corrupt Official would then, by general acclamation, be denounced; many a mistaken idea would be removed both on the side of the governors and the governed, and even, where the State-Official could not concede a cherished wish, or yield to a deep-rooted antipathy, still he could explain the motives, and ask for toleration to a measure, in which concurrence was hopeless.

III. I now pass to the honorary Police-Officer. The organi-

zation of the Police has been of one great, though indirect, advantage, in that it has drawn a distinct line of severance betwixt the Executive Police duties of the public prosecutor and the judicial duties of the Magistrate or Judge. They were too much blended in older times, although essentially different. It is the duty of the Policeman to take *præsumpt* cognizance of every offence, and to report it in his diary, and to take active cognizance of certain offences, in which the State, as the representative of Society, determines to prosecute. So also it is the duty of the general public to give information to the Police of the occurrence of certain offences, and to assist the Police under all circumstances. Then it often happens, that the people have the knowledge without the power or inclination to act, while the Police who have the power are deficient in knowledge. Moreover, under the new procedure the proceedings of the Police are brief and simple: he records no deposition, and hazards no opinion as to the guilt of the offender. The chief qualifications of a Police-Officer are honesty, intelligence, and local knowledge, and these are often found in the person of the Rural Notable, who is to be met with in every District, though under different designations. He is one of the people, but slightly in advance of his neighbours. Under the old regime he occupied a position of considerable importance, which he often abused, but under our levelling system he has been reduced below what is his due, and has lost a sphere of great usefulness. Such an individual vested with Police-powers and remunerated by an annual payment, supplies the hiatus, which yawns between the stipendiary Police and the people. Nothing escapes his ken, and the real history of each mysterious occurrence, which baffles the alien detective, cannot long escape the influential denizen with his secret channels of information. I am, therefore, in favour of this measure, but the selection must be cautious. If the class of men do not exist, they cannot be created. Where they do exist, the precise duties must be explained. They must know what they may, or may not, do, and they must be carefully watched and loyally supported by the District-Officer. The same must be avoided of attempting to encourage a cheap Police in this way. It is not economy, but efficiency, which is sought for by the measure: a wise forbearance should be exercised, and technical errors be overlooked, if essential justice has been done.

IV. *Arbitration has always been had recourse to in our Civil Courts, and provision is made to remunerate the arbitrators, who are withdrawn from their proper duties.* Under native rule this is the only machinery for the adjudication of disputes: under our rule it is a very favourite one; but when the Court undertakes to execute the award of arbitrators, it must have some guarantee for the correctness of the decisions. The evil report, which has attached to this mode of employing Honorary agents, has arisen

from the unskilful and careless handling of arbitrators by judicial officers. - It is not enough to make over the case to parties, whose names are suggested by the litigants; but the issues must be carefully drawn, and the matter to be disposed of by the arbitrators must be set before them distinctly, and they must understand, that beyond these points they must not go, and that their award must be so framed, as to be capable of execution by the Court. With these precautions their awards should be final, except on proof of corruption or misdirection. The greatest care should be taken to relieve the arbitrators from the irksomeness of long journeys and long delays, and the services of the same persons should not be repeatedly pressed; and never should distinguished and respectable individuals be called upon against their wishes, to arbitrate in the petty concerns of their humbler neighbours.

much doubted, whether intricate cases involving questions of mercantile law are disposed of in a manner, that is creditable to the Judge, or satisfactory to the parties. Often cases are kept back from the Courts, and attempts made to work out a private compromise. It is, therefore, most expedient, that Tribunals of Commerce should be constituted in all marts and entrepôts of commerce. A list of notable citizens of unblemished commercial reputation should be prepared, and a certain number each year should form the Tribunal, which should act in concert with the Civil Judge of the city without any independent jurisdiction. For instance, when a suit has been lodged in the Court, the issues should be carefully drawn, and the case then made over to the Tribunal, who would forward their award to the Court to be embodied into a Decree. Thus, the advantage of local knowledge and judicial exactness would be combined. Where the unpaid agent fails, is in want of system and exactness; where the paid Judge fails, is in want of local knowledge and patience in unravelling complicated accounts.

VIII. Against any employment of individuals as Honorary Magistrates, and Honorary Civil Judges, I protest. The absurdities, which have been perpetrated in this direction, baffle all description. There is something on the first blush of the scheme so liberal, so practical, so English-like: visions are called up of the Country-Squire, not that he has always proved impeccable, when the case before him involved the atrocious crime of poaching. But ever since the time that Lord Canning, himself sprung from the people, went in for aristocratic principles, the cry has been taken up by many popularity-hunting politicians, who in their own country would be democrats. Thus, it has happened, that in the Panjâb and Oude, the wolves have been formally vested with judicial power over the sheep, and many a Jaghirdar and Talûddar, who had a few years before been shorn of powers to injure, which he had abused, found himself legally vested with powers Criminal, Civil, and (Heaven save the mark!) Revenue, over the unfortunate people, who by their ill luck fall under his black shadow. The time may come when both the classes, above alluded to, may be extinct. If it be asked, what is the difference between a Jaghirdar and a Talûddar, it may be replied, that it is something like the difference betwixt a crocodile and an alligator, the same ravenous power, but a slightly different snout and a differently shaped, though equally capacious, jaw and belly. *Alieni appetens in profectus*, is the motto of this class. They are ignorant, selfish, insolent, and have not any qualification for the distribution of justice, which, if done at all, is done by corrupt underlings. Yet while the greatest pains were being taken to improve the administration of Justice, by the examination of Government-Servants, and the introduction of Codes of law, at the same time these savages

were vested with powers and jurisdictions formed for their amusement, or gratification, or glorification. So over-sanguine were the partizans of this measure, that in the reports of a Province, famous for fulsome praise, I find that an actual change in the appearance of the people owing to this measure is vouched for as visible to the naked eye. One native Magistrate was praised for the efficient discharge of his duties during a period, at the close of which he had not actually been invested. One kindly old Honorary Civil Magistrate, at a loss how to decide a civil suit, ordered a Decree for the plaintiff, and an order on his own treasurer to reimburse the defendant. Everything was gradually becoming Honorary, up to the time of the advent of Lord Lawrence, a Viceroy of very different experiences, and sentiments. I believe that the tide turned, just when Honorary School-Masters were about to be appointed. The next step would have been Honorary Surgeons and Vaccinators. The extreme left of this school proposed something like the abolition of all fixed Tribunals, and the substitution of migratory Courts composed of white-robed agriculturists convened under shady groves to sweep up the petty disputes of the village, and pass on. Common sense and a sense of ridicule triumphed, and these schemes have been abandoned. Some of these Honorary Officials died; some were dismissed for gross misconduct, or for political misdeemeanor; and I understand that the number was not added to. It is asserted that all the loud-mouthed champions of an injured Râja, the men who write little volumes in defence of Native States, and in abuse of the British Government, invariably are found to have native domestic ties. I cannot vouch for this by an exhaustive examination, but I can lay down another axiom, that the advocates of these wild schemes of Honorary agencies, and making over to the people to do gratuitously work for the performance of which they are highly paid themselves, are generally busy triflers, with vast armars of business, which they ought to have got through.

The truth seems to be that, so long as we collect the State-Revenue, we are bound to provide the best machinery for the administration of Justice that is available; we are bound to seek out, and train in our schools and colleges, natives of good family, good education, and good repute, to pay them well, treat them well, control them well, give them a good day's wages for a good day's work, receive them with honour and respect, and exhort them to secure a good name among their fellow-countrymen. Unpaid labour is notoriously bad labour; unskilled labour is notoriously bad labour also. It is idle to suppose, that it takes years to qualify a man to be a surgeon, or a school-master, and that any one is good enough to dispense Justice. How little they know of the difficulty, who say so! Honest men have openly declined to undertake Honorary duties, which must, if properly discharged, occupy a great

deal of their time. Dishonest men will jump at such duties from the indirect advantages especially as regards coercing or frightening the agriculturists which they anticipate. I trust that this policy has worked itself out never again to be had recourse to.

These remarks apply to the rural jurisdictions, which have been carried out for the express benefit of particular individuals, without the least consideration for judicial fitness. In cities and towns however, there are sometimes found men of respectability and education, who having retired from active business, are not unwilling to lend themselves to the service of Government and constitute a Board of Magistrates for the disposal of petty cases. Their numbers secure honesty, the immediate presence of the Magistrate prevents abuse of power, the residence in cities guarantees a certain degree of education, respectability, and character. This measure differs *in toto* from the vesting a single ignorant jungle savage with power, at a distance from control, over the very people, who require being protected from him.

IX. The idea of a Honorary Magistracy of Deeds has been suggested but it appears to be just one of those duties which should be entrusted to a paid agency only because, unless honesty and accuracy are secured, the object of registration is lost and the dispute is transferred from the question of the truth of the transaction to the correctness of the Register. It is a mistake to suppose, that in any part of the world people will be found to discharge any routine duty for strangers gratuitously. The Honorary Registrar would certainly, before very long, require an unauthorized remuneration to induce him to discharge his duties. Why not allow him fees at once? Then, if fees are allowed there is no difference between him and any other stipendiary. If the real meaning of the movement be to induce respectable members of the non official classes to undertake the duties of Registrar on the authorized remuneration there can be no objection but such an employment is not Honorary.

X. A Court of Industrial Judges, or in other words a Council for the adjudication of trade disputes, should be established in every large manufacturing town to assist the Civil Judge in settling disputes between workmen and masters. A difference composed by advice is better than a strife decided by a judgment. The Council should be elective, and composed of masters and workmen and formed of two chambers. The former should assemble in private for the purpose of conciliation and the latter in public to adjudicate in those cases where the friendly attempts of the first chamber have failed. It often happens that disputes with regard to wages or apprentices arise which are entirely unintelligible to the ordinary Court, but which are capable of easy solution, if brought before such a tribunal as I now propose.

XI. Councils of conciliation for Family quarrels

Numerous are the cases of discord in a family, which should never see the light, but which, under the 'unfeeling policy' of the Anglo-Indian Courts, are brought at once into the broad glare of the Court amidst the shame of the litigants, and the derision of the bystanders. Numerous are the cases of doubt and difficulty, especially in the family of the widow, the minor, and the issue of double or ill-assorted marriages, where the voice of legitimate authority is required to compose the strife, and arrange for the future. The sudden death of the head of the house sets rival wives, the mothers of rival families, by the ears. Step-son is rancorous against step-mother. Each demands more, and gets less than his own right. The village or quarter of the town is scandalized at the curtain being raised, that screened the privacy of a respectable citizen, whose body, if a Mahometan, is still feasting the jackals in the adjoining cemetery, or whose ashes, if a Hindu, are still tied up in a napkin, preparatory to their transport to the Ganges. Respectable men with tears in their eyes have sought the advice of the English Judge in such hard cases, and sought it in vain. There is no alternative betwixt dragging into Court the wife of their father, or submitting to be deprived of the jewels and paraphernalia of their own deceased mother. The accounts of the firm have to be laid open in full Court before half-brothers can relax the grip on each other's throat, which commenced on the death of their parent. The minor is plundered from want of system in his household. No dowry is forthcoming for the orphan-girl. For the settlement of such difficulties the admirable institution of Family Councils presents a ready remedy. Composed of the agnates and cognates of the family, it should be convened by the Judge. All attempts to deceive them will fall through: ordinarily they will have the credit of the family at heart, and even supposing that they could not get the litigants of the family to agree to their award, still their recorded opinion of what is right, and their discovery of the value of the property, will furnish the regular Courts with materials for a proper Decree.

There may be other occasions, on which the assistance of the people may be solicited and obtained in the management of civil affairs: but it must always be in subordination to the constituted Tribunals, and acting as an auxiliary, and not as an independent, agency. I do not say that, as the people are habituated to self-government, they may not be entrusted with larger powers. I see with satisfaction that natives are members of the Council of the Provinces, and of the Council of the Empire. I am glad to hear of their forming themselves into associations, and assembling to discuss political questions. I am glad to hear of their establishing organs of public opinion, and availing themselves of all the constitutional methods of influencing, checking, and advising the Government. I rejoice to see them in high Office, members of the

highest Court of Judicature, and filling numerous stipendiary Offices in every part of the Empire. What I object to is the tempting them by sinister motives to discharge the sacred duties of a Judge gratuitously. It was officially reported, that one Honorary Judge did not like the trouble of deciding civil suits; he did not object to decide Revenue cases: probably he was a party concerned in them. And so the motives of any one of the petty Chiefs, whom impulsive Governors have turned into Magistrates, Civil Judges, and Police Officers, and they may be generally reduced to a wish to increase their own importance, and feather their own nests.

I have the highest sympathy with the unrepresented people of India, scattered in their thousands of villages, congregated in their hundreds of towns. Belonging to a school now dying out, I have spent years among the people, and learnt to love and respect them. They have no horses or elephants to lend to the Englishman, no banquets or dances to invite them to, they make no great show at a Darbar, but they are the people, whose interests should be dear to us. My heart's desire is to see them educated and elevated, and in due time they will see things more clearly than they do now. But the improvement must be upwards. With the hereditary scoundrel, who, gross, vicious, cowardly, ignorant, selfish, pitiless, places his bloated person betwixt the Government and the people, I wish to have nothing to do. In times past he may have had his use, but the present belongs to the industrious agriculturist, the enterprising merchant, the men of education, and the men of character.

And nowhere in the French institutions do we find the black spot, which disgraced our own, the distinction betwixt man and man, the enactment of one law for one class of British subjects, and a second for one less favoured. The French have introduced the best systems in their power, and enforced it alike on all, circumcised or uncircumcised, whether a citizen or a stranger. It is taking the very lowest view of our position in India to have such a care for the Anglo-Saxon only amidst the great family of nations. Let the American citizen, the French, the German settler, take his chance, but the Yorkshireman and Irishman be protected. It is a low view to care only for the white faces (including some very yellow ones, by courtesy European British subjects), and not to remember, that this country was given to us, that we might deal justly with the vast indigenous population, and give them the very best, cheapest, and simplest forms of Justice, that Science can suggest, or energy work out.

CHAPTER IX.

DETUR DIGNIORI, OR THE MODE OF DISPENSING PUBLIC PATRONAGE IN INDIA.

EXAMINATION is the order of the day; it is the particular feature, perhaps snare, of the last half of the nineteenth century. In its two developments, either as competition based on a maximum, or qualifications based on a minimum, it has gradually inserted itself into every department of the State, civil or military, home or colonial. I expect that, before long, the principle will invade even domestic privacy, and that servants generally, partners probably, and wives possibly, will be selected with reference to tests, evidenced by certificates, and that all mankind in the great arena in the world will be docketed as good, indifferent, or bad: a great many false outward shows will no doubt be unmasked, but on the other hand much modest, but undemonstrative, merit will thus be trampled on.

I am a radical reformer by training and conviction, and never oppose the idea of the age, so long as it is not opposed to morality or religion. The real revolutionist is your obstinate conservative, who, by opposing inevitable progress, brings on a catastrophe: by floating on the advance wave of reform and progress, but with the rudder firm in hand, much may be done to prevent a popular idea being exaggerated into a burlesque, or shrivelled up into dry form. We cannot lay this monster, which is the result of the Educational fervour of the last fifty years: let us try to control it. We may find a good servant, where there would certainly have been a bad master.

Is competition then a snare? Is the trouble taken by Government to secure qualified employes thrown away? Have the fool, the inert, the nephew of my uncle, the brother of my wife, the good sort of young men, to whose relations I am indebted, the fellow who plays the flute, the younger son who has outrun the constable, a right to a monopoly of the good things of Office? These are the questions before us; if any one denies the right alluded to in the latter question, he must affirm, more or less, the principle laid down in the former, for there are but three roads,

patronage of India had to be disposed of, and a very different cause produced the same result. By degrees the Army has been infected and all the professional branches have been thrown open, and, if this state of things continue, for the fools, who are now in course of gestation, or who are still under age, it will be no easy matter to win a living; for hereafter, if a man's wits do not help him, he may be pretty certain, that his friends cannot. Now as it is a received fact, that every family has one fool at least, if not more, we must expect, that there will be a large body of malcontents with the new idea.

But there is no peace for the wicked, even after they have entered their profession; for the idea of the age has not only embittered the sweets of a nomination by insisting on a certified efficiency, but it has fenced round promotion in the junior grades in a most insufferable way. The Commander-in-Chief in England, and the Governor-General in India, have done this wrong to the Army and Civil Service, and most unpleasant and irksome it is to have to study, when a few years ago the only duty was to draw pay. But as yet open competition has not invaded the ranks of the Service, and a minimum qualification is still deemed sufficient, but the Public has great faith in the system of unrestricted competition: it has steadily made its way: every year brought over some new converts from the ranks of those, by whom it had been at first opposed: it has proved itself to be stronger than all Parliaments and all Governments, superior in short to all the influences which could be brought to bear against it. An Order in Council dated May 21, 1855, was passed, appointing a Civil Service Commission to conduct examinations of all young men proposed to be appointed to junior situations in the Civil Establishments. Nomination was to remain as before with the heads of departments, but dependent on a certified qualification, and moreover a period of probation would be passed in all cases, during which conduct and capacity were to be submitted to tests. Provision was made, that, when persons of mature years and special qualifications were appointed, the Chief of the Department must formally record the fact, which would justify an exemption from examination. In March, 1856, the first Report of the Civil Service Commissioners was presented to Parliament. Their report most entirely justifies the measure, and it presents a curious insight into official life, and a sufficient exposure of official prejudices. The Commissioners had great difficulties to contend with in their desire to keep all departments in harmony, for, though the Chiefs were all with them, the hungry underlings, with their imperfectly educated sons and nephews, opposed, as far as they could. "The cry was raised, that there would be a risk of not getting such gentlemanly men, and that school-proficiency was not the only test: this was especially amusing, as the very same cry was raised by the opponents of the

principle of competition as regards the Civil Service of India, from which we gather that all those, who are in possession of place and power, are, by courtesy of official parlance, gentlemanly. However, the small end of the wedge was got well in, and out of 1078 persons nominated to hold places under Government, 309, or nearly one third, were rejected, for bad spelling, bad writing, and bad arithmetic, and the Commissioners in the Appendix supply some charming specimens of the proficiency of parliamentary nominees. They remark, that the frequent occurrence in candidates of deficiency in the simple elements of knowledge arises from the fact, that many of the inferior appointments are made without personal knowledge of the fitness of the party, on the recommendation of some person, who is desirous not of supplying the public with a useful officer, but of making a competent provision for a friend. This reads like bitter irony and hidden satire. I remember the case of an Undergraduate of Oxford who passed in Theology and Philosophy (Heaven save the mark!) and was plucked in Arithmetic.

The Order in Council expressly excluded competitive examinations, confining the measure entirely to the certified minimum, but some of the Chiefs of Departments were more liberal than the collective Council, and the Secretary for the Colonies expressed a wish that, when vacancies occurred for a writership in Ceylon, several candidates should contend, that the best qualified might be appointed. The Commissioners remark, that both in the competitive examination for clerks in their own and other Offices, those who had succeeded in obtaining the appointments possessed higher attainments than those who had come in on nomination and that if it were adopted as the usual course to nominate several candidates, to compete for each vacancy, the expectation of the ordeal would act most beneficially upon the education and industry of those young men, who were looking forward to public employment.

These examinations were conducted both in London and the Provinces. The age of candidates was fixed with reference to the nature of the duty. The health was certified by a Medical Officer, and the character by some respectable person. But the responsibility of this last most difficult subject rested with the head of the particular department under the system of nomination. Each department submitted their own scheme of examination yet in the opinion of the Commissioners, after making every allowance for difference of standard a common ground for one general examination might be attained which should be indispensable to all and which should serve as a species of matriculation, tending rather to exclude candidates who do not possess necessary qualification, than to designate absolutely the candidate considered to be best fitted for a particular vacancy. All that the Commissioners require of the candidates, and really they could not ask for less, is

I. To write a 'good hand.' II. To spell correctly. III. To write a simple letter grammatically. IV. To be conversant with the elementary portions of Arithmetic. The "specialities" of each department would only be inquired into, when the indispensable qualification standard had been reached. I really think, that the Commissioners could not have required less, and might well be blamed for not having demanded more, of the elegant and dapper young men, who fill the public offices in England. They certainly are not paid highly, nor do they work very energetically. I have viewed with admiration, in some of the public Offices, the calm and self-satisfied air of the Official, the smoothly-shaved chin, the neat necktie, the irreproachable costume, the easy way, in which he turns over the leaves of his book, or deigns to commit his views to foolscap, with occasional refreshment from his sandwich-box, a glance at the broad sheet of the *Times*, or a chat with his neighbours in the adjoining curtained partition, and I wondered how such a man would comport himself, if his destiny had doomed him to grow a red beard, while hunting down rebels in Oudh, or to sit in shirt sleeves with the thermometer at one hundred, judging the subject millions in the Panjáb. I have been puzzled in England to find out exactly the limit betwixt the mere copyist, the *Bibu* of the Indian Office, and the intellectual workman. In India the Official, defined as a clerk, is, however respectable, admitted to be socially inferior, can be sent for, and, if necessary, kept standing; but the roughest and readiest of non-regulation Officials could not have the heart to keep standing, or speak curtly to, one of the gentlemanly young clerks of the Home Offices.

and the examinations held by the Society of Arts. However much they are abused and hushed if they will not be hushed down, for their object is to certify merit and qualification. The great majority of the world are not dispensers of patronage, and they know not therefore the pressure brought to bear by interested parties, and the difficulty experienced in selecting fit men. A young man has no antecedents to refer to, and he has but his ingenuous countenance, and the too partial recommendation of his instructor, to bring forward, until the opportunities were offered him of submitting his qualifications to the test of an impartial examination. It is another strange sign of the times that such benevolent and unselfish exertions in the favour of friendless youths should have encountered censure. The only real objection is a political one and one which is honestly entertained by those, who regard the movement from a different point of view. They dread the disturbing effect on the national character, they deprecate the idea, that the poorer class should be tempted to leave their own sphere and their own callings, and consider a petty Government Office as the summum bonum of existence. No measure indeed could be more degrading to the independent spirit of a nation than that the posts of clerks and scribes should have the character of an order of merit. We know how completely the independence of the French people has been swamped by the legion of small civil posts in the gift of the Minister, and in the European community we have another notable instance of the degeneracy which is the heritage of a race, which has nothing but official servitude to look to, and the monopoly of suckling clerks, and doctoring despatches. However, the object of these voluntary examinations is different they are correctly described as mere matters of business and it is simply proposed to find out, and certify who are really educated for the duties of certain known positions in life.

I turn to India. I have dwelt upon purely English subjects advisedly. I believe that the Mother Country furnishes the very best example to us, that the more Anglicized we are, and the less that we have of Anglo Indianism the better. In every measure we steel for the freshness of the British opinion, and not the prejudices of the Indian bureau. I really regard with pity those amongst us, who have never visited Great Britain for a quarter of a century, and who are as antiquated in their ideas as in their shirt-collars. It should be the policy of Government to insist upon a furlough being taken by its servants after each decade and on the veteran making his bow, when he has served his time. It is positively as dishonest for a Civilian to climb to India after his term of twenty five years is past as for a knave to refuse to vacate a house when his lease has expired.

Now as regards the subject of Examinations in India we have the great advantage of the example having been shown by the

deserved, as well as to have borne off, the palm I look with unmixed satisfaction on the

"Juvenum recens Examen, Cois timendum Partibus"

Of the detractors of the new birth and the fond regretters of the old families, I ask, "Cet sang tant il est pur?" Is there any virtue in a clique of relations spreading over a country? Look around, and mark how some families have sat down like locusts on a Province, how every official change indicates a move on the family chess-board even the miserable pawns, which were only meant to be taken off, are pushed forward into places where they never ought to be, were they not covered by parti coloured knights, or smiled upon by queens. In one Province to my own knowledge the Governor had provided for relations to the amount of salary of £10,000 per annum and when restrained with, said, that he was not worse than an English Bishop. When he was knighted, it was suggested that he should take the motto of "He give his own sea gulls to his own sea men." Are men the worse because they have graduated at the University, or been called to the Bar, because their intellects are strong and their faculties developed? Must India be governed by a succession of lads brought up under a coop, and thrust unledged into the market trained in the narrow groove that suited the views of the examiner or the trainer, instead of the broad groove of the intellectual education of the day?

Under the old system it was a strange sight that met the gaze of the youth, whose career was suddenly diverted from the great arena of the English world to the narrow path which is trodden by the Indian Civilian? What a strange collection of half-men half-boys were assembled at the India House to enlargo, what appeared to an Etimian in the Sixth Form a farce, but to many there present was a serious passage of arms? They appeared with their trainers, and knew a little of everything. When the Examiners complimented me for my knowledge of the Greek Testament, I innocently answered that I had read that book in the Fourth Form five years ago. Then came the more lengthy farce of Haileybury, where men were by courtesy styled Highly Distinguished who certainly have never been considered so since. Lastly the mockery of the College of Fort William, which was only passed, when the student had become inhibited to every Calcutta trade-man he then proceeded up country, and found to his surprise that he had everything worth knowing to learn and some new things to learn.

tions, forgetting that it is well to do so from your own resources, but not at the expense of the public: this is the weak side of most men, but I have no patience with those, who exercise their amiable feelings of pity, charity, and general benevolence at the cost of the people, while the credit attaches to themselves. The evil is known in many phases. A late Commander-in-Chief openly stated, that the patronage of the Army was his private property, forgetting that it was a sacred trust. A late Governor in his farewell address said, that he had never attended to the claims of patronage, yet his warmest admirers admit, that they could not have said so for him: he used to say that it was not an abuse of patronage to provide for relations, if they were fit: but are they fit? that is the rub. As it was formerly, with each new local potentate up sprang a new clique of relations: sons and daughters marry, and the Gazette notes the fact, as well as the column of domestic events: men get promotion, because their wife is sister to the wife of somebody at Headquarters, degrading for him, if he has any proud feeling of self-esteem, and depressing for the enthusiastic and hard-working man, who has no friend at Court. At one time everybody in a locality answered to the name of "Mac": at another time you might fancy, from the prevalence of the Doric idiom, that you were in Tipperary.

I write not as one, who has a grievance, who has been disappointed in the battle of life, and, therefore, looks at snug family arrangements with a jaundiced eye; I am not the stern Patriot, who could not get the place for which I sued, for, in fact, I got everything about ten years before I had a right to it. I write deliberately, that there should be a self-denying ordinance; it should be the object of a wise and just Government to destroy class interests, to place Trojan and Tyrian on the same level, to polish by instruction, to test by examination, to promote by merit, to eliminate the fool, the dotard, the worn-out, and hoist the flag of "Detur Digniori." If a close service is allowed to continue, it must be so, only, because it is fit to do so. Recruited by competition, kept up to the mark by periodical tests, encouraged by judicious patronage, it should be weded by the compulsory removal of those, who are fit for nothing, the very halt and lame of the profession. Pity them not. Every profession abounds with such men, but they do not bear the light, they shrink away into obscurity. Who pities the high and dry Divine, the unscientific Doctor, the ill-served half-pay Captain, the bristles Baster? We have swept away the sinners, but left the men eminently calculated to fill such posts, and no other: out of every ten there is at least a third "fruges consumere nati," and I have heard a Governor express the very great difficulty, which he had to provide for such men. The Panjib had flourished, because the system of Government was strictly eclectic, and because the Governor was strong enough to eject every man, who failed to

maintain the required standard, and because he had then an abyss, into which he could plunge his rejected, namely, the Government of the North West Provinces, and the native line regiments. How matters are now managed, I am anxious to know, when each factory has to consume its own smoke.

Vested rights are no longer spoken of, and there is a sulky feeling on the subject of the claims of seniority. Matters are changed since the time of that famous Civilian, who offered to compromise with the Court of Directors, and take £500 per annum to do nothing in England, instead of £1000 on the same terms in India, thereby being a manifest benefactor to the people of India. But in truth I believe, that the time is come to throw open the service entirely: it is not wise to make another close guild and shut out men of mature intellect, and approved capacity in other walks of life, who find that India is their calling. I instance especially barristers, who have acquired the language, and merchants, but there must necessarily be a limit with regard to age, and, as is the case in the English Office, such an appointment must be made very deliberately, on certified qualification. For those public servants, who have a real interest in their duties, how welcome would be the co-operation of men with wider experience, more special knowledge, and enlarged English views! For one class of public servants the new order of things will be fatal. I allude to the present uncovenanted employees, who are for the most part educated in this country, or Eurasians by birth. They have helped to raise a storm, and will be caught in the whirlwind as long as the ranks of the Civil Service were recruited by patronage, and as long as seniority kept all to a dull level, there was room for a grievance and a semblance of liberality in the proposition to substitute alleged efficiency for certified inefficiency. But the class of men, whom every ship now lands in India owe nothing to favour: they are strong on the very points, in which the Uncovenanted thought themselves strong, and strongest where the Uncovenanted are necessarily weak, in the advantages of English education. If these men are kept up to their promise by periodical tests, and promoted by merit it will be a hopeless task to compete with them, and the more that India is governed from home the more numerous will be the supplies of men qualified for employment. As yet the value of the appointments and the nature of the duties, are but imperfectly appreciated in England: the cotton of the Company's sales still sticks in our hearts and socially the Indian civilian has to yield to his brothers in the English Bar or the Church, though the advantage is on his side as regards income. But this cloud will soon clear up, and things will appear as they really are.

The number of the Covenanted Civil Service might be reduced to the smallest figure, that political necessities allow. We must

recollect, that we may have to cope with Mutinies and Rebellions. If in 1857 the high and important posts had been held by Natives, they might have vacillated, been time-servers, and not thrown themselves heart and soul into our cause. It is simply because Lord Canning had the entire resources of the State at his disposal, that he triumphed. Every Public Officer was ready to die at his post: we know that the state of affairs in the Independent States was very different. Even the crafty old fox Maharaja Gulab Singh of Kashmir carefully counted the cost, and his grandson will do the same. Having limited the number of the Contracted Civil Service, every other post should be given to a Native or a Eurasian: we should have no inferior Europeans, and uneducated needy adventurers from Great Britain. Talleyrand talked wittily of "*Cet Monstre terrible, un père de famille*." So it is in British India: the Father of sin was piteously begged the Lieutenant-Governor to put one of them into an Office, that he may eat a piece of bread: thus I have known instances of men, who had failed for the Civil Service, coming out, and receiving posts even better paid than those who succeeded. Thus, in some Provinces, Royal Families have been established, occupying the fat of the land. At the time of the death of Lord Elgin, it was stated that, when a vacancy occurred, he never asked the nature of the duties, but only the amount of the salary, and he appointed a man to the Court of Appeal of a Province, who had never tried a case, with a lofty contempt for qualifications.

most satisfactory results. To their introduction there were many opponents, and many doubters, and a Lieutenant Governor to the last disapproved of them, under the idea, that many excellent Officers would fail to pass the standard. His views were founded upon a mistaken idea of the nature of the examination. It was intended to be, and is, strictly professional, without room for book learning, pedantry, feats of memory, or mere cramming. The best practical proof of the suitability of the rules is, that in the long run all have passed, and the best proof of the advantage to be derived therefrom is, that the men of the last ten years are better grounded, and better officers, than those of the preceding period. There was a good deal of jibbing and refusing the collar at the first start, but at last all took to the draught, and as there are two standards it has been necessary to restrain parties from passing both at once. Promotion is, or ought to be, regulated by the report of these examinations, and, if a man wishes to distinguish himself above his fellows, he now has the opportunity. I maintain that, with rare exceptions the first boy at the Public School is the first throughout life, supposing that he has won that position in fair fight over worthy rivals. For what led him at school to contend for honour, but that feeling, immortalized by Homer, of always desiring to be the best, and that feeling, if not allowed to be choked by the good things of the world, or trampled out by neglect will not desert him. It has been remarked, that no doubt self-tuition is sufficient for great minds, what great men conquer for themselves nourishes the mind the rest is but lumber. But it is a palpable error to suppose, that all will educate themselves, the majority, who range about mediocrity, have to be educated by force, thence the necessity of stimulants of periodical refreshers and the justification of the measure for continuing the period of pupillage far into manhood.

The natural and logical deduction from what I have described is, that all Natives in the service of the State should be selected according to merit. The scheme has been either purposely misunderstood, or hastily condemned, and has been classed with certain other measures of an impractical and pedagogical character. When a man hires a cook, he certainly requires, that his dinner should be served up properly, and if that test fail, no feelings of benevolence would induce the master to keep the servant. When a particular weapon is introduced in the Army, soldiers are placed in a school, and required to obtain a proficiency in its use, and promotion, or reward, fall to the lot of the most proficient. The printer would not keep a devil, who could not do the work of his craft, the tradesman would not keep a shop boy, or the merchant a clerk, unless he were fit and continued to be fit. Already the Government are at a disadvantage as regards individual members of the community, for if an employe is dismissed from a private

situation, there is nothing for it but to look about for work elsewhere, but, if the Government exert such a power, there is a howl set up by interested parties, as if some prescriptive right had been acquired. It is notorious, that Government is less well served than private concerns, in spite of regular salaries and pensions, and the delays and inefficiency and often gross carelessness of public employes are a favourite theme of comment. And yet, when attempts are made to secure the introduction of fit men, to train and instruct those already in service, to weed out incapables, a cry is raised against the movement. So inconsistent and imperfectly informed is the Public, that it appears as useless to try and impress clearly on minds pre-occupied by interested prejudices, the objects of the movement, as to write distinctly on paper, which has been scribbled over with a pencil, and yet the system I advocate is founded on human interests and sympathies.

Be it always recorded in praise of native candidates for employ, that as an educated class they are superior to the European or Eurasian of the country: while an English clerk cannot express himself correctly or simply in any letter, so that all heads of departments have to draft their own letters on the commonest subjects, the native clerk of the lowest stamp can read and write, correctly one, if not two, languages, is well versed in arithmetic, and can write from dictation, and draw up grammatical, and even elegantly expressed, reports. It is not generally known, that India is governed by *Dictation*: the Public Official sits surrounded by Native Clerks, who record his brief verbal orders in Proceedings or Mandates, and bring them to him for signature and seal. There are certain classes who live by the pen, and who, from tuition at home or at school arrive at this stage, and, if employed in a Government Office, will keep at this stage for the whole of their lives. As to general Education, literary tastes, expanded notions, they have them not, but to a certain extent they form a guild, and it is not easy for a stranger trained in another groove to find a place among them. This is the real impediment to the introduction of the Christian element among the native employes, as the acquirements obtained in Mission and Government schools are unpractical: there is no question about Religion. The Hindu and Mahomedan sit side by side, and so might the Christian, if he were only fit: in the English branch of a Public Office he is generally to be found, but in the Vernacular rarely. A guild, once formed of the literary classes, has a tendency to perpetuate itself and exclude intruders. The sons and nephews of Public employes arrive soon at the minimum stage, and have lived from the earliest days among Officials; when vacancies occur, they are pushed forward, and, as the European Officers are constantly being changed, certain families or cliques become all powerful, and the real masters of the position. Perhaps every ten years comes a clearance, a feud springs up

and the unjust, the creature of favour, and the successful adventurer: Certificates of proficiency neither kept back men from rebellion, nor did they save their necks from the gallows: as a rule, the efficient servants of Government joined the rebels, the stolid fools remained loyal. Most lamentable fallings away are on record in every District, and compilers of Vernacular treatises came under the sharp discipline of the Special Commissioners. Rebellion appeared to infect individuals, like the small-pox, or other epidemic, for those, who did remain firm, could no more explain, why they did so, than those who rebelled.

The Examination enjoined is strictly professional. There are departmental Colleges for Engineers at Rurki, for Surgeons at Agra and Calcutta, there are normal schools for the training of school-masters, musquetry schools for soldiers: the same is recommended for civil employes. It is not proposed to open all posts to public competition, but to restrict selection to certain classes, which would be recruited annually by qualification examinations, to be held in each District. As in England, so in India, age, health, and character should be considered; neither caste, nationality nor religion, have ever been either an advantage or impediment in the Civil Department, and whoever says that they have, is imperfectly informed. There should be two standards of Examination, the ordinary, and the special, the latter being modified to suit the particular department of the Service, and all graduates of Government, or Missionary schools being considered to have passed the former. Thus would at once the object of all parties be gained: the Government would be well served, merit would be rewarded, and honesty be considered the best policy, when nepotism and favouritism are put down. The legitimate demands of the educationalist and the Missionary would be met by granting a fair field and no favour, the lists being thrown open, and the secrets of the profession made known by means of Vernacular Text-books. The Civil Service Commissioners remark, that they appreciate the great advantage of an Examination not merely as a test of literary merit, but as affording an insight into the disposition and character of the party examined under a somewhat trying ordeal; and the opportunity afforded to a young man of distinguishing himself in the presence of his superiors, with whom rests the power of elevating his social position, is not one of the least advantages. Those, who habitually search for talent, and delight in being the discoverer and promoter of intellectual ability in others, will not be sorry to be periodically made acquainted with the natural gifts and acquired attainments of their official subordinates: with the dullard, who has neither talent nor ambition, and for the unpatriotic Official, who tries not to develop, or excite these feelings, I have no sympathy. Not only must the entry into the Service be dependent on certified fitness, but promotion from grade to grade must depend upon similar conditions.

There was a time when we could afford to be virtuously indignant at the Special Commissions which have been convened in France, outside the ordinary Courts, to punish political offenders. They are no more a part of the French, than of the Anglo-Indian system. We must no longer judge harshly the Russian, the Austrian, the French, or Italian Government, for they have all gone through the fiery baptism of revolution, massacre, plunder and insult. In France few have not had relations killed, either by the people, or the Sovereign: in the ups and downs of politics many classes have tasted power, and hope to taste it again, have had to run for their lives, have seen their houses smoking, have heard their females shrieking, and fear the same thing again. We Englishmen, in the calm still water of a settled Constitution, have never known this, and we wonder why Sovereigns imprison, execute, banish and confiscate. We wonder why peoples writh, revolt, massacre, and plunder. *The iron has now entered into our own souls.* The Austrian Haynau and Radetzky do but represent Nicolaï and Havelock. Metternich is but another Dalhousie, and Gortschakoff on the Caucasus did but act as John Lawrence in the Panjáb. We inconsistently sympathize with Schamyl, Kossuth, and Abdul Kádir, while we execrate the Emperor of Delhi, Tuntia Tópi, and Durrán Mulráj, forgetting that private crime always accompanies public excitement, for the passions of men become then uncontrolled.

We can never in India criticize Special Commissions again. In the moment of triumph after an internecine struggle, in the hour of revenge (God forgive the word), the Anglo-Indian and the Eurasian forgot the moderation of the Christian, and the cry was for judicial massacre. It was hard for those, who arrived in each ship from England with feelings less keenly strung, to restrain the evil passions, which invoked the name of Justice, and blended the name of Christianity with the most wholesale destruction. For those, who fell by the sword, in the siege, on the battle-field, or in the skirmish, I have not one word to say; for those, utinous soldiers, who, foiled in their mutiny, were brought to that stake, on which they wished to impale their officers and the European population, I have nothing to urge: they had ceased to be men, and became wild beasts, and were drowned in rivers, hunted across the country, hung in tens and twenties, disposed of by scores at evening shooting parties, and got rid of: for every one that perished, a hundred lives of the peaceful community were saved: for with arms in their hands, murder and rapine had become their only business. But evil is the story of the dreary Reign of Terror, while the Special Commissions lasted, the imperfect investigation, the prejudiced Court, the indecent haste, no confronting of the accused with the witnesses, no time for exculpation, for the gallows were opposite the window. We were indeed struggling not only for power, but for life, and atrocious crimes had been committed, and many came

under condemnation justly. But for the simple herd, the ferrymen, who plied their boat at the wrong time, the peasants, who had newly-coined copper coins on their person, the dishonest messengers who appropriated the Government cash, the unhappy "suspected," whose witnesses were afraid to come and clear him, for these, and many like them, when the great Book of Judgment is unrolled, it will only *then* be known, why they were sentenced, and for what crime they died.

AMERICAN, JUNE, 1859.

of India have increased and multiplied, and grown fat. Hinduism and Mahometanism were never so strong the area of cultivation has increased, and so have the means of locomotion, and the accumulated capital the great Pax Britannica has left its mark.

These public servants had done just what the French Governors never had done, and the Russian Governors never can hope to do—*left the people alone*, there had been no over governing, no attempt to interfere with Private Rights, and Private Life their duty was to maintain order, and to see that the writs of the Courts of Justice were executed, that violent Crime was trodden down, that the Highways and Rivers were safe to the Traveller, and the right of each man was respected, notwithstanding that over the greater part of India Dual Ownership of Land exists, and has existed for centuries, and that the Governing classes differed from the People in Religion and Customs. They were all in sympathy with the people, and accessible to the very poorest of their subjects, they could speak their language, and had the great grace of independence to stand up for their people against Viceroy, against Soldiers, against Merchants, against Missionaries, and against their own countrymen. Those who are chosen from the foremost ranks of British Schools and Universities by the process of Competition may surpass them in many gifts but not in Honesty and Independence and Zeal and Sympathy with, and life lasting Love for their subject people.

LONDON, JUNE, 1887

CHAPTER X.

RUSSIA.

I. THE ABOLITION OF SERFDOM.

II. THE ANNEXATION OF THE KHANATES ON THE OXUS.*

THE subject of the relations of the Russian Empire to the Eastern and Western World is so enormous and complicated, that it is necessary to devote the attention to some particular portion; and it appears to me, that the idea of publishing a study on particular subjects is not an inconvenient one, but worthy of adoption. No part of the policy of Russia is more interesting than that which relates to the emancipation of the serfs, which occupied the first ten years of the reign of Alexander II., and the startling annexation of the whole of the Khanate of Khokand, and portions of the Khanates of Khiva and Bokhara, which has rendered remarkable the last ten years of that reign. After careful consideration of the consequences both to Russia and other States, I do not hesitate in pronouncing an opinion, that both these measures have contributed largely to the benefit of mankind in the highest sense, and will compel the impartial historian to write, that Alexander II. has deserved the meed of praise from his contemporaries. It is only within the last few months, that full and trustworthy material has been at the disposal of the public on either of these two subjects: how many of our readers have been able to inform themselves of the effects of the serf-emancipation, and the precise position of Russia in Central Asia?

In a series of the most able articles in the *Revue des Deux Mondes* a French writer has discussed, in a searching and vivifying way,

* 1. Haxthausen: "The Russian Empire." 2. "L'Empire des Tsars." *Revue des Deux Mondes*, 1876. 3. Professor Gregorieff, "Die Nomaden"; St. Petersburg. 4. Schuyler: "Turkistan"; 1876. 5. Teräntiel: "Russia and England in Central Asia"; 1876. 6. Rawlinson: "England and Russia in the East"; 1875.

nucleus of the new class of small landholders, the rural middle class which is now coming into existence.

Outside again the great Slavonic race, but within the Empire of All the Russias, are the subject and conquered races, in Europe (for Asia is not within the scope of our present remarks), the Samoyed, the Finlander, the Kalmak, the Tartar, Bashkir and other Mahometans, who have preserved their own social system and grades. In another category come the conquered Province of Bessarabia, Poland, the Baltic Provinces, the scattered but privileged German colonies, and the Jews.

Let us consider more closely the component parts of Great Russia. There are fifty-five millions of the peasant class, and only five or six millions of nobles, priests, and townsmen. Moreover, in the small so-called towns the residents have not adopted urban habits; they know nothing of the closely-packed tenements of walled towns: in fact, these towns are only the large villages so familiar in India. The town population is estimated at only one-ninth of the whole population: in England it is one-third. Thus it appears that Russia is still an Empire of peasants. Russia and the United States present a strong contrast, being at the extreme poles of civilization. We may add, that this is the feature and misfortune of all Slavonic people, the consequence and cause of their inferiority: they have no accumulated capital, no store of notable wealth, no credit to be the basis of commercial enterprise. Much of the local manufacture is done, as in India, in the villages, and the manufacturing classes are not congregated in towns.

Russia never felt the generous impulse of the Crusades, never underwent the salutary discipline of the feudal system. The Sovereign never had the inducement to give privileges to walled towns, as a counterpoise to the great nobles, nor had the citizens any reason for congregating in towns to protect themselves from feudal oppression. Scarcely a municipality can be said to have existed up to the time of Peter the Great.

Merchants were of old forbidden to purchase land, or even to lend to serf or noble, an admirable device for starving agriculture. Now that the serf is free, the purchase of land is free also, the nobles and the State are no longer the sole owners of the soil, and capital will flow into the land. Under the old system, the distinction betwixt the noble and serf, though belonging to the same nation, professing the same religion, and speaking the same language, was rather that of two distinct nations than of two classes of the same nation. The nobles were not of the type known as such in Teutonic or Latin kingdoms. Successive Sovereigns of the old Rurik and new Romanoff dynasty had studied to do so them, and had succeeded. Their number is indefinite, calculated at six hundred thousand hereditary, and three hundred thousand life-tenures. In such an army there must needs be great variety.

Some of the princes, about forty, are of the old Royal blood of the Rurik dynasty. Prince Gortschakoff, the Chancellor, has in his veins the old Varangian blood of Rurik, which his Sovereign has not. Other princely families are of the old Jagellon dynasty of Lithuania and Poland—others are Tartars, Circassians, or Georgians. All these are of as old and good a stock as any in Europe. Every country in Europe, Greece, Poland, Sweden, Germany, France, and even England, has representatives in the Russian nobility. The division of property among males to the exclusion of females has tended to reduce the wealth of individuals, and the constitution of the official hierarchy has destroyed their independence. There is no material for a House of Peers in the Russian nobility.

The "Chin" or official hierarchy is one of the most wonderful devices for maintaining a system of personal Government in the Sovereign. It has a semi-Chinese appearance, though of purely indigenous growth, having passed through several phases under the late and present dynasty, until in the reign of Peter the Great it assumed its present development of fourteen grades. The use of European names such as Privy Councillor, etc., is merely a blind, and means nothing but a grade. Prince Gortschakoff, and Prince Baryatinsky, the conqueror of Schamyl, are the only representatives of the first grade, and both happen to be lineal descendants of the Rurik dynasty, but that is a mere accident—they might have been Swedes of Finland, Germans of the Baltic Provinces, Tartars of the Volga, or adventurous Frenchmen or Englishmen.

The "Chin" has privileges, or rather had, for all were nobles. By a law of Peter the Great any noble family, that for two generations failed to be represented by members in the "Chin," forfeited their hereditary nobility, thus all were compelled to enter the ranks, for a longer or shorter time. It was ingeniously arranged that every class of the community, including merchants, priests, and opera singers, should be accommodated with a grade, which of course had a military denomination. Thus a rich merchant and a contre tenor could be ticketed as a Colonel, and the successful compiler of a dictionary would be, and is actually now, rewarded with the rank of a Major General disguised by the name of Councillor of State, which is about the third or fourth grade. Thus the whole community of those above the rank of peasant are graded, and rank is asserted in private life. Ridiculous stories are current of the sledge of a Major General meeting another sledge in a narrow defile of the Caucasus and without a moment's pause, pitching the opposing vehicle into a snow drift, when suddenly out of the overturned vehicle uprose a Lieutenant General, who quietly repudiated the compliment, and continued his journey.

All such baneful classifications of society are ruinous to the independence of a nation. Young men hunt after small posts in the

Public Service instead of following liberal professions. Moreover, the chief privileges of this artificial nobility are gone under the levelling up and levelling down process. Immunity from personal chastisement is now the privilege of every Russian except as the result of a legal prosecution. Conscription in the army is now extended to all classes without any exception. The right to purchase land is granted to all and the germs of self government implanted in each Province are fatal to a centralized Bureaucracy at the capital. Moreover the voices of those not included in any 'Chin' the enfranchised serfs the millions of peasants are beginning to be heard.

In one of the palaces of the Tsar is a statue of Alexander II. as the liberator of the serfs. Poulkum are clustered figures of men and women in the picturesque garments of the country with hands of gratitude uplifted to him, what may be the inscription in Russian we know not but in English would be inscribed the grand words:

"Peace has her victories no less renowned than War"

We proceed now under the guidance of the same talented writer in the *Revue des Deux Mondes* to examine the question of the serf. It is a singular coincidence that slavery in America and serfage in Europe perished at the same period. It is wonderful that either institution lasted so long and it is the glory of Russia that this great reform was accomplished without the shedding of a drop of blood. Had it been delayed much longer, it would have been resisted by the people instead of being graciously granted by the Sovereign and conceded though unwillingly, by the nobles.

The term by which the millions of serfs were and are known, would seem to be one of insult, but that it is consecrated by usage, it is "Mujik" or "Little Man," the word being a diminutive form of the ordinary rendering of man. He is known by another name also which is interesting as being historical, that of "Krestian" for in the time of the Tartar domination the rural population represented Christianity. The Slavonic peasants of Russia are by far the most numerous race in Europe occupying in a compact block the largest realm in the world. The emancipation of this vast community has been an operation of first-rate importance and the mode of execution has been without historic parallels as in all other nations it has been accomplished gradually. Moreover it has been the first of a series of reforms in the national life the effects of which will only be felt in the next century. It has not yet produced its fruit as the serf scarcely yet is conscious of his gigantic, and now unshackled strength and until the first year of next century the entire charges imposed will not have been paid off.

It must be remembered that the peasants of the Crown were already partially free, the peasants belonging to private individuals,

had to pay for their land. The population may be roughly divided thus:

Twenty two millions Serfs of private persons;
Twenty two millions Serfs of the Crown,
Two millions belonging to the Appanages of the Imperial Family

Moreover, the number of serfs was gradually year by year diminishing under the operation of private enfranchisement, and the effect of military service but it would have required a long lapse of time before it could have died out in this way. One of the great results of the Crimean war was the conviction, that the salvation of the State depended upon immediate action.

It was by no means an ancient institution of Russia, it did not come into existence there until after the system had died out, or been extinguished in blood, in Western Europe. In ancient days the Russian peasant was free, and had a right once a year, to migrate from the land of one lord to that of another, as the farm servant of modern Europe, or the tenant at will of British India. About the year 1593 A.D., in the evil period after the death of Ivan the Terrible, and before the establishment of the House of Romanoff, Boris Godunoff, in the name of his brother in law Tsar Alexis, issued an order forbidding the annual change of lords by the serfs, and this order was not one of State policy, but of ordinary Police.

The object was to attach him to the soil to prevent land going out of cultivation by a careless distribution of the scant stock of cultivators, for the Slav had a taste for wandering, and the motive for checking this tendency was purely economic, and in harmony with the general theory of Government of those days. The Cossack republics on the frontier offered a tempting asylum to unsettled spirits, and to runaway serfs. Upon this slender basis the law worked out certain consequences, and the serf gradually became the property of the lord. The Romanoff dynasty confirmed the policy of Boris. Peter the Great bound the chain tighter by regulating the system. Registers were first made in 1720 A.D. and renewed every ten years. He armed the proprietor with Police powers and surchage became an essential feature of the Russian administration. In a circle radiating from Moscow as a centre, the weight pressed with graduated heaviness, where and the Cossack counties were always free. In White Russia, Lithuania and Poland independence and the kingdoms the same or a similar system had come into existence. It seemed an irony of fate, that the great Slavonic race alone should be subject to this yoke while the conquered Provinces of Sweden, Finland, and Roumania and the Tartars were and always have been free.

As may be imagined, the system worked differently in different

places, and there were a variety of local customs, but two principles underlaid them all.

The serf must either render forced labour, or pay *Obrok* by way of compensation for this labour. A serf, wishing to be employed in a manufactory, agreed to pay a sum, and received leave to leave the soil for a term of years. The amount thus paid varied according to circumstances, and ranged from twenty five to thirty *Roubles per annum*, about £4 maximum. It is stated but it seems incredible, that there were merchants with the reputation of being millionnaires, who were still serfs. The serfs of the Crown all paid *Obrok*, which appeared in the form of a land assessment fixed on the community; they became rich and comfortable, and have supplied a type for the details of the great reform.

The system had the merit of being Patriarchal, and the same merit is asserted in favour of the American Provincial Slavery, and the savagery of the Nomad hordes of Central Asia. The effects were injurious to both parties. The male and female serfs were at the mercy of their master. None but nobles could hold land, and, when land was sold, the serfs passed with them or the land was sold alone, and the serfs remained still the property of a landlord, showing how entirely different was the result of the measure from what was originally intended. Based upon a cruel injustice against the rights of man it could not but be utterly repented, though subtitled it, and the wonder is that it was submitted to by a great nation so long.

Alexander I began by freeing the serfs of the Baltic States. His brother Nicholas did all he could to soften the evil and to dream of abolition and it is asserted that in his last days he enlarged his aim to delay the measure no longer. Literature and public opinion even in Russia had long led the way. Tourgenieff and the great writers like Mrs. Beecher Stowe in America, were the prophets of the great measure. Both the national and foreign elements, which ordinarily divide Russia, were united here. In some respects the movement recalled that of the first French Revolution. In a few days all impulse led to come from above Peter the Great, and Catherine II had striven to move the inert mass and to awaken in war, here it came from below and was the first wave of real Slavophilism beginning upon the steps of the throne. It is by learning the mind the origin of the movement, that we can reverse the number and change that separates the Russia of Peter the First from the Russia of Alexander the Second. Not only do the people know that they are the cause but they know why the measure has been hurried on; and it is clear that without it, that Russia was indebted to Napoleon the Third for the abolition of serfdom as but for the Crimean war, it might still have been divided for a century.

It is interesting to follow on the way, in which the operation

was performed. An assembly of representatives of the Nobles and Commons would have done nothing. The House of Nobles would have moved the previous question, and the House of Commons would have asserted the right, and refused any terms of compensation. The Emperor convoked Provincial assemblies of the Nobles and laid the measure before them, as one which must be carried into effect. A Royal Commission was appointed to get it into shape, and their recommendation was much more liberal than the Nobles could bear. Court intrigue was used to soften the details. Precedents in other countries were appealed to. Both Austria and Prussia had gone through the same social crisis but in Russia it was proposed to give the serf better terms than the analogous class had obtained in those countries. Not only were they to be declared free, and grouped in communities but each male would have a certain amount of land sufficient to support his family. The Conservative party suggested, that the grant of freedom would be sufficient but what would then have become of the enfranchised millions? They would have become, and would for centuries remain, proletaires, men with no property whatever, a class the most dangerous to the existence of society, the Red Spectre, which periodically frightens France and Continental Europe out of all propriety and self control.

An Agrarian law was consequently passed and an expropriation took place or what the Irish landlords would call a spoliation for the benefit of the public. The measure was assailed by hard terms and called Revolution, but at the root of the matter lay the question to whom did the soil really belong the absentee Noble or the resident cultivator? This knotty point has been argued in many languages and many countries, by men blinded by self interest and nowhere with greater obliquity of vision than in Ireland and British India. It is in vain to tell the resident cultivator, that the acres, which he and his ancestors have immemorially tilled, and the hut, where he and his fathers were born, are not his very own, though he is ready to pay what is due on them. Landowners must be made to understand, that the resident cultivator has parallel and co-existent rights, which can only be over ridden at the risk of a rebellion. When the rights of the landowner are so attenuated that the State has to be called in to enforce them the State has a right to reflect whether it is right to risk the stability of the social system to enforce them.

It was fortunate for Russia that at this really awful crisis of its history there was an impartial absolute Sovereign, assisted by wise councillors approaching as near to the unerring earthly providence as human affairs will permit. A compromise was effected. To every community of serfs was assigned a portion of land, for which they must pay the dispossessed proprietor; a maximum and a minimum standard were fixed. The enfranchised community

had the option to purchase the maximum, but was compelled to purchase the minimum, to leave a good title to the proprietor for the remainder. The payment was to be made at once to the proprietor, and, when required, the State contributed to the payment on condition of being reimbursed by carefully graduated instalments of principal and interest.

Such a compromise satisfied neither party. The Noble nobly submitted, fearing worse things, the serf could not, or would not understand why he was to be deprived of what he called his land. "I am yours," he would say to the lord, "but the land is mine." In fact, the class had been successfully kept in child-like ignorance, and were at the mercy of village demagogues, believing that everything was possible to the Tsar and to God. Consequently a feeling of disappointment followed the publication of the details of the measure, and the much desired emancipation lost half its charms when unaccompanied by possession of *all* the village lands *without* payment. So strangely inequitable are the minds of men, blinded by ignorance and self-interest.

The terms of this great land settlement were, that the peasant (no longer serf) should remain in possession of his house and enclosure, and a portion of the land cultivated by himself *as his own*, on payment of a sum of money. Those, who had previously abandoned agriculture and paid *Obrok*, were under no such condition. They were at liberty to take service on wages and swelled the dangerous ranks of the proletariat class. The number of serfs thus emancipated amounted to one and a half million. The remaining agricultural class may thus be disposed of, as they stood approximately on the first day of 1876.

Two millions still occupy the position of temporary serfs, not having paid for their land from some cause or other. No change is effected in their position yet.

Five and a quarter millions have paid for their land and are free. And of these upwards of four millions have been aided by the State to make their payments.

Two millions in the Western Provinces and Poland were summarily enfranchised, as one of the consequences of the rebellion in 1863.

The operation has proceeded at different rates of speed, and in some Provinces very languidly. In the Trans-Caucasian Provinces the work has been completed. Probably the evil was never excessive in these non-Slavonic regions. Either party can compel the other party to complete the transaction. If the terms cannot be arranged amicably, it has to be referred to special Courts. The amount of willingness or unwillingness of either party depends on their idea of the relative advantage or disadvantage to themselves. As would be expected in different localities, a general measure must assume a different aspect in practice. Some serf communities stand aloof

thinking that the land must fall into their hands some day, but the law compels them, when called upon by the proprietor, to take their minimum, and some day they may repent, when it is too late, of not having availed themselves of the full advantage offered. This was the option of purchasing as much land as would sustain the family, and this amount had to be adjusted according to the relative fertility of each Province. To any one acquainted with the management of land it will at once suggest itself, that this operation over so vast an area was indeed a colossal one, as there were extreme varieties in the value of land and the local customs in different Provinces.

The thirty-four Provinces were divided for this purpose into three parallel zones according to the nature of soil and density of population.

- The Northern Zone with the poorest land
- The Central Zone with rich black soil and fertility
- The Steppo Zone with a scant population

Each zone was subdivided into regions, twenty nine in all, and a maximum and minimum standard of land assigned for each. The average assignment to each male on the three zones was three or four of the local acres, but in the northern it rose to seven, in the Steppo it mounted still higher to ten, and in the Central it dropped to two or even less. As stated above, payment could only be made gradually, and it will take a long period. The State raised a special loan, and settled with the landowner at once by a tender of so much of this loan. The interest being at six per cent, half a century will have elapsed before the last payment is made, and not till then is the property absolute. On the other hand, the Nobles have been seriously affected in their income by the transaction, their manner of living is altered, their large establishments reduced, the payments made in inconvertible loan paper have added to their embarrassment, and the wonder is, that the State has overcome the great financial difficulty, and nothing but twenty years of profound peace would have enabled it to do so. Seven hundred millions of Roubles, which equals about one hundred million Sterling, has been lent by the State to the peasant proprietors, and more will be required to bring the transaction to an end. But the money is well spent, if it heals this deep and open wound between the two constituent branches of Russian society.

For there is no middle class, the Noble and the peasant proprietors are now, if not hostile, at least with opposing interests and not united by any kind of sympathy. Both sides, for the present at least, think that they have been deceived and injured. No doubt in the details of such a complicated transaction there has been room for unbounded rascality on the part of the corrupt agents of the State, who have made fortunes at the expense of

both parties. The Noble feels sore at the loss of position, he is no longer bowed down to and courted; he no longer has his own way in the neighbourhood, unless from force of character, and public estimation, it is yielded to him. The peasant proprietor, on the other hand, feels the loss of the moral and material support of his lord; he has to provide for bad seasons, and think of old age and a rainy day, he has by no means individual power yet, for he is only one of a community on whom all the old responsibility and charges of the landowner are now placed. It is a pleasing fact, that it is not in his nature to bear malice, and the old habit still clings to him of looking to the Noble for friendly assistance, and addressing him in terms of respect. But it must be remembered, that this generation was all born in serfdom, and cannot throw off at once the habits of its youth, a new generation will rise up, ignorant of the ways of serfs, and then will come the struggle. We leave this subject with the impression, that it is one of the greatest events in history, and that the quietness and success, with which it has been accomplished, is a greater triumph than any conquered Province or blood bought victory.

Great as the revolution has been externally, no internal change has as yet been made in the village community. Land has been immemorably possessed in common, and as the Commune collectively is liable for the State tax, and the instalments of the redemption-debt, the reins have been drawn tighter by the operation. The *Mujik* has only exchanged his dependence upon his lord for dependence on the Commune, of which he is scornfully, by the antagonists of the measure, called the *serf*. Unquestionably, Commune property is the oldest form of property. It is the economic stage next in order to the nomadic or pastoral stage, gradually individuals after long occupation begin to assert their right to separate possessions. I cannot in the face of history, and my contemporary knowledge of India, consider this community of property to be a specificity of the Slavonic races. It is but a *debris* of a past world, and indicates, that these races have remained in an earlier and lower stage of civilization than their neighbours. Tacitus remarked centuries ago "*Arvo per annos mutant, et super est ager*" It. these last words lies the pith of the matter. As long as population does not press upon the area of good land, the system is tolerable; but we shall see lower down, that the Russians are reaching the limits, within which the system can be maintained. The subject is one of intense interest, and it would be profitable to bring the customs of Russia into close comparison with those prevailing in India, but it would exceed my space.

The principle of the Commune is based upon that of a family; it is eminently patriarchal. Before the eyes of those who have been engaged in settlements of land in Northern India, from the Karamusta to the Indus, will rise up the memory of many such a

picture as the one I propose to describe below, a picture not read in books or expressed in colours, but represented by living figures amidst the simplicity and scenery of Oriental life in India.

The Commune is known as the "Mir," a word which also means "the world." It has a fixed area, and generally one location only; hamlets and scattered farms are unusual. In this area is included the home-lands, the out-field, waste, both arable and uncultivable, and forest. The law of the land is superseded in matters agricultural by the customs having the force of law in the locality. At the head of each village is the "Starosta," or as the word means "old man", under him are the grey beards, and tithe-men all chosen by heads of families, the remuneration is very slight. Villages are associated in groups and over them is a "Starchina," who formerly was the oldest among the Starosta, but is now elected by the collective heads of houses; his remuneration does not exceed £14—£18. In such an association there are about five or six hundred heads of families, and by them is arranged the tribute of flesh and blood, which the State levies in the form of Military Conscription.

The union of several associate Communes constitutes a Volost or District, at the head of which is the District Chief or Golova, who is elected for three years subject to the confirmation of the Officers of the State. Several Volost make up a Circle, presided over by an Officer of the State. A union of Circles constitutes a Palatinate, under the control of a Central Imperial Officer, the Minister of Domains.

Each village has a Tribunal, composed of the Starosta and two assistants who dispose of petty cases civil and criminal and exercise Police powers. The Golova and two assistants form the District Tribunal, whence an appeal lies to the Imperial Court. The procedure of an inquiry is simple, all the men stand in a circle round the State Officer, and the matter is disposed of at once. The principle of division of land in the Commune is democratic in the extreme. Every male inhabitant has a right to an equal share in every kind of soil: the arable and meadow land is equally divided, the enjoyment of the remainder is in common. It is obvious that with every increase or diminution of the population a variation arises in the size of the shares, which is again seriously affected by the relative fertility, or convenient situation, of the land. In some cases attempt is made to give every shareholder his proportion of every kind of land and his occupancy is thus broken up into numerous small plots all over the village area. In other cases an attempt is made to proportion the size of the holding to the fertility of the soil. The real customs are enticements, among them is one, which is not unknown in India, by which another element of uncertainty and possible fraud is introduced by substituting in good land a special and shorter measuring rod for the normal rod of the neighbourhood. Under this system the

number of a man's family became a source of strength and increased abundance, for though all adult males had a claim for their share of land, the members of a family had all a common home, a common board and a common purse: so also, if a man fell into misfortune and lost everything, nothing could deprive his children of their share in the lands of the Commune.

On the other hand, nothing could be more prejudicial to the advance of good agriculture than these annual partitions and, as the intelligence of the community advanced, it was found impossible to maintain the strict letter of the law. A periodical partition for a longer or greater term was often adopted and a certain amount of reserve land set aside to satisfy sudden claims, and a strong feeling began to obtain that the son should succeed to the father in his particular field. Upon such a state of things the great operation of abolition of serfage has fallen. The lands of the Commune are no longer what they used to be, a large portion is set aside as the property of the lord, to dispose of as he thinks proper: a heavy annual charge is imposed on the *Muzik* to free the remainder, and, until this is paid the Commune must hold together: but there is a marked tendency in families for each member to separate his interests to such an extent, that the expedient has been proposed of restricting this tendency, so as artificially to prevent the parcelling of the soil and the break up of the patriarchal state, as if it were possible to do this in Russia or India, without infringing on liberty and opposing the natural progress of human development. The break up of the family system is but a prelude to the break up of the village system. The *Cossack* of the *Urals* presents the picture of a whole Province held on the principle of a *Mir*: that is all in common. In 1874 no single acre was undivided property, or attached to any particular *Stanitsa* or *Cossack* village: but yearly allotments were made. Such a system could not have lasted so long except in comparatively desert regions. The tax of the State fell upon each individual and it was necessary, therefore, that each should have the means of meeting it. The device of a three years' course of agriculture, and rules as to manuring were palliatives of a deeply rooted evil, which can only be cured by long periods of serfdom of twenty or thirty years, and such holdings will glide into separation of interests.

The idea is that such a system as this would prevent proletarianism, but in practice it is produced. The meaning of that word is, the production of children: and a premium is as it were, given to the father of the large family and as the cultivable area though extensive is limited the risk is run of the population outstripping the means of existence, and the Communes becoming pauper warrens. A *Sobor* or *Assembly* was appointed to inquire into it: it has reported against the continuance of the system of collective property. There are two classes who defend it.

first, the Conservative Slavophile, who consider nothing so good as good old Slavonic customs, *laudator temporis acti*, secondly, the Radical Communist, who approaches the subject from an opposite point, but to whom the very name is a charm the arguments of the two classes of defenders go far to destroy each other. Two classes also denounce the system first, the practical agriculturist, who sees with regret the absence of high culture, and the waste of the good gifts of the soil, secondly, the political economist, who fights for individual liberty, and free competition.

Serfage being abolished, every existing evil is attributed to the maintenance of agricultural Communes, but the State holds the individual and the Commune jointly and severally responsible for its ordinary taxation, and the instalment of the purchase-money, and will not relax its iron grasp the weight of taxation is too heavy to allow of the ordinary method of transferring a defaulting share to a solvent shareholder, as no one will add to the burden under which his back is already bending. This consideration applies equally to Indian coparcenary tenures, and demands deep reflection. It is true, that the Russian is not as yet a full proprietor, until he shall have paid off his debt of purchase, and the Indian proprietor is already free. It is true, that the assessment is comparatively light, but the same great evil lies at the bottom, that such a system works against the industrious, and in favour of the idle and reckless. It will be gathered from the above, that the Russian agrarian community is passing through a great crisis, and it is possible, that the Commune may not survive the strain, or may come out quite changed. Even now there exists a legal power of dissolving a Commune, if two thirds of the constituent members agree, but few instances have occurred. Land, outside the Commune, and in independence of it, is freely bought, and many individuals are at one and the same time members of the Commune, and owners of property once belonging to the lord. Thus two systems are working side by side, and it seems scarcely doubtful, which in the long run must triumph. at any rate it is a problem on the grandest scale, and most interesting to watch as Russia is passing through the phases of social transformation, which her elder Western sisters accomplished centuries earlier.

I now pass to the second great measure, which has occupied so large a portion of the councils of Alexander II., the advance of Russia to the Ganges, and its establishment in force on the confines of India. Since 1842, when an era of peace was proclaimed by the abandonment of Afghanistan, British India has in spite of the best intentions of its Rulers, by an uncontrollable law of expansion, advanced from the Jamna to the Khubar Pass, and occupied the whole length of the navigable Indus from the mountains to the sea. In the interior of India the Provinces of Oudh and Nagpur have

Power, and for a century neglected her Asiatic interests under the pressure of new cares

Professor Gregorieff, in an interesting essay on the relation of Nomad tribes to civilized States, has shown, that such neighbours must be free booters, and that there is nothing for the civilized State but the alternative of submission to plunder, or establishing a complete authority. In dealing with mountaineers the expedient of frontier forts, and the blockade of the passes, may be adopted with some success, and this, accompanied by occasional expeditions to burn villages, destroy crops and carry off cattle, is the policy adopted by us on the North Western and South Eastern frontier of British India, but, when vast extents of desert Steppes form the frontier, with a population of three millions extending over an area of two thousand miles, the problem is wholly different. A long period of peace, bringing with it an accumulation of agricultural wealth, and an increased industrial population, extending the area of civilization, only afforded a more tempting bait to the incursions of the Nomad, and made the evil more intolerable. Great Britain and other civilized States have put down with a high hand the pirate of the sea, it was not likely that a great Power, like Russia, could continue to tolerate the pirate of the land.

When in course of time the Russian frontier had been established beyond the Caucasus and by a long and costly struggle Schamyl had been subdued and made a captive in 1859, all trouble on the side of Europe was at an end. The first forward step had in 1834, some years before, been made to convert the Caspian Sea into a Russian lake by a fortress at the point of confluence of the river Emba, and the establishment of strong positions on the East coast of the Caspian even down to the South East corner, where on the confines of Persia was erected the fortress of Ashurada. Then gradually Southward from the Government of Siberia, and Eastward from the river Ural, the advance commenced. Forts were, in 1834, erected by the Siberian colonies at Vernoe and Kaskak on the River Chu, flowing into Issik Kul under the Alexandrofsky range, and from the West a dash was made at the point where the River Syr or Jaxartes flows into the Sea of Aral, and Fort No. 1 or Karala, in 1853 erected there.

All this took place about the same time that the Government of British India was making their great advance North West, and settling down in strength in the Panjab, and occupying the right bank of the Indus. It is noteworthy, that both Russia and Great Britain had previously made a forward move, which had ended in disaster. The British advanced prematurely on Afghanistan and had to fall back. The Russians had advanced upon Khiva under Perofski, and had encountered a great disaster. Both nations had now recovered breath, and, urged on by inexorable events, had deliberately set to work to round off a good frontier to their dominions. The British certainly had no eye to the Russians, when they occupied

After ten years of quiet on this side, occupied by the Crimean war and the campaign against Schamyl in 1863, it was determined to unite the two lines, above alluded to the one resting on the Sea of Aral and the Jaxartes, represented by the Fort No. 1, Ak Musjid, or Perfska and Juleh, and the other on the River Chu, represented by Vernoe and Kaskak. The ruler of Khokand awoke up to the importance of the conjuncture, and came into collision with the Russians, which ended in his total defeat, the occupation of the towns of Turkistan and Chelkend in that year, and of Tashkend in 1865, by the skill and gallantry of that hero Tehermeti, who, being superseded in Central Asia, has since commanded the army of Serbia against Turkey. Tashkend then became the seat of a new Viceroyalty, and General Kaufman arrived armed with powers of peace and war, and the next ten years have been marked by the passage of the Jaxartes and occupation of Khokand in 1866. The Khan of Bokhara then raised the standard of Islam, was defeated, and Samarkand was permanently occupied by the Russians in 1868. The Khan of Khiva on the Oxus was attacked and defeated in 1873, and Khiva temporarily occupied. Eventually the Oxus has been declared the northern boundary of that Khanate, and the tracts adjoining the Eastern shores of the Caspian Sea have been permanently occupied, and attached to the Viceroyalty of the Caucasus, a strong fort being erected at Krasnovatch on the Caspian. In 1875 there were renewed troubles in Khokand and that Khanate has been permanently annexed. The same year witnessed a campaign against the Turkoman borderers nominal subjects of Khiva who occupy the desert between Khiva and the Persian frontier, this is the high road to Merv, Herat, and British India, and on this branch of the subject rages an unceasing controversy. That the Russians would in due course occupy Merv, and thus become immediate neighbours of Persia and Afghanistan, never could be doubted by any one who studied the problem.

But in the interval between the occupation of Samarkand by the defeat of the Khan of Bokhara and the occupation of Khiva by the defeat of the Khan of Khiva, General Kaufman did another important stroke of business, which, though less talked about, is perhaps pregnant of more important events in the future. The province of Semiretch had been cut away from the Viceroyalty of Eastern Siberia and added to his Province with a subordinate Government at Vernoe. Adjacent to it was the small but fertile province of Jungaria, with its capital Kulja on the River Ili. It formed an integral portion of the Chinese Empire, though in a state of rebellion owing to the weakness and torpor of the Imperial system. This Province has also been occupied by Russia, with a professed readiness to restore it to the Chinese, as soon as they are in a position to occupy it*. In the same interval a commercial

* This has been done 1887

treaty was forced upon Yakúb Ah, the successful usurper of the Khanates of Yarkand, Kashgar and Khoten, the Province known as Chinese Tartary or Eastern Turkistan. This chief is himself a native of the Province of Tashkend, and took part in the defence of Ak Murád, or Fort Perofski, on the Jaxartes, which is now part of the Russian dominions. Separated from British India by the almost impassable ranges of Karakorum, he has lately entered into a commercial treaty with the Government of India, and has accepted titles and dignity from the Sultan of Turkey, but the occupation of Khokand and Kulja, separated from his dominions by ranges of mountains, which are easily traversable, places him at the mercy of a Russian invader, whenever the conjuncture arises, which renders their further advance necessary through Kashgar to the Province of Kansu in China * for against that kingdom it is more probable that their restless energies will be turned. The footsteps of Genghiz will be followed rather than those of Tamerlane.

It is interesting to get a peep at the Russians in their administration of their new conquests, a very imperfect one indeed, when contrasted with the full and particular accounts published annually of the Provinces of British India. Mr Schuyler was confessedly new to Oriental countries, and many things struck him as peculiar to Central Asia, which are common to all Asia. Of course the camel, and the encampment, and the caravanserai and the insouls, were described in full. We hope that the time is coming, when these features of Oriental life will be taken for granted, as the cart, and the public house, and the crown, are taken in the West, for the reader is weary of them. He tells us that the people are either Uzbek, speaking the Jaghatai dialect of Turki, or Tajik, *alias* Surt speaking a dialect of Persian. The last are the older and lower strata, for they represent the old Iranian population of these regions before wave after wave of Tartars and Mongols flowed down from the Altaic range. The population is again divided sharply into Nomads and settled inhabitants of towns and villages. It is foreign to my subject to particularize the subdivisions of these Nomads, which are endless and form one of the greatest difficulties of the administrative problem. In Kulja there is a great variety of races, Mantchu Chinese Tarantchi Dungan, Kalmak, and this fact has been the misfortune of that unhappy Province. Strange to say, these very Kalmak tribes, which left the Volga last century, and marched across Asia to escape from Russia and be under the Emperor of China find themselves again under their old masters. We have here also a race of Dungan, Chinese speaking Maloufins and Tarantchi, speaking another variety of the Turki dialect. The three valleys of Khokand, Kulja, and the river Zarafshan are fertile, but a very large

* China however was able to re-assert its power in Chinese Tartary 1887

portion of the new conquest is mere unprofitable desert, strangely exposed to the alternation of extreme heat and extreme cold

Living among the Russians, our author remarked certain signs of that baneful "*alboocracy*," which is the great impediment of good Asiatic Government, which is perhaps innate in every man of a conquering race with regard to the conquered, and the general notion that the natives, even in their own country, *have no rights*, and that to admit and grant them is an act of pure and possibly, injudicious liberality Professor Grigorief remarked, that he did not know a single case, where the close relation of a civilized with an uncivilized nation has not in the course of a few years ended in mutual hatred He recommended that no attempt should be made to impress foreign ideas, that there should be as little bureaucracy as possible, and that natives should, as far as possible, be employed The Russians being less advanced in civilization than the British, and more orientalized in habit, have shown a facility of dealing with half civilized people, and are to some degree free from those contemptuous feelings, which is so marked in the dealings of the lower classes of the Anglo Saxon race with people of lower culture and civilization Russians entertain social relations with Asiatics There is an instance of a Russian officer obtaining the leave of his own Government to wear a robe of honour conferred on him by the Emperor of China In their intercourse with the Chinese, our author notices the gradual formation of a "Pigeon Russian," analogous to the same bailiwick pater of Hong Kong Not only is religious toleration one of the principles of their nation both at home and abroad, but the Mahometan religion is in some respects elevated to the rank of a State religion The Mufti is a Russian nobleman No Missionary is allowed to enter the Province, the Mahometan law and law officers are upheld During the prevalence of the cholera the Mahometans petitioned, that dancing boys might be prohibited, and attendance be compelled at the mosques It was practically impossible to grant the latter petition, but the former was concealed on general Police grounds

The Viceroy of Turkistan is in some respects a greater man than the Viceroy of India, he has the power of peace and war, and is less under control He holds a little Court, and the official atmosphere of Tashkend is very much of the same stamp as that of Calcutta Under him are two Provinces, with local Governors The Syr Daria Province comprises a certain number of Districts, but that number is always increasing The Semiratch Province has five Districts, and in addition to this there is Kulja In each District there is a Prefect or Commandant, who has the Police and general superintendence Over each village is an elective Officer, or Ak Balal *alias* grey beard and in each city there is an Official of this kind for each ward The Nomads are grouped in "awl,"

and "volost," containing an hundred and one thousand families respectively. A tax is levied on each separate *khutka* or family, & over the whole tribe are elective Officials responsible to the Russian Prefect. A great deal must depend on the nerve and judgment of these Prefects and our author remarks that the number of Russians, who knew either Turkish or Persian, was wonderfully small, and there were few who cared at all for history, antiquities or natural productions. The remuneration according to Anglo Indian notions is small, being about £300. The pay of the Viceroy amounts to only £6000 per annum. It does not appear that the elective Officials have any State salaries. I suspect they levy fees on their own account. It appears that newly conquered Provinces (I presume that this means for the first year, as the oldest Province has only been conquered twelve years) are under a still more arbitrary system. In fact at the entire pleasure of the Viceroy, who has the power to make and alter laws throughout. One feature is noticeable, that the Russians, like the British cannot do anything without the trammels of bureaucracy, and in fact sealing wax and tape. It is curious, that it should be so, but there are unmistakable signs of this influence.

In some things the Russian administrators have split on the same rock as the British in India. Sometimes they have avoided it. The want for change is very rampant. They are clearly novices in the work of administration. The addition of each slice of conquered country came up on the Central Authorities as an unpleasant surprise and the Local Authorities might have done what they liked, if they had not been obliged to ask for increased expenditure, for, unlike British India these Provinces do not pay their expenses. This necessitated repairs and schemes of administration. In 1871 projects were drawn up but not being approved at St. Petersburg, were returned for re-consideration. A second scheme of 1872 failed to obtain the approval of the Emperor. In the winter of 1874-5, after the Khiva campaign another carefully considered project was submitted by General Kaufman and discussed by a commission formed of delegates from all the Ministries interested War, Finance, Justice, and Foreign Affairs. The financial objection was so great, that it was again withdrawn, and resubmitted in 1876 to the Council of the Empire. It was opposed by the Minister of Finance. The Officials of Turkistan have been so long in the habit of spending largely, that they made provision for too large a scale. The Minister of Finance errs on the other side in not seeing the great difference of the position of affairs in Central Asia, and the necessity of a higher scale than in England, or in vogue in Russia Proper, where it is a folly that every Official adds to his income in various ways to the amount of two three or even ten times his salary. General Kaufman is right in insisting on ample salaries, but the Finance Minister is right in lopping off the monstrous

expenditure of forest departments, archives mining, etc., etc., which may come in due time, when things have settled down General Tcherniaeff, who occupies the grand position of the patriot unable to get the place which he covets, denounces the present system, and would cut it down to a lower type of administration. He would not interfere at all with the local administration, but substitute local puppets, not allowing the Russians to meddle, except in gross cases of injustice. This cheap system, which has the other ingredient accompanying cheapness has been tried in India by the patriarchal school, now happily extinct and has failed. A good independent Native State is a good thing, and a good European administration has its merits, but the half and half system has the demerits without the merits of either system. The fact is, that there is in the Russian military class an incapacity for administration, which will bring its own penalty. The great statesmen of the Empire appear not to have given the slightest attention to Turkistan. The soldiers ruled by a few minor clerks, suddenly thrown up into high places and one or two doctrinaires, have at the machine gone. The system of Local Councils works badly, as the Solcher-Præfect overrules them. I can well imagine this from an experience of a local municipal board in India deliberating under the control of an active District Officer, but in Central Asia, there is an aggravation unknown in India, that the Russian Official is not familiar with the Vernacular, and the Council is ignorant of the language (Russian), in which its proceedings are recorded, and of its powers and duties, it becomes therefore a mere blind, as generally there is a sharp Native with a smattering of Russian, who gets the ear of the Ruler, plunders the people, and makes a fortune. Such individuals are not unknown in India.

It must not be supposed that General Kaufman has it all his own way without protests. The spirit of the nineteenth century has reached Russia. One Officer spoke out and told the truth, but his papers were ordered to be destroyed and he himself sent back to Russia. One copy of his Report found its way to a Russian news paper. He thus ends his Report.

"It is clear that since the occupation of the country by the 'Russians', the condition of the population in spite of all the 'promises' has not only not grown better, but on the contrary is 'every day growing worse and worse. How far the constant increase 'of taxes and imposts can go, the population cannot understand. 'It is therefore not strange, that the frightened imagination of the 'Asiatic saw in the late collection of statistical information the 'desire of the Government to get hold of their whole property. 'An instance of this belief is, that after the registration of 'property, several Natives went to a Russian acquaintance and 'asked if a fowl could be taken to the bazaar to be sold, or did it 'already belong to the State? With such a state of the popular

"mind it is evident, that only a spark is wanting to inflame it" Well done, Captain Antipin, there is still hope for Russia and Central Asia, while there are men of your stamp in the ranks of the army!

The author of *Turkistan* makes some just and judicious remarks about the difference betwixt the tyranny of a Mahometan Ruler, within certain limits understood and recognized by the people, and the totally unintelligible and intolerable tyranny of an European Government, acting like an unsympathizing machine. A Sikh Chief of the Cis-Satlaj States is said to have compared the British Government and Maharaja Ranjit Singh to *top-i-diq* and *top-i-larzab* respectively. It is however, scarcely credible that no care is taken to translate the Regulations into the Vernacular, but the people are expected to understand the system, and to guess at the relations of the various branches of Administration, which are quite new to them, and thus obscurely, added to the uncertainty and constant changes, makes a system appear tyrannical which is not really so.

The Courts of law were under the Native rule of two kinds. I. The Courts of the Kazi, who administered *strict* Mahometan law among the settled population. II. *Pas*, or umpires, who judged according to unwritten tradition among the Nomads. Here custom had the force of law, altered by no importation of foreign civilization and in many particulars directly contrary to Mahometan law. No record was kept, and no appeal admissible. The umpires were chance men, chosen for the case. The Russians have materially altered the constitution of these local Courts. permanent umpires are appointed, and appeals are allowed. This necessitates a record and lets in the evil influence of clerks, copyists and lawyers. The Court of the Kazi is maintained, but an appeal is allowed and the Kazi is an elective Officer by popular suffrage for a limited term without any salary. It is unnecessary to add that the position of a Russian Kazi is something materially different from the Native article and the unwisdom of tampering with Native institutions in both cases is evident.

race, he would do more for the justice of the Nomads: as it is now, they are entirely in the hands of the interpreter.

To the everlasting credit of the Anglo-Indian Officials, such a functionary does not exist out of the Presidency towns through the length and breadth of British India. On the frontier, where we come into contact with wild tribes, who have no book-language, or one not yet sufficiently studied, such as Pashtu and Baluchi, there is a necessity for some one to interpret, and the Judicial Officer all over India is often sorely tried with the *patois* and pronunciation of the villagers, but even then the interpretation is into the Vernacular of the country, not the Vernacular of the Judge. There appears to be no reason, why the Russian Official should not acquire the knowledge of such languages as Turki and Persian to the same practical extent, that the Anglo-Indian Official masters the Arian and non-Arian Vernaculars of India. Our author remarks that the interpreters are a sorry set, which is the more remarkable, as there are so many Asiatic subjects and servants of Russia, and in that country there are excellent appliances for acquiring Oriental languages. These interpreters are generally Tartars of the Volga, who have wandered thus far across the Steppes to make their fortunes, or Kirghiz Nomads, who have served as Jigits, the personal attendants of Russian Officials. They usually know no Persian, and have but an imperfect acquaintance with the Uzbek Turki, and understand less Russian. Sometimes they are only Russian Cossacks, who have picked up a little knowledge colloquially. No wonder glaring and amusing mistakes are made, and that they deceive both the Soldier-Prefect and the natives. The letters of the Russians are falsely translated, and sums of money are extorted from natives on pretence of setting things straight. All things have their value, and a perusal of the above leaves an impression of the great value to India of the Eurasian population, and the ubiquitous Bangali Dabu. Perhaps the cure proposed is greater than the evil, for in one of the last projects submitted to St. Petersburg, it is seriously proposed to supersede Mahometan by Russian law, and to assimilate the administration of Turkistan to that of the European Provinces of the Empire; but, as the Russian Government formally declared on annexation, that the inhabitants should have their judicial system guaranteed to them, the introduction of Russian law would be a breach of faith, and it cannot be impressed too strongly on Oriental administrators that, if they wish for peace, they must leave the Customs, and Laws (so far as they are not contrary to the laws of common humanity) of the subject people alone, and not attempt over-civilization or unnecessary meddling.

I pass to the Land Tenures. It is suspicious, that property is found divided into the stereotyped Mahometan categories, of "Milk" or private property, "Mir" or public domain, "Wakf" or Religious and charity property, "Matrúkeh" or abandoned,

"Mewat" dead or waste. If this is a correct representation of the holdings of land in the ancient Iranian kingdom of Trans-Oxiana, there must at some period have been a deluge, like the Norman Conquest, passed over the land, and uproot all the old tenures, which have survived in India in spite of centuries of Mahometan domination. We find the Russian discussing the same elementary question, whether the land belongs to the State or the actual occupant, or in other words, whether the State is entitled to a land tax or land rent. The Russians propose to declare, that all land belongs to the State, unless a grant can be produced, and to settle the land with a rack-rent, and to treat Religion and Charitable property as available for any local purpose and turn out the Mahometan religious bodies. With knowledge of the effect of such wholesale measures in India, I may well hold my breath for a time, and refuse credence to the proposition of introducing the Russian Commune, described in the early part of this paper, into a country, where there exists no communal adhesion, and where such institutions, which are of Aryan essence, and not transferable, are unknown. The argument for this is stated to be, that the Government would not be respected if it did not enforce its extrinsic rights, and that otherwise there would be no room for the Russian Colonist, whose advance, and settlement, is part of the system of the Russian advance into Central Asia. Already, in the only major Province of Semiratch, which is part of the Viceroyalty of Turkestan there is a nucleus in each District of sturdy Russian Colonists which may, or may not be a source of strength hereafter, according as cultivable land is to be had in sufficiency without trespassing on native rights.

There are taxes levied from the Nomad tribes of two roubles on each *kibitka* or family. There are taxes levied on the non-agricultural classes, but my chief interest is with the arrangement made to bring the land under contribution, for, after all, in Asia that must be the chief source of revenue, especially as there are in the Khanates no excise customs, and no special products on which a State monopoly can be erected, such as salt, and opium, and tobacco. *Kharaj* or impost on land exists in two forms. (1) "*mukasim*," or proportional paid in kind and a certain portion of the produce, in this I recognize the "*batu*" of our Indian system anterior to the introduction of cash settlements. (2) "*mudiyur*," a fixed acreage cash payment on certain superior products, in this I recognize our Indian "*kankut*." In Central Asia the unit of land government is the "*tanap*," and by that name the system is familiarly known. In both these methods all depends on the amount levied by the State, if a fair proportion only is demanded they are the most favorable expedients with regard to the exigencies of climate, and the utter want of capital of the cultivator. But frightful extortion is possible, and cheating,

and waste of resources. Here is an instance, which was the talk of Russian society. "A small proprietor had on his threshing floor 320lbs of grain. This was disposed of in the following way. "The Tax Collector took one fourth as his own perquisite, amounting to 80lbs. His assistant was allowed a sleeve full, but he set to work with such enormous sleeves that he carried away 40lbs. "The priest took 40lbs, the scribe took 21lbs, the baker in exchange for some ridiculously small cakes took 20lbs, the pipe bearer handed in his pipe with a large horse's nosebag attached to it, and took 20lbs, a Gypsy prostitute playing by spread out before the State Collector a pair of new trousers, and received not only 30lbs, but an invitation to tea, all that remained, after this unscrupulous plunder, was divided into shares betwixt the State and the cultivator, the latter only receiving 40lbs or one eighth of the harvest. Our compassion, however evaporates into indignation when we are informed, that the cultivator made no complaint as he had previously concealed the greater part of the harvest." It is proposed to convert all taxes into rent, and after dividing the land into eight classes according to its capability, to fix an average assessment, but our author does not hesitate to say, that the tone of feeling among the Russians is to grind out of the population as heavy taxes as possible, after so much expense has been incurred in the conquest. A century of experiments, failures, and experience purchased by failures has convinced the Anglo-Indian that fat and flourishing agriculturists with an interest in peace, and much property exposed to rapine in case of war, are the great bulwarks of our Empire, that light assessments make easy collection, that a contented peasantry with an unbounded spread of cultivation, and an Imperial Revenue poured into the treasury by willing hands is at once the aim and reward of the skilful administrator. From the Indus to the Bay of Bengal millions are collected by a mere wave of the hand, and, if Russia allows the agriculturist of the Khanates to be ground to powder, she will find, when she makes her boasted advance on India that she has a desert without supplies, or a hot-bed of rebellion, in her rear.

Viceroyalty, this is not the case. The Military expenditure has increased beyond expectation, and the revenue scarcely covers the expenses of the local civil administration.

It is impossible to form any accurate opinion from the budgets supplied. In the first place there has been a constant yearly accretion of territory, and until we have a fixed area, no opinion can be formed. A portion of the military expenditure is charged to the general budget of the Empire. The amount of revenue is ridiculously small, in fact the revenue of British India exceeds that of all Russia in Asia, and a comparison of the revenue of the Central Provinces of India to that of the Khanate would be more proper. Some maintain, that the cost of the army ought to be deducted on the ground, that the charge of defending the Empire should not fall on the frontier District only. We have had this line of argument cited in British India with regard to the budget of the Panjáb and there is a certain amount of truth in it, but of the forty thousand troops stationed in Turkistan, how many are there to guard the frontier against the Afghans of Kashgár, or the Turkomans south of the Oxus, and how many to keep down the Uzbecks, the Karakirghiz, the Kiptchak, the discharged returners of the Khanat, and the seething Mahometan rascality of Samarkand and the other great cities of Trans Oxiana?

Mr Schuyler's final view is, that the advance of Russia was not the result of any settled plan of conquest, but of unforeseen circumstances, and accidents not sufficiently guarded against. Central Asia has no store of wealth and no economical resources, nor will it ever repay the Russians for what it has already cost, and the rapidly increasing expenditure. Had they known fifteen years ago what they know now, the steps taken in 1864 would never have been allowed, but it is impossible for Russia to withdraw. Her prestige would be injured, and it would be unjust to withdraw her protection from those, who have thrown their lot in with her.

The consequence must be that more wars must be waged. Bokhára, Khiva and all the Turkoman country must be annexed, and more than that, Kashgár, which has already been threatened must be occupied, and those tracts south of the Oxus known as Afghan Turkistan, where the population are Turkish, though the sovereign power is with the Afghans will surely be drawn into the net, and a true ethnical boundary will be formed in the Hindu-Kush. Beyond that lies the question of political expansion and military domination.

What is our author's opinion on the state of the army occupying Turkistan? He mentions, that there are arrears of pay and a great amount of suffering from the delay in the transmission of supplies. These evils can be amended but he further remarks that Officers of broken character are sent to join this force, and that the best Officers are drafted from the regiments into civil employ.

and that promotion to lucrative offices was due to favouritism rather than merit. When war broke out such men hurried back to their regiments to share in the lavish distribution of decorations. We have known such things in British India, and perhaps to such causes may, in some degree, be traced the break up of the old native army of the East India Company. An officer of the army (probably one who had failed in obtaining a lucrative post) remarked, that in the eyes of the natives the Russians were far from being at the moral height on which they ought to place themselves, that they had been unable to inspire the native with confidence which ought to be the principal source of moral influence, that the high moral qualities which ought to have carried the civilizing mission of the Russians to the native, had been wanting and that many functionaries who were distinguished by the bad qualities for proved corruption, had been pardoned, notorious plundering had been condoned, investigations had been hushed up or allowed to die away. The people say, "How are the Russians better than the Chinese? They also take away from us our daughters and our wives and love presents and waste the money of the Tsar, as the Legs wasted that of the Khin."

General Tchernoff has expressed an opinion in favour of abolishing the Viceroyalty of Turkistan and reducing all the unnecessary expenditure. Others recommend a purely military administration a state of things unknown and incomprehensible to a law-abiding Anglo-Saxon but which is known too well on the Continent and applauded by a soldier class who dislike being restricted to purely soldier duties. Others would make a cat's-paw of a supple Khan who should manage the civil matters while the real power rested with the Russian. Those engaged during the last quarter of a century in working out the great problem of Oriental administration in British India can appreciate the difficulties of Russia. The perusal of such a book as Mr Schuyler's makes them reflect, how they would have acted if deputed to go in and settle the Khinates. How simple it would have been how the difficulties would have vanished under the touch of those who, in a few years have brought into order the teeming population of the Panjab, Outh the Central Provinces, Malabar and Burma! If I mistake not equality of religion and of legal rights liberty of the person and property, fearless independence of the controlling Officer, common sense obedience to a central authority, and unflinchedness, and clean hands would have worked the same marvels in the Khinates as in British India.

We may safely let Russia to manage her own business and a very trouble some one she will find it and attend to our own. Better far that we should lose India than that the civilizing advance of a great nation should be stopped in a path which no other nation but herself could tread. It was well for the world,

LINGUISTIC MAP
of the
CAUCASUS

Scale of Miles
0 10 20 30 40 50 60 70 80 90 100

CASPIAN SEA

ARMENIA

GEORGIA

ABKHAZIA

IMMERETIA

CHABURIA

ABKHAZIA

IMMERETIA

CHABURIA

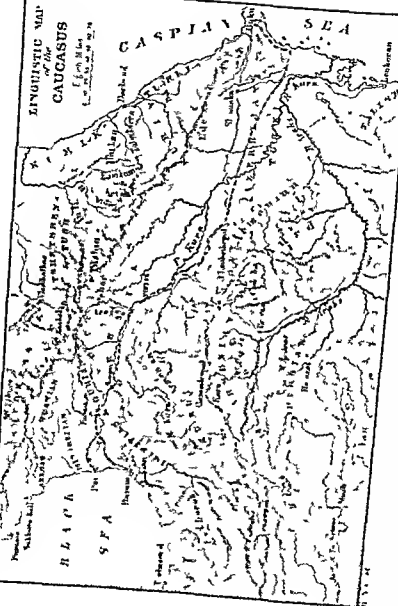
ABKHAZIA

IMMERETIA

CHABURIA

ABKHAZIA

IMMERETIA



CHAPTER XI

RUSSIA ON THE CASPIAN SEA

IN 1877, after my first visit to Russia, I wrote and published an Essay devoted to the consideration of the abolition of Sarfage and the absorption of the Khanates of the Oxus. From that year until now, it has been my desire to visit the great Province of South Russia, situated between the Black and Caspian Seas, and study the important problem involved on the spot. A fatality appeared to oppose me. War broke out which rendered travelling in those regions impossible, and in the meanwhile I have visited Spain, Italy, Greece, and North Africa, but always with my eye on the Caucasus. At length last autumn I accomplished my wish not a month too early, as the line to Batum was only just opened to traffic, and the route from London to Baku on the Caspian Sea made easy.

In the interim another slice had been cut off all Eastern Turkey by the annexation of Kars, another nail knocked into the coffin of Persia by the opening of the railway to Baku and the multiplication of steamers on the Caspian, thus placing Teheran and Tebriz at the mercy of a Russian force advancing *ad Rubeam* on the Caspian, and Julia or the Araxes. A railway had been constructed from Michailovsk in the new Province of Trans-Caspia, across the desert to Kizil Arlat in the Tekke Oasis, the strength of that tribe had been destroyed by the taking of Geoa Ter. The Russian Frontier had been pushed on to Baba Durumiz half way between Aclabad and Samarkand. Russian surveyors had crossed the river Tadjik, *alias* Hari Rud at that latter place and felt their way through the province of Balghis in Aichamistan right up to the walls of Herat, and pronounced the country to be adapted for a prolongation of the Persian railway up to the City which is called the Gate of India. The time had indeed come to visit the *Asiatica*, and make a study of Russian colonial policy, but not in a civilising or beneficent spirit. The Russians have just as much right to absorb Trans-Caspia and punish the Tekke, as the British have to absorb the Punjab and Surkh, and punish the Waziri and the plunderers of the Kharhar Pass.

As an old administrator of Asiatic Provinces, I naturally con-

kingdom. The latter is the representative of the classic Phasis, up which Jason and the Argonauts found their way to Kutus, the capital of Æetes the father of Medea, whence the Golden fleece was carried off triumphantly. In this fable we trace evidence of the first discovery of these regions by the Greek navigators. And a still more majestic fable connects the name of Prometheus with the mountains of the Caucasus, whose watershed marks the line of division betwixt Europe and Asia which in Oriental story has its own cycle of legend as Koli Kaf, a name more accurately preserved in the Russian form of the word Kafkas, while the uncertain geographical notions of the Greeks, in the time of Alexander the Great, extended the venerable name to the mountains of Afghanistan, a remnant of which error lives on in the modern term Hindu Kush. There is, except in occasional choicer spots, no great fertility, and no product of special notoriety in this Province, and the revenues are far below the expenditure. The mineral wealth is great, specially the Petroleum, the supply of which appears to be unlimited and inexhaustible. A small amount of wine is produced in one valley, known as Kikhetin. Manufacture is scarcely existent. I searched the bazzars of Tiflis, and found nothing. The total absence of trees and verdure generally is appalling. But in secluded portions of the region there are luxuriant forests whence boxwood is supplied for the use of manufacturers in Great Britain.

Petroleum appears to be one of the geological features of the region. It is found North of the Caucasian range at a convenient distance from the Black Sea. It is found East of the Caspian Sea in great quantities. The Island of Telchiken has steep cliffs stained with the black flow of naphtha, which has for ages passed its riches into the unprofitable bosom of the Caspian Sea. But it is in the peninsula of Aspheron, immediately adjacent to Baku, that the phenomena are seen in their greatest development.

Baku is the centre and the port of the inexhaustible Petroleum wells which are destined to flood the world with kerosene. It is one of the wonders of the world for the supply is on the surface and when a well is tapped, the liquid leaps 40 feet high in the air, it blurs up through the sky and one of the things to be done by a visitor is to go out in a boat and set the sea on fire. The fire worshippers who used to worship the deity here in the form of a flame of naphtha are fairly driven out by the commercial use to which their divinity is put in modern times, for the oil is admirable and universally useful, it is proposed to construct a pipe of the length of 500 miles to convey it to the Black Sea. The refuse, after refuelling say, lies fuel for the steamers and railway cheaper and better than coal. The railway carries countless oil tanks, of the appearance of great elephants to Liffis for dispersion Westwards, and the Caspian is full of steamers to convey the oil in vast tanks to Astrakhan and up the Volga. The mouths of the Volga have

sidered with the eye of a connoisseur the Civil and Military divisions of the Caucasus Province, its resources and means of communication, its facilities for self defence, and its degree of exposure to attack from without. This is the first branch of the subject. As one given to linguistic and ethnological studies I considered the people of this Province in their tribes and their languages and their Religions. This is the second branch of the subject. As an old Indian Official and an amateur strategist, from my lifelong experiences of war, tumult, mutiny, and invasions I considered the effect upon India of this new force and move on the Asiatic chess-board, by which British India has for ever lost its political isolation, and is drawn into the vortex of European politics. This is the third branch of the subject. I propose to discuss them in order.

Between the Black Sea and Herat lie the two Russian Provinces of the Caucasus and Trans Caspia separated from each other by the Caspian Sea. The province of Caucasus is divided into Cis Caucasus, North of the range, and therefore in Europe and Trans Caucasian South of the range, and therefore in Asia. The Viceroy resides in Tiflis within the latter subdivision and up to the present time the post has been occupied by an Imperial Prince but the present Emperor has substituted a General Officer. The Cis Caucasian subdivision is divided into Districts, I Kuban, II Stavropol, III First reaching from sea to sea. The Trans Caucasian subdivision is also divided into Districts, I Dagestan, II Zakatali, III Tiflis, IV Kutais, V Sulham, VI Black-Sea Littoral, VII Elizabetopol, VIII Baku, IX Fium, X Batum, XI Kars. The total area includes 181 000 square miles with an unexplored portion of mountain and unprofitable waste land. The population amounts to less than five millions. The total revenue scarcely exceeds three quarters of a million. This indicates how different the problem is to that of such a Government as this, and the Government of British India with its revenue of millions. A railway traverses the whole length of Trans Caspia, from Batum and Poti on the Black Sea to Baku on the Caspian Sea. At Tiflis the capital the road commences which traverses the pass of Darial to Vladikavkaz the chief town of Cis Caucasian. From a point on the line from Tiflis to the Black Sea will branch off the proposed railway to Kars and the Turkish frontier from a point on the line from Tiflis to Baku, near the town of Akstafa branches off the post road to Jula, on the river Araxes, and the Persian frontier. The great feature of the Northern region is the Irtys steppe, the home of the Russian Cossacks. The feature of the Southern region is the watershed of the Araxes which divides the basins of the rivers Kur and Aras. Both rivers are known to me. The former flows Farward and discharges itself into the river Araxes one of the supposed rivers of the line which flows into the Caspian Sea forming from its source in the slopes of Mount Ararat the boundary of the Persian

Kingdom The latter is the representative of the classic Phasis, up which Jason and the Argonauts found their way to Kutais, the capital of Iktes, the father of Medea, whence the Golden Fleece was carried off triumphantly In this fable we trace evidence of the first discovery of these regions by the Greek navigators and a still more majestic fable connects the name of Prometheus with the mountains of the Caucasus, whose watershed marks the line of division between Europe and Asia, which in Oriental story has its own cycle of legend as Koh-i-Kif, a name more accurately preserved in the Russian form of the word Kaitas, while the uncertain geographical notions of the Greeks, in the time of Alexander the Great, extended the venerable name to the mountains of Afghanistan, a remnant of which error lives on in the modern term Hindu-Kush There is, except in occasional choice spots, no great fertility, and no product of special notoriety in this Province, and the revenues are far below the expenditure The mineral wealth is great, especially the Petroleum, the supply of which appears to be unlimited and inexhaustible A small amount of wine is produced in one valley, known as Kakhetia Manufacture is scarcely existent I searched the bazaars of Tiflis, and found nothing The total absence of trees and verdure generally is appalling, but in secluded portions of the region there are luxuriant forests, whence boxwood is supplied for the use of manufacturers in Great Britain

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the drawback of being frozen in the winter, but Baku is outside the limit of severe winter and the Russian Government finds itself, to its own astonishment, supplied with an unlimited number of steamers, not kept idle or collected from a great distance, but always ready to leave off carrying Petroleum and carry across the Caspian in twenty four hours a corps d'armée to Michaelovsk.

Only a few weeks ago I was at Baku and these thoughts assumed upon the spot a much greater sense of reality than it is possible to give to them by pointing out the place on a map. The trains always arrive late at night, and the effect of the light burning on the petroleum hill is strange and imposing. It has always been stated that a priest from India was resident at the Fire Temple. As a fact he has taken his departure, and the religious rites have now come to a close but it is interesting to remember that the priest was really a Hindu as he was called and not a Parsi from the colony of fire worshippers in Bombay. I have myself visited the naphtha fires at the Temple of Jowla Mahal in the district of Kargan in the Langab and witnessed the ritual of wax candles being burned by the devout pilgrims on the flange which found their way out of fissures in the rock. Unquestionably, this temple was the object of worship to the Hindus of Northern

oracle of Delphi, and the statue of Memnon, and many a mediæval shrine of Spain and Italy, the secret of the priests has been exposed.

Just forty years ago I was with the army of Lord Gough in the Battles of Mudki, Ierozlsahr and Sohraon, and, when peace was signed before the captured city of Lahur, and the Province of the Jhalandar Doab and Kangra added to British India, Lord Hardinge called me into his tent, and announced to me, that he had appointed me as a reward for my services during the campaign, to the charge of the District of Hoshiarpur, and, though so many years have passed away, I cannot forget the pride and delight, with which I took over charge from my great master, John Lawrence, of my beautiful District. In geographical conformation the Province of Jhalandar somewhat resembled that of the Caucasus: it ran from the river Beas to the River Satlyj and embraced within its area the lower range of the Himalaya, and my District was in the centre between that of Jhalandar proper, which was entirely in the plains, and that of Kangra, which was entirely mountainous. From Hoshiarpur, the capital streams found their way East and West: from the North a mountain pass debouched upon the capital, and to the South ran roads East and West to Delhi and Lahur. But this Province was, as it were the Garden of Eden, teeming with a peaceful and industrious population, rich in cereals, speech, fumes, and oils, with a landscape varied by such groves of mango trees, as no other part of India can rival: supplying year after year, an Imperial revenue in answer to a wave of the hand of the District Officer, who dwelt alone, without escort or guard, in the midst of a happy and contented people. The contrast between the prospect of Trans-Caucasia and those fertile and happy districts on the Satlyj was appalling, even after making due allowance for the mellowed tints supplied by memory and deep rooted attachment. It is true that over our heads appeared the mountains of El Burz and Kasbek, with their canopies of eternal snow, the loftiest mountains of Europe, being loftier than the dethroned Mont Blanc, but as I looked upon the villages and chief towns, and the inhabitants, I felt, that I never could have dwelt happily for weeks, months, and years, in tents in such a region and amidst such a people. The railway from Fissis to Baku for the most part runs through a howling wilderness, and the only representatives of the human race are the man, or perhaps woman with a child in her arms, who stands with a staff to mark the crossings of roads which as far as the eye could mark were neither traversed by the camel of the Nomad, nor the creaking cart of the Scythian. Railway Notices were stuck up in correct form in the Russian and Arabic Character, but there seemed no possibility of any one reading them, except the passengers of the one daily train which plodded by at stated hours. Yet the substitution of the railway for the tarantass and telega marks a distinct epoch of improvement. I saw an old tarantass in

the yard of the inn at Bakú ready to convey an unhappy family to a solitary station lying off the railroad and it appeared as antediluvian as a pilanquin, and yet I recollect starting in 1844 on a journey from Calcutta to Amulrah in a pilanquin, which certainly is a form of locomotion very much less civilized than the tarantass. On the other hand, Russia may be said to have only the dry bones of Asia, while the Master of India and the Ruler of China, have the flesh. Hence comes the desire of the lean line to swallow up the fat line.

But before I describe the people which is the second branch of my subject let me record my opinion on not hastily arrived at, that the Russian Government of subject Provinces is strong, thorough, and well intentioned. There is none of that entire absence of the first elements of Government, which distinguishes the abominable system of the Turkish Empire, nor is there that over government and undue interference in the affairs of private individuals that is so offensive in Germany. I travelled all round the Russian shores of the Black Sea and mingled freely with the people, and found universal civility and friendliness from fellow travellers and Officials. It is a fascinating tour, which comprehends on going eastward Odessa, the Crimea, Kerich at the mouth of the Sea of Azof, and the great slopes of the Western Caucasus, and on the return, the Northern coast of Asia Minor with Trebizond, and the mouths of the river Helys, and the mysterious mouths of the Bosphorus, that great sea river, which finds its way betwixt the Symplegades, and flows on in one uninterrupted stream past the walls of Constantinople. The Bosphorus no doubt suggested the idea of the great circumambient ocean which according to the notions of the early Greeks, in the time of Homer, surrounded the world. Many thoughts rise up to the mind as each day brings into sight new objects and awakes new associations. As I sailed under the hills of Circassia, and saw that that famous territory was actually without inhabitants, that virgin forests filled the valleys, and wild bulls roved about among the ruins of deserted habitations, since the whole population has migrated across the Black Sea rather than submit to the Russian domination, the scathing words of Tacitus came to the recollection.

"Sic uti uenirent et pacem appellarent"

As I walked through Trebizond, the natural conformation of the flat hills and deep valleys explained why it was named by the Greek word for 'a table' and a world wide story came to my recollection as I looked up to the mountains of Asia behind for from these hills is the Ten Thousand of Xenophon on their famous retreat through Kurdistan and Iran, led on by the waves of the sea, and raised a mighty shout of "Thalatta Thalatta" while they erected a mighty mound, decorating it with their shields to

commemorate their deliverance. That monument has long since perished, but the famous incident has caught the fancy of all succeeding generations, and will live for ever on the lips of men, like the burning of the ships of the great Spanish freebooter, and the famous signal at the masthead of Nelson on the day of his last victory.

On the Northern side of the Euxine, the great harbour and battle field of Sebastopol can scarcely be passed without some notice. Though more than a quarter of a century has passed, the scene of ruin and desolation remains very much unchanged. In fact, the importance of the position has passed away. I had long felt a deep interest in the tombs of our countrymen, who fell in this great siege, and I attended in the summer preceding my visit the Meeting in London to consider what should be done. On my arrival at Sebastopol in September, I made the acquaintance of Colonel Conolly and Major Harford, the Vice Consul, who were charged with the details. The policy of concentrating the Monuments was being carried out, all the Monuments of the existing eleven Cemeteries were being transferred to the greatly enlarged Cemetery on Cathcart's Hill, which will become the sole depository of the memorials of those who fell. The space within the solid masonry wall was strewn with slabs, which had been brought in from abandoned Cemeteries, and I met carts laden with the same mournful records of the dead. The greatest care and judgment was exhibited in all the arrangements. In the entrance the Custodians will reside, and keep the enclosure in proper order, as well as in absolute safety from violation and insult.

No doubt the step was necessary, but when I visited the secluded Cemetery of the Engineers near the wall which by good chance had escaped all violation, a feeling of regret came over me, as I passed from stone to stone that a necessity had arisen to separate the memorial of the dead from the grave, which held for once hallowed, the remains of the brave men, whose names were recorded, but the feeling was sentimental rather than practical, and I feel sure that the surviving friends of the dead will be satisfied.

But what of the poor remains? They have not been nor ever will be disturbed. They have long ago become part of the soil, which contains them. The removal of the monumental slabs is accompanied by a levelling of the ground, the walls will be knocked down, and the area once set apart will be restored to the waste or to the cultivated field, and no one will know where each brave man was buried by his comrades. Some of the Cemeteries, which years ago were abandoned, when the first concentration took place, are now covered with luxuriant crops of tobacco.

*"Nunc seges est, ubi Troja fuit,
Luxuriant nostro sanguine pinguis humus."*

One thing remains to be done in the way of sober embellishment of the Central Cemetery, and the work once satisfactorily and thoroughly done, will last for centuries. Balachava is included in these arrangements, but the graves of those, who fell in the Battle of the Alma, are excluded as being too far removed. I drove over in a light carriage, with the Vice Consul, to the spot. Two Regimental Monuments on the slope of the hill are surrounded by a masonry wall, and the inscriptions carefully renewed. One solitary Monument of Aberdeen granite has been left in a garden on the North bank of the Alma, on the spot where the young officer, my own cousin and namesake fell. It is surrounded with a wall, which I arranged to have thoroughly repaired.

It is highly to the credit of the Russian Authorities, that they have not only assisted the erection and preservation of Monuments of their invaders, but they have allowed trophies in the shape of crosses and obelisks to be raised, which in fact record their defeat, and the occupation of their country by the enemy. It is not every nation which would rise to such nobility of feeling towards a foe. As time passes on domestic grief will be extinguished by the death of those relatives and friends who still mourn the companions of their youth who fell in the great campaigns of 1854, '55, '56. The older generation who felt the keener pang of the bereavement of their children have all passed away. But the National Memory and Honour will survive as long as Great Britain continues to be a Nation, and beyond. The cluster of Monuments on Catherine's Hill will, like the Greek Monumental Inscription upon those who fell at Plataea, survive to all ages, as an incentive to future deeds of valour.

"G's, Princes, do as these did, and fall as they fell."

I must return to the second branch of my subject the description of the nationalities and languages of the inhabitants of the Province of the Caucasus. The Russian Government is very strong on the side of cartography and statistics. Two excellent maps have been published at St. Petersburg one describing the population ethnically, and the other administratively. The Russians themselves, in the shape of permanent colonists, soldiers, and temporary detachments exceed one million or one fifth of the population. A few holes are recorded but, it may be presumed are involuntary settlers. The Polish Doctor, who was called in to prescribe in my presence for a sick traveller admitted that he was an insurgent, who had the alternative offered to him of practicing his profession at Baku or a longer trip to Siberia. A great many of the Russians have lost their homes in Old Russia, and settled here to avoid the military conscription, which annulled their conventional privileges. But now that the military law is extended to the Caucasus Province, they will have to move on further. Small colonies of Germans appear

here and there, but it can scarcely be imagined, that with the choice between North America and the Caucasus, the latter will be chosen. The hungry and ubiquitous Greek, who, if bidden, or if there is a chance of profit, is ready to go to the infernal regions, is here in considerable numbers, there are 20,000. So far the population is European.

As might be imagined, numbers of Persians have crossed the Araxes as immigrants, or are descendants of old settlers, who date back to the long period of Persian domination. They amount to 130,000, and the Kurds, who are Persian subjects though of distinct race, contribute 45,000. 25,000 Jews are recorded, but when I inquired, whether the Jews were loathed and hated in this Province, as they were by all classes in other parts of Southern Russia I was answered in the negative, as the Armenians did all the dirty work of money-lending, liquor-selling, brothel-keeping, and other offensive trades which made the Jews so unpopular elsewhere. The Province includes the greater part of Armenia Proper, and there are 70,000 Armenians, the majority of whom are industrious, influential, and well placed, in fact the backbone of the commercial community. Tiflis is the capital of the old Kingdom of Georgia, and a large population of agriculturists, amounting to 900,000, is found in the different subdivisions of Georgia Proper, Imeritia, Mingrelia and Iazeti, under the general name of Georgian. The attention of travellers is at once called to the appearance and dress of the Armenian and Georgian residents, all of whom are Christians, though belonging to separate churches.

Still more remarkable, especially in their head dress, are the Trans-Caucasian or Azerbyani Kurds who number nearly a million, and do all the manual work of the country. They differ very materially from their cousins the Osmanli Turks on their right at Constantinople, and the Furcoman Dominions across the Caspian Sea. They appear to be an honest, hard working race, drivers of carriages, and generally useful. A few thousand Mongols, and more than a hundred thousand Turks of the Northern tribes, are also enumerated. However, the existence of this section of the population, who are Mahometan, presents a counterpoise to the Christian races already mentioned, and renders any attempt at a national existence impossible. There never can have been or can be, any possible bond of union, past, present, or future. This is the great strength of Russia's position in this Province.

Such is the population of the plains, or steppes, or lower ranges, but in the Caucasus mountains a congeries of small and totally unconnected tribes long defied the power of the great Governments, North and South, but have at last knuckled down in subjection to Russia. They dwell in valleys, which are approached with difficulty, and their conquest has never paid the expenses of the conflict, but it was impossible to tolerate an independence, which

indulged itself in free-booting. The Daniel Pass appears to be a demarcation of the Eastern and Western tribes, the most notorious of the Eastern Section being the inhabitants of Daghestán, known generally as Lezghin, another term for free booters among whom Schamyl maintained his war of independence. The most notorious of the Western Section are the Swans of the upland valleys of Swamétia, who, under the heights of their snowy ranges, have maintained a rude and savage freedom and their pagan forms of religion very much as the Shuposh Kasir have done in the upland valleys of the Hindu Kush. Along the shores of the Black Sea are the Abkhazian, the nominal remnant of the Tcherkes or Circassian, and North of the Caucasus the Kabarda, who extend along the Northern slope as far as Vladikavkaz, and beyond these, reaching down to the Caspian Sea, are the Tshetshen a tribe of bad reputation. Between the Eastern and Western groups thus circumscribed right up to Mount Kazik, dwell the interesting tribe of the Osseti, partly Mahometan and partly Christian, and even pagan, but who also, as will be shown from their language are Arian, while all their neighbours, for want of a better classification, must be lumped together in a group called the Caucasian. Each one of the tribes mentioned has numberless subdivisions without any bond of union, which differ in customs and often in language.

And from this point of view I will now consider the position of the Province of the Caucasus. It is of the essence of good government that the Ruler should be accessible to and able to understand the people, and this necessity is impressed deeply on the Officials of British India, and fortunately in most of the Provinces there are leading languages, but in Burma the Central Provinces, and Assam there is a multiplicity of small and unimportant languages. The position of the corresponding Official in the Caucasus is a difficult one. Russian is necessarily the official language, and is the mother tongue of one fifth of the residents. The Armenian, Georgian and Trans-Caucasian Turkish stand next in importance, but belonging to totally distinct Families or Groups of languages from each other and thus man require a distinct and separate study. Russian belongs to the Slavonic branch of the Arian Family, Armenian, like Persian, belongs to the Iranian branch of the same Family. Turkish is a member of the Altaic Family of Agglutinative languages, and the form spoken here is not impregnated with Persian and Arabic words like the Ottoman. Georgian is one of the Caucasian languages with no relation to any of the foregoing. Moreover, each of the foregoing languages has a different form of character exclusively used. There appears to be an entire blending together of the speakers of these different languages and it is difficult to say which would be the one language which was understood by all. It is scarcely necessary to say, that the four great languages of Europe are at a discount.

informs us (Book XI 5) that no less than seventy dialects were spoken in the country, which even then was called the Mountain of languages. Pliny the Elder (Book VI cap 5, 12) quotes Timosthenes, a contemporary of Ptolemy Philadelphus, to the effect, that Dioscurias on the shores of the Black Sea, was once a famous city, (though then deserted,) so much so, that three hundred Nations, all of different languages, were in the habit of resorting to it, and in later times there were one hundred and thirty interpreters for the purpose of transacting business. The Caucasus was the Northern boundary of the Persian Empire and, though Mithridates was able to make his way along the coast of the Black Sea to the Sea of Azof, as a fact the Roman Eagles never crossed the Caucasus. The three Provinces of Colchis, Iberia and Albania, were the limits of Roman knowledge and influence, with the exception of some shadowy notion of the Suani, and of the existence of the Caucasian Pylæ, now the Pass of Dar-el, leading through the Mountains to the unknown Samarkand. The River, that drains the Pass Southwards is called by Strabo in the Augustan age Aragus, and still preserves the name of Arghva.

I shall describe each separately of some languages there are several dialects, of others there are several synonyms others are spoken by clans or tribes bearing tribal names It is probable, that the more powerful Iranian, or Altaic, languages may have swallowed up in the struggle of life scores of smaller languages, as they will no doubt swallow up some of the small ones recorded above yet these seventeen names represent all that remains of the seventy of Strabo, and the three hundred of Pliny

I Persian A few words are sufficient for this celebrated language As Trans Caucasia was until 1826 part of the Persian kingdom, it is natural to find, that the use of the language has outlived the political domination besides there exists a considerable commerce betwixt the two countries The pure Persian-speaking population amounts to 8000 It is interesting to find amidst the settled population of the Province two Persian Colonies, speaking distinctive Persian dialects (1) Talish, the dialect of a small District with a population of 43,000 round a town of that name, and the better known Caspian Sea Port of Lenkoran, this dialect has the character of being an ancient one differing in forms and words from modern Persian (2) Tati spoken in the District of Baku on the Caspian Sea and the Peninsula of Aspheron, with a population of 81,000 it is supposed by some to be only a modern patois corrupted by Turlish, but according to Beresine its name carries the appearance of antiquity for in the celebrated Tablets of Behistun the word "Thatira" occurs repeatedly preceding the name of Darius, meaning "Darius spoke" This hypothesis seems doubtful All the Persians are Mahometan, but Shiah, and hostile to the Turks, who are Suni

II Kurd They are all Mahometan

III Armenian They speak a different dialect from that used by their co-religionists in Asiatic Turkey The whole Bible has been lately translated into their dialect, and published by the British and Foreign Bible Society

IV Ossete called also Iron This is one of the languages spoken within the Range of the Caucasus, but as it belongs to the Iranian Branch of the Arian Family, its description follows the other members of that Branch The tribe numbers one hundred and eleven thousand they occupy a compact territory in the very centre of the Range and it is traversed by the high road through the Darial Pass that leads from Tiflis to Vladikavkaz They hold the upper valley of the river Terk as well as the mountain tract to the West as far as the head waters of the Ardon, and the Mamisson Rivers The evidence of their language is quite decisive as to their origin.

V Turki Of this important Nationality the Russian statistics give the following details

I Osmánlí	700
II Azerbyani	976,000
III Karachai	20,000
IV Kubarda	14,000
V Kumák	78,000
VI Noga	10,000
VII Kirghíz	11,000
VIII Jaghatai	77,000
IX Kalmak	11,000
	<hr/>
	1,197,700

Of these the Azerbyani are the most important, and spread over the greater part of Trans Caspian and they are homogeneous with the population of the Persian adjoining Province of Fíbríz to such an extent that a Translation of the Bible is now passing through the Press at the expense of the British and Foreign Bible Society, which will be intelligible to both. Allusion was made at the Third Oriental Congress at St. Petersburg in 1876 by Berger, to the importance of this language and to the fact, that it had never been studied. Last year at Tiflis I made particular inquiries of the scholar Amirkhanians employed in this Translation of the Bible, and found that the only notice of this language was in a Grammar of the Osmánlí language in the Russian language by Kasim Beg, translated into German by Zenger. Of the other varieties of the Turki language (excepting of course the Osmánlí) we know little. The Kumák occupy the low lands betwixt the Caspian Sea and the Eastern slopes of the Caucasus, and the Gospel of St. Matthew is in course of translation for their use. The New Testament has been translated into Kirghíz and the Gospel of St. Matthew into Jaghatái or Trans Caspian Turki. Of some of the rest we have scant Vocabularies. A scientific list of the different varieties of the important Turki language is greatly to be desired. The Turki tribes poured in from the North in historic times, causing great displacement of the Arian and Pre Arian Languages and now that the whole of the scattered portions of the tribe are gradually coming under the firm rule of the Russians their importance will be greatly increased. They are all Mahometan of the Sunnít sect.

VI Georgian We now arrive at the first of the languages specially identified with the Caucasus and belonging to none of the great Language Families of Asia. Frick Muller divides the Group into a Southern and Northern Sub Group, and the Georgian with

its dialects composes the Southern Sub Group The Statistical account states the following facts

I	Grusia	340,000
II	Imeritia and Guria	380 000
III	Tashm P'har, and Chevsur	20 000
IV	Mingrelia	198,000
V	Suania	17,000
		<hr/>
		950 000

The origin of the name Georgia is presumably the Persian word "Gurj." The third Subdivision is unimportant. Tiflis, the Capital of the Russian Province, is the chief town of Grusia, Kutais of Imeritia, and Poti of Mingrelia. Suania is a small Mountainous District difficult of access. They are all sometimes called the Kartliana tribes from their speaking a language called by themselves Kartli. The Grusians, or Georgians proper, inhabit the basin of the River Kur East of the Suram watershed, and spread up the valley of the Arigwa to the foot of the main range and occupy the valley of Kakhetia. The Imeritians occupy the valley of the River Rion or Phasis, West of the Suram Range. They are separated from the Mingrelians by the River Zenequali. The Mingrelians extend to the Black Sea. The Gurians are a small Sub tribe to the South of the Mingrelian and beyond these are the Lazians, who were known by that name in the time of Strabo and have been annexed to Russia. The Suanians are mentioned by Strabo and Pliny. All these Sub-tribes speak dialects more or less distinct of the common language, the Georgian, or some may even be called Sister Languages. All the tribes are Christian, except the Lazian. The language is essentially Non Arian. It has two Alphabets both of which derive from the Armenian Alphabet. One is used for the Bible and Religious works, the kutsuri or Priest's, the other is the Mekheduli Kheli or Soldier's which is the ordinary ear script. The Translation of the Bible dates back to the eighth century and there are other specimens of archaic literature. This is a strong language, with great vitality and will hold its own, and become the vehicle of culture and civilization.

In a general way the tribes which make up the Northern Sub Group in the Western Portions of the Caucasus, have been called the Circassian in the Central Regions the Murzik-dza and in the Eastern Portions the Lezgian these are Ethnic terms. Almost all the Lezgians were Christians before the twelfth century.

VII Abkhaz or Abas. This tribe occupies the Coast of the Black Sea from the point of Pitzunda to the confines of Mingrelia. They are kindred to the Tcherkess. The population numbers twenty two thousand. Their language has been thoroughly studied and

occupy a small enclave in the latitude of Derbend betwixt the Awar and the Hurkun Uslar made investigations, which Schiefner reported in 1866 followed by Fredk Muller

XII Tabassarim This small tribe of sixteen thousand occupy a small enclave South of the Hurkun Uslar was engaged in the study of their language, when he was prematurely cut off in 1875 and his work has never been printed We know that the tribe and the language exists, but nothing farther The Philological investigation has still to be made

XIII Kurin This is an important tribe in South Daghestan, extending to the confines of the Tati population of the Baku District, and numbering one hundred and thirty one thousand The tribe dwells both sides of the River Samur as far as its outlet into the Caspian Sea cutting through the territory of the Azerbijani Turk Uslar made investigations which were reported by Schiefner in 1873, followed by Fredk Muller The Kurin language has been greatly affected by the Azerbijani Turk

XIV Artsak The name of a village with a population of only six hundred within the enclave of the Kasikumuk yet Uslar reports that the inhabitants use a peculiar and isolated language Fredk Muller describes it

XV Ude This language is only spoken in two villages to the South of the Kurin and therefore quite outside the boundary of Daghestan They are surrounded by villages the inhabitants of which speak Azerbijani Turk, and the population is barely ten thousand The influence of the Turk on this language has been excessive Schiefner published an Essay on this language and has been followed by Fredk Muller

XVI Tshetshan } It seems expedient to treat together these

XVII Tush } two languages

The Compiler of the Statistics takes no notice of the second name, but gives a population of one hundred and sixty five thousand for the first They inhabit the Northern slopes of the Eastern Caucasus extending down the valley of the River Terek from the territory of the Ossets on the West they touch the Awar on the South but do not extend up to the highest ranges Their language is very distinct from all the others, and there are a great many dialects Schiefner mentions that with the aid of a Native he made an exhaustive Treatise upon the Tush language in 1856 The appearance of this pyrrhic Uslar who had been commissioned to draw up an Ethnographic description of the tribes of the Caucasus to make similar investigations in the Tshetshen language which stands in the closest connection with the Tush Uslar's work relates chiefly to the dialect of the residents of the plain and Schiefner was able on this basis in 1863 to show the relationship of the language to the cognate Tush and the greater antiquity of the latter One of the tribes is named Kisti, and some authorities have used this name

schools at certain hours of the day, is a feature of the great South Russian cities, and this must produce, accompanied as it is by cheap literature, a rapprochement of fellow subjects intellectually and morally, in spite of the congenital difference of race and religion and *ancestral*, as contrasted with *acquired*, language. The Russian seated on the extreme East of Europe is not so far removed in ideas and culture from the Asiatic of the West of Asia as the insular Englishman is from the angular and isolated Hindu. Hence arises a greater intercourse between the conqueror and conquered, leading to intermarriages and commensality, things that are impossible in India. Hence also it arises that the Russians assimilate the Georgian and Armenian to themselves, trust them, and admit them to the highest office. Prince Melikoff, Governor of Daghستان, was an Armenian. Lord Melikoff, Commander in Chief of the Russian forces at Alexandropol in the late Turkish war, was an Armenian. He was admitted to all social privileges and dignities. At a great dinner party at his own house, he remarked to an English traveller as follows:

"The company present will give you a good idea of the force of Russian in assimilating foreign elements. I am an Armenian but I think no one could detect it by my speech, my wife is a Georgian, and speaks the purest Russian, at my left hand is the Chief of the district, who is as Russian as if his ancestors had been in the country for 500 years, though he is of recent German origin, next to him sits my Adjutant, Captain Allison whose grandfather was an Englishman, he himself speaks no English, and so on to the end there is not a man present of Russian origin, but it is a thoroughly Russian company. Then, as to the place which I occupy—Vladikavkaz, as you know, means in the Russian language 'commanding the Caucasus'—in other words the key of the Caucasus. Now, the Russian Government puts this key into my hands with the same confidence as it every drop of blood in my veins were Russian. Neither England in India nor France in Algiers dream of giving a principal command to a native, while on the Caucasus the highest positions are held by natives. At one of the most critical periods of our history the Commander-in-Chief was a Georgian, Imin a Tartar who fully justified the choice of the Government for he was one of the ablest men we have had at the head of affairs."

How different is the feeling in British India and the accepted policy of the Government! Latent Provinces are left with native Sovereigns, and this implies, that they are deemed capable of exercising the highest offices of State over a people, who are of precisely the same religion, race and language as are our subjects. Yet within the Provinces of British India natives of India are, from a narrow jealousy, excluded from their fair share of high civil Office, though notoriously fitted for it as to giving them a high

military command, the idea would not be entertained, and, when with a niggard hand some doors are opened to higher Office, offensive privileges are reserved to the superior Casts of European British subjects, who are merely birds of passage, while the subjects of the other European nations, and the American citizens, as well as the Russian, Armenian and Persian community, are left exposed to certain perils, which we must be thankful to believe are only imaginary. No nation, that hope to perpetuate its rule in a conquered country, can safely act thus, as the British stands thus haughtily apart the day of his expulsion is not far distant. The great Roman Empire flourished so long because it extended its citizenship to the whole world and some of the greatest of the Emperors sprang from Iberian or Dalmatian Colonies.

I now come to the third branch of my subject, the effect upon British India of the occupation of the Province of the Caucasus in force by Russia, and its silent advance across the Caspian Sea into Trans-Caspia. To do this I must more particularly describe my late visit, and the reflections which it suggested. My route was nearly the direct one, via Berlin and Warsaw to Odessa, and so timed as to hit off the steamer, which goes so many times a week to Sebastopol. I drove thence by the celebrated Iliads Valley route to Yalta, where I went on board the steamer, visited Kaffa, Kerch, coasted the Crimean mountains, touched at Sukhum Kale in Abkhaz and reached Batum, the terminus of the new railway from Tiflis, in time to catch the morning train and reach Tiflis that night in a run of fifteen hours. I was peculiarly lucky as the branch to Batum had only been opened in the autumn of 1883, and I was saved the annoyance of going to Jotz which would have entailed delay and the risk of fever. From Tiflis a pleasant run of twenty one hours took me to Baku on the Caspian. The Russian railways are admirable, my Russian fellow travellers were most agreeable, the climate at that season of the year was faultless, my passport was never asked for, the police gave no trouble. Civilly, and sometimes more kindly are what the stranger uniformly finds in Russia. I returned along the coast of Asia Minor to Constantinople thence to Vienna, Budapest, Buda Pesth, Vienna, to England.

Part of my object was as I have stated to study on the spot the problem of the peaceful occupation of Herat by the Russians. I disclaim all Josephism and the least particle of antipathy to Russia. I look upon that great Power, as a fellow worker with Great Britain in the civilization of Asia, and all, when great interests are at stake it is well to know what our friends and neighbours are about. However kindly intended and useful they may be, or pretend to be. The problem of the invasion of India by some lower Westward of the River Indus, has been before me ever since I was sent forty years ago by the late Lord Ellenborough,

Governor-General of India, to the North West frontier of India in the Political Department. The first Agban war was just over, and I met all the men, who had taken part in that war, and lived in intimacy with Havelock and Broadfoot; then suddenly the Sikh war burst upon us and I was with Hardinge and Gough, when Lahur was taken in 1846, and in the Punjab fighting to keep possession of my own District, when our frontier was in 1849 pushed on beyond the River Indus to the foot of the Afghan mountains. In those days we thought little of Russia, though Count Soltikoff was moving about in our midst, for many hundred leagues spread betwixt our advanced frontier and that of the Russians.

But after the Crimean War, Russia, just as France did after 1870, began a series of petty campaigns Eastwards as if to compensate herself from her weaker Asiatic neighbours for the serious defeats, which she had experienced at the hands of her European rivals. She first disposed of Schamyl, and made herself entirely mistress of the Caucasus Range, thus rendering Cis and Trans-Caucasia for the first time a compact Province extending from the Black to the Caspian Seas, and a basis for invasion both of Persia and Turkey in Asia. But we shall see further on, that the Caucasus Province was intended to be the basis for something more than this—at least it has proved to be so. In 1864 Russia extended her frontier in the basin of the Sir Darya or Jaxartes, and occupied Tashkend. This led on to the entire subjugation of the Khanate of Kokand and the effectual intimidation of the Khanates of Khiva and Bokhara. This brought the Russian frontier into immediate proximity with that part of Afghanistan, which has always been considered as lying within the sphere of Indian influence. Very little sympathy was felt for such petty States as Khiva, Bokhara, and Kokand, and Russia did good service in timing or extinguishing them. Yet India could not look on unmoved, and when Kaufman in 1878 collected an army at Tashkend to make a demonstration against British India at the very moment of the Berlin Congress, it was felt, that the mask was dropped. If in a game of chess the player lays his finger on a piece, even if he does not move it, his policy is disclosed to his adversary. Thus Kaufman's menace, though only a menace, showed clearly that British India was the quarter, in which Russia intended hereafter to operate if brought into collision with England. The distance of Tashkend from Russia Proper, and the fact, that it was all but impossible to connect them by a railway, was one factor in the problem, which had to be considered. The lofty barrier of the Hindu Kush was another, it had however, in past time, been surmounted by many an invader of India, and, as a fact, a portion of Afghan territory lay beyond it. Suddenly however, the basis of operations was shifted from Sir Darya to the Caspian Sea, and the eyes of those,

Sebastopol three days, calling at all the ports, but a direct transit across the Black Sea would occupy only half the time. Of course the navigation of the Black Sea presupposes the absence of a superior hostile fleet, in that case not only would it be impossible for the transports to cross, but the last five miles of railroad from Tiflis to Batum run along a low shore, and could be rendered impassable by a gunboat. It is in time of peace only that the Caucasus Province can be reinforced from the side of the Black Sea. It is proposed to construct a branch railway from the Rostov-Vladikavkaz line to Novo Rus'sk, on the Black Sea, which would enable reinforcements to be sent from the interior of Russia to the military posts on the Black Sea at a time, when the Sea of Azof is obstructed by ice.

Let me now consider the second section, the Province of the Caucasus. It embraces the whole of the Caucasus mountain range from sea to sea, a strip of level country to the north of that range, and the Region of Trans-Caucasia, South of that range, the frontier of which marches with the frontiers of Turkey and Persia. The strength of the army of the Caucasus Province, without the reserve, may be taken as from 60,000 to 70,000 effective men. The reserve would raise it to 120,000, and the bands of irregular Georgian cavalry and infantry, which are called out in war time, to 30,000 more. Every military cantonment comprises a military colony, to which every soldier after completing his term of service (five years), can retire. These settlements are extending annually, and materially strengthen the Russian hold on the country. To the above available force must be added the Cossacks who can turn out 50,000 horsemen, most useful cavalry for Asiatic campaigning. This information is supplied by a competent authority only last year. There is no fear of invasion spontaneously from the side of Turkey or Persia as both those effete and moribund powers are anxious to be let alone, and can only be induced to strike when it comes to be a struggle for dear life. In the last war Turkey invaded the Caucasus Province with a view to create a diversion in what seemed to be a death struggle. In addition to this effective force in the Province, reinforcements to any extent can be sent to Vladikavkaz. North of the Caucasus range, which is in railway connection with every part of the Empire. Except in winter, a mountain road over a pass of 8000 feet is open to troops by the Daniel Pass, through an entirely pacified district, and, in a few years, one or two schemes will surely be carried out, either a railroad through the Daniel Pass, which would be a small affair compared to that of Mont Cenis or Mont Gothard or a railway of greater length and easier construction skirting the northern flank of the range eastward to the Caspian, at Petrosk, thus supplying a new feeder of troops for the Trans-Caspian Province, and then running on the shore of the Caspian through

Derbend to Baku, the eastward terminus of the Tiflis railroad to the Caspian. In either case unlimited reinforcements could be speedily sent to the Trans-Caucasus army, *under all circumstances and at all seasons*. Except in winter reinforcements could also be sent from Astrakhan by sea to Baku or Michaelovsky, but the mouth of the Volga is frozen for many months. In the *Times* appeared the following notice from St. Petersburg, dated December 26, 1883: "An Imperial Decree orders the reorganization of the local troops of the Caucasus and the formation of six battalions of reserve." It reads very much as being an order analogous to the annual relief in British India, but such an order might mean the detachment of a corps d'armee of 20,000 picked men by railroad from Tiflis to Baku in twenty-one hours. There is no English Consular Agent at Tiflis or Baku, and this military movement might attract no attention, there are vast open spaces eastward of Tiflis, and it might be presumed, that this corps d'armee had been detached for autumn manoeuvres and ball practice. What would become of that corps d'armee on its arrival at Baku we shall see in the third section.

Siberia and Trans Caspian Turkestan. They had ridden from Khiva to Merv, and from Merv to Meshed, without let or hindrance from the Turkoman who a few years ago would have killed them or sold them into bondage. So mighty has been the change worked by the storming of Geok Tepe by Skobelev. I asked the travellers, how they managed to work their way from Khiva to Merv, and Merv to Meshed. They attributed it entirely to their skill in managing natives, in which Russians and British were so deficient, according to them. I then asked them what language they made use of, and found that they knew nothing but French, and had not even a personal servant nor an interpreter, they had been shot through by the Governor of Khiva like pellets through a pop gun. At any rate there can be no doubt that, at any given moment, with a note of preparation a corps d'armée, brought in one day from Tiflis to Baku, could the next day, be shipped across to Michaelovsk.

The fourth section or the Trans Caspian Province of Russia is traversed by a railway. The country is perfectly level, and uninfested by hostile tribes, but a desert, and devoid of human habitation. The work is entirely due to the energy and ability of General Annenkov, the Controller of Russian Military Transport under General Skobelev, who suggested and carried out the design of a railway from the Caspian to the Tekke oases at Kizil Arvat. There happened to be 100 miles of rails lying unused at Bender on the Danube, purchased for use during the Turkish War. This material was shipped to Poti carried by rail to Tiflis, dragged on carts and camels to Baku, shipped to Michaelovsk and, in spite of the lukewarmness of the Russian Government and the ridicule of those who were ignorant or jealous or both laid down and materially assisted Skobelev in his campaign. This was the first sod turned of a line destined before long to reach Herat and link itself to the railway system of British India. Whatever may be the results, the Emperor and his Ministers at St. Petersburg are by no means responsible for the wonderful and unexpected supply of steamers and railway, that connect Baku with Kizil Arvat.

The fifth section extends along a debateable land claimed by the King of Persia but until the taking of Geok Tepe (which is called also Yenge Shahr), overrun by Turkoman hordes whom it was beyond the power of the Persian Government to control. A great change has come over both the Akhal Tekke and the Merv Tekke and the King of Persia is indirectly indebted to the victory of Russia for the opportunity of reasserting his authority. By a treaty with Persia dated 1880, the Russians have for a time accepted a boundary, and there is no reason to suppose that the Turkoman, who are so cowed will give them any excuse for moving on but, if they did the Russians would unquestionably refuse to acknowledge the sovereignty of Persia over this section though they scarcely could ignore the authority permanently established at

Saraksh Still the General commanding did not hesitate to send forward a competent surveyor, *Leasar*, to take the levels for a railroad to Saraksh which is actually on the Hari Rud, or Heri River, though known there as the Tejeud or Saraksh. Our General MacGregor from Irá, had reached this town coming from the East, so here the advanced line of the Russians touched the advanced line of the English, and a little to the West of this town the regular established road from Meshed to Heri, which is only 90 miles distant, is crossed. Saraksh is occupied by a battalion of Persian infantry, and is a large fortress, but the astute surveyor remarks, that it is quite possible to carry the line at such a distance North of the fortress as practically to be independent of it. In the newspapers of January 24th 1884, a Russian paper, the *Caspian*, is quoted as the authority for the news that at the close of last year the Heri Tekke had made a railroad to Persia, even as far as Meshed. This may be true or false, but it will have the same result of inducing the Russians to push on to Saraksh.

The sixth section as stated above is, according to the opinion of the highest English authority, within the recognized territory of Afghanistan as distinguished from Khorasan, which belongs to Persia, and the free country of the Turkoman tribes. And yet the Russian General had the boldness to send his surveyor across the Hari Rud into this Province, and survey a line for the railway up to the walls of Heri, showing professionally that there is no impediment whatever of a physical character and no elevation to be traversed of more than 500 feet, and no opposition from the tribes occupying the country.

Summing up the whole distance from Michaelovsk, the basis on the Caspian, to Heri, "the Gate of India," we have the following ascertained distances:

	English Miles
Michaelovsk to Kizil Arvat	147 (railroad)
Kizil Arvat to Akabad	135 (road railroad proposed)
Akabad to Saraksh	183
Saraksh to Heri	202 } (surveyed)
	<hr/> 669

Of this distance nearly one half lies within Persian territory, the remainder may be deemed *de facto* debatable land until the neighborhood is reached of Heri, but *de jure* Afghan than is bounded by the Hari Rud.

There is little reason for doubt that the corps d'armee, which I left at Michaelovsk could occupy Heri long before any force from British India could reach it. Heri is distant 599 miles from the terminus of the Indian railway system in 1883 and 722 miles from Kizil Arvat, the terminus of the Russian system, but the two roads are not equally open to an invading army, the Indian army would

have to fight its way. But the dazzling bait is held out of a railway to India with only two short breaks of the land route, viz two days on the Black Sea, and one on the Caspian, the whole distance is to be traversed in nine days by linking on the railways of India extended westward to Herat. It has even been suggested, that our annual military reliefs might be sent by this expeditious route, or, in other words, that we should place our heads in the mouth of the lion.

Let me not be mistaken, the occupation of Herat is not synonymous with the occupation of British India, nor has Herat been occupied yet, nor, except as a diversion in time of a European war, does its occupation come into the sphere of practical politics, and many a banner will be rent, and many a warrior will lick the dust, before a Russian crosses the River Indus. Still the mere occupation of Herat by a Power from the West would be an incalculable misfortune, for the report would circulate in an exaggerated form in every bazaar throughout British India, and that feeling of quiet, the Pax Britannica, which has so long existed, will have passed away for ever. Nor would the continuous existence of a great European Power even if peaceably inclined, be other than a misfortune. At present India is isolated shut in by the sea and mountain ranges, with no desire to penetrate, or have any relations, beyond the necessity of keeping up a great frontier army would be a burden beyond the resources of the State Revenue in a country whose military conscription is impossible. One thing however, may be said on the other side, that the burden of military service at such a distance from his home would become intolerable to the Russian conscript soldier also and to a country with such a critical state of internal politics, and such a bankrupt exchequer, so vast an extent of frontier would be a great element of danger.

A great authority in 1875 impressed upon us that there was one point, which was the pivot of the whole Eastern question and which must never be lost sight of, viz "We cannot afford to expose Herat to the risk of being taken by a Russian *coup de main*." And yet this is the precise point, at which in 1884 we have arrived, over and over again we were assured by geographers and politicians, that a range of mountains lay between Herat and Saraksh. General McGregor told us in 1875 from his careful inquiries that such was not the case, and in 1882 we have the fact confirmed by the personal inspection of the Russian surveyor, Lesser. In the same year the railroad is opened from Tash to Baku, reducing a long tedious march of many days to a few hours.

It has been asserted that successful war is absolutely necessary to keep the patriotic steam of the Russian at high pressure and that without it the Imperial machine would stop, as the military influence is paramount and soldiers desire honours, wealth advancement, but against this assertion must be stated the positive fact,

that the advance of the Russians into the territory beyond the Caspian has been an unmingled blessing to humanity. Greater scourges than the Turkoman and Uzbek can scarcely be imagined. The evidence of this can be collected from British and Persian witnesses. The most abominable system of slavery, and armed raids for plunder and murder, have been put a stop to over extensive regions. Fertile districts long laid waste will now be occupied again by peaceful inhabitants. The ferocious habits of the Persian and Turkoman frontagers will be abandoned. To the conquest of Bokhara and the taking of Gerk Tépe, the charge must be attributed.

The British, as well as the Russians, are governed in the East by an uncontrollable tendency to a hance, in spite of the most unaffected and positive orders of the Governments of the Queen and the Emperor not to move onward, and in spite of their attempts to suppress the causes leading to the forward movement. Those, who have been acquainted with British India for the last forty years, know such to be the fact. The Imperial Government has found itself disoheyed in the same way by over-zealous servants. The conquerors of Sindh and the Panjáb can hardly throw dirt against the conqueror of the Khanates and Trans Caspia. Great Britain and Russia, driven by some kind of mysterious necessity, have been yearly approaching nearer and nearer to each other, and now that the time of their actually meeting is very near indeed the question arises, whether it should not take place on the peaceful ground of commerce and international intercourse, which would be advantageous to both parties. At any rate, by no conceivable policy can it much longer be avoided. It may be regarded, as one of the coming events, which throw a shadow on the next quarter of a century. If remonstrances were made at St. Petersburg against a further advance, it would be met by an assurance, that no advance was intended, and yet it would be made; if threats were made, the advance would only be accelerated.

It is proposed to construct two new railways from Tiflis, one to Kars in the newly-annexed Turkish Province, to be eventually extended to Erzurum, another is, or has been, talked about to Julfa, on the Araxes the Persian frontier, to be eventually extended to Tiflis and Teheran. I went over the maps, and the elevated plans of the Province of the Caucasus and the adjoining territories, at the Topographical Office at Tiflis, under the guidance of the most obliging head of the Department. There was no pretence of secrecy, or occasion for it, and the Turk and Persian must feel at any moment, that the Russian is walking on their graves. All is ready for the advance and the specious pretence of the extension of legitimate commerce is not wanting to palliate or justify a forward policy.

But this argument applies still more as regards the advance of

railway communication towards India. The time has come, when commerce must return to its old route through mid-Asia. This great central route was traversed by the great Arian nations on their migration Westwards, and by all the great conquerors from the time of Alexander the Great. Is it of any use our attempting to oppose it? Lord Palmerston did very little good in opposing the Suez Canal. We should rise above our position as mere Britons, and look to the general interests of mankind. We are always impressing this lesson on Portugal, that she should not be like a dog in the manger as regards her so-called colonies in East and West Africa, and try to keep other nations from the Kongo. We must practise our own precepts, and accept the inevitable of the direct railway through Central Asia to India. The danger to our Indian Empire may be a question of doubt, but about our duty to assist the pacification of these lawless Districts, and promote a railway, which could convey passengers from India to London in nine days, there can be no doubt. It would be of no use opposing such a scheme, nor would it be worthy of us.

And, in the meantime, let some of our younger Officers go out to the Caspian; and do what I did not do, cross over, and make themselves familiar with these regions, no longer sealed up. All the advantages of new and unexpected combinations of circumstances are not always on one side. History warns us of the danger of attempting to grasp at universal dominion on the part of any one State. We should be playing into the hands of our rival, if, from a selfish fear of injury to our limited interests in British India, we opposed what is clearly to the advantage of Asia and the World generally, the bringing back of peace, civilization, and commerce into the region East of the Caspian and South of the River Oxus. The work will be done, whether we like it or not.

It is obvious, that Merv lies off the road from the Caspian to Herat, and that the submission of the Turkoman tribes of Merv was a sure and certain consequence of the defeat of their brethren the Akal Tekké at Geok Tépé. That fact has now been announced, and the strategic frontier of the Russian Empire as regards the River Oxus has been rounded off. The problem of the consequences of the advance of the Russian frontier from the Caspian towards Afghanistan has to be fairly faced, and involves interests of momentous importance.

MARCH, 1884.

Three years have not passed without leaving a trace on the sands of Time, and a track on the sand of the Desert. In the *Fortnightly Review* for Feb. 1887, Arminius Vambéry, the great Russophobe, describes the Bulwark, which has been prolonged from Kizil Arvat to Ashabad, and thence to a place with an ominous name, Do-

Shakh "the Two branches" Here the Northern Branch has been constructed to Merv, and thence to Chirchik on the River Oxus, and to Samarkand. Three days and a half is the length of a journey by rail from Tiflis to Samarkand. From the same junction some day will start the Eastern Branch Railway to Sarakhs and Herat.

"*Тогда мы иду Ока и два года не катит*"

Other Departmental changes are anticipated. Just as the Panjab grew from the position of a Chief Commissionership to that of a Province, with its own Lieutenant Governor, and Burma is now preparing for a similar transformation so the subjoined extract, which we quote in extenso, indicates that Merv will soon be the centre and headquarters of a separate Province in the year 1887 the frontier Province of Russia to the East as the Panjab and Sindh are the frontier Provinces of British India to the West.

Is it possible that an insurrection in Bulgaria or a false step taken by Turkey, may jeopardize or at least disturb the peace of British India?

"The Russian Government is about to consider an important administrative change in the present organization of its territory East of the Caspian. That territory now forms a military sub-government of the Caucasus. The ambition of Russian Officers has always been to acquire official liberty within the limits of their bureaucratic work by the decentralization as much as possible of executive authority. Just as Tashkend Officials chafed in 1864-6 at the superior decrees of Orenburg so now do those of Askani and Merv make their dependence on Tiflis a ground of complaint, which has at last gained sufficient volume and importance to be brought before the Imperial Council. The question has been precipitated by an attempt on the part of the Turkistan Government to assert what are called its natural claims to rule the whole of the Central Asian possessions of the Tzar and the approaching completion of railway communication with Tashkend has been used by its advocates as an argument in support of their contention that the capital of Turkistan, whether it remain Tashkend, or be changed to Samarkand, should be the administrative centre of the whole of Central Asia.

Whatever decision the Imperial Council may come to it is improbable that the existing dependence of the Governor at Askani on the Governor General of Tiflis will be continued. Of the three proposals brought before it this one may with apparent safety be eliminated. But a decision between the other two suggestions will be by no means so easily attained. The officers and soldiers of Turkistan have to idly expressed their discontent at the secondary part assigned them in the advance of Russian Power towards India since the successful conclusion of Skobelev's campaign, and the employment of two Turkistan regiments in the Merv garrison has failed to satisfy their ambition or to allay their expressions of discontent. The demand that Transcaspia should be incorporated in this Province has therefore been formulated for the purpose of removing this dissatisfaction and of

advancing the older pretensions of the Turkestan Authorities to play the leading part in the political problems of Central Asia. It is not very probable, that this request will be granted. One objection alone of a practical nature is likely to be held insuperable, and that is the intervention of the semi-independent kingdom of Bokhara between Turkestan and the Merv Askabad District. The balance of probability, therefore, is greatly in favour of the adoption of the third proposal, viz. to convert Transcaspia into a separate Province, with a Governor General resident at the new town of Merv. The Cæsarian Authorities, when they find a change inevitable, will support this arrangement with all their influence, as the Merv Governor General would necessarily be far more dependent on them than the same Official at Tashkend. This administrative change will be regarded as an official recognition of the immense increase, that has taken place in the last few years in the importance of Russia's interests in the Turkoman region, while it cannot fail to produce a considerable political impression throughout Northern Persia and the adjacent districts of Afghanistan.

Since then the Frontier betwixt the Russian Provinces and Afghanistan has been fixed by Treaty. The Railway to Quetta has been extended. The resources of British India are being carefully developed. There is a lull for the present in anticipation of a storm. The death of the Amir of Afghanistan, by the hand of an assassin, or in battle, may act like a spark falling upon a barrel of gunpowder.

LONDON, Acrost, 1857

CHAPTER XII

THE EMPIRE OF TURKEY

IN 1832 I visited Constantinople and was the guest of Sir Stratford Canning the Ambassador. My object was to see with my own eyes, how an Asian Empire was ruled by Asiatic Rulers. I had had several years' experience as District Officer in the Punjab a newly-conquered Province of British India, where every Institution had to be created. Great fault had been found, and justly so, with the lazy, inert unvarying stagnation of the older Provinces of Bengal and Allahabad but under the vigorous rule of Lord Dalhousie British India was undergoing a transformation. The School of Military-Education wished, on the one hand, to let the people govern themselves; they would have allowed the Revenue of the State to be distributed in Grants, there was to be an utter absence of system, record and Official Knowledge, for gallant Captains were to be converted into Judges, and Majors into Courts of Appeal. On the other hand was the rigid unvarying Asiatic Legislation System.

I visited one by one all the newly annexed Districts of the Punjab and the following year arrived with letters from the Ambassador, I visited some of the great Cities of Turkey, and looked into the way, in which Administration was carried on and made the acquaintance of Turkish Ministers and Judges. I published the results of my Inspection in India in 1833. I returned to India, and tried to see the Punjab system, a modification of both extremes became the system of British India. In 1834 I made another visit to Constantinople, and in the following year I went leisurely through Palestine and Egypt. In the intervening thirty years a great deal had happened, the Crimean War, and the Russo-Turkish War. The Empire of Turkey had been greatly reduced, Sultans had been deposed and murdered, all the ingredients, which go to making a State, had departed. In reprinting my Essay, I have had to recognize the fact, that the Empire was greatly reduced, and that all hope was gone.

In spite of diminished splendour, and contracted frontiers, the Empire of Turkey still comprises some of the fairest portions of the World, peopled by some of the most ancient races. The most

or Vicerovalties 1 Thraee (Edrue) 2 N Albania 3 Roumili (Albania and Macedonia) 4 Yania (Fpurns) 5 Salonica (Thessaly) 6 The Islands of Greece, from Tenedos to Cyprus, along the coast of Ionia 7 Crete

Turkey in Asia is divided into seventeen Eyalit 1 Castamoni, on the Black Sea (Paphlagonia and Bithynia) 2 Rhodavendighiar, on the Sea of Marmora (Galatia and Ithrigia) 3 Aydin (Lydia and Ionia), on the Archipelago, with Smyrna for its capital 4 Carmania, on the Mediterranean (Lycia and Lycania) 5 Adina (Cilicia) 6 Bosok (Cappadocia), the inland provinces of Asia Minor 7 Sivas (Pontus), also inland 8 Trebizond, on the Black Sea (Pontus and Colchis) 9 Frzerum (Armenia), on the Russian frontier 10 Mosul (Assyria) on the Persian frontier 11 Kurdistan (N Mesopotamia) 12 Harput (Armenia Minor) 13 Aleppo (betwixt the Orontes and Euphrates) 14 Ihenicla and Palestine 15 Dunavens (Eastern Syria) 16 Bagbdad (S Mesopotamia), on the Persian Gulf 17 Hahsh (Arabia) In addition to these are the two Provinces in Africa 1 Egypt 2 Tripoli

What strange and conflicting thoughts rise up in the mind, on the perusal of this list of names, names, some of them so great and so renowned that History seems never silent about them! Recollections of all times and all nations, press upon our memories, and it seems, as if the limits of the Turkish Empire contained within them the cradles of every Faith, and the germ of every History Egypt, Palestine, and Arabia have given birth to the three great Religions of the world which even still divide mankind, and mid the ruins of Movel and Hishah, by the waters of the Grmenc, in the hills of Macedonia and along the Golden Horn of Byzantium, we find anlebb traces of the four great Empires of antiquity Within the bounds of this Empire is comprehended the whole map of Bible History, with the single exception of the latter part of the fourth journey of St Paul When the Israelites went down into Egypt they passed but from one Province to that immediately adjoining in the same Empire, when they were carried captive to the banks of the Euphrates, which to them appeared to be the separation of a whole world they were but transferred to a neighbouring Pashalick The devout men who were assembled at Jerusalem out of every nation under heaven according to the circumscribed notions of those days, were with few exceptions residents of the Districts, that now compose Turkey, and this it is, which lends to all connected with this falling thus all but lifeless trunk, an interest, which never can be felt with regard to aught connected with the young and vigorous but Historyless Empires of the West

I have described the Provinces of Turkey as they are at present. For

wider were they formerly, for the last century has been to the Ottoman Power an era of unbroken degradation. False principles of external and internal policy, false friends, and false dependents, have so soon reduced that Power, which was till lately the terror of united Europe, to so low a state of weakness, that her very existence depends only on the jealousy of her neighbours. Four out of the great Powers of Europe have appropriated already some portion of the spoil, and by a united effort of all new Kingdoms have been brought into existence, and Nations emancipated from the Turkish rule, and even among the acknowledged subjects several millions have, by forced capitulations, or unequal Treaties, been placed under the protection of Foreign Powers, weakening to an unparalleled extent the prestige of the Sovereign, and stultifying in practice all attempt at social improvement. All European residents are civilly and criminally amenable to their own Consuls only, and all members of the Greek and Armenian Churches are under the protection of Russia. France uses her prescriptive right to be champion of the Roman Church, as a political engine of great magnitude, and the absolute power of the Sultan is confined to his own Mahometan subjects.

How strangely amazed would be those fierce and haughty founders of the Ottoman Empire at the contemplation of the degradation of their descendants, they who had captured the most celebrated city of Christendom, and had twice thundered at the walls of Vienna! And so soon, for there is no ancient dominion which, acquired slowly, had the prestige of Time and History to support it. The Ottoman power began, like a small clou^d of dust which, favoured by the breeze, at length grew to a whirlwind, and with irresistible force prostrated all before it. But, like the whirlwind, it lacked the essentials of stability and substance, and no sooner has the breeze of conquest lulled, than the whole mass falls prostrate to the ground! Perhaps nought is so wonderful, as the sudden fall of this once irresistible Power, except its still more sudden rise and expansion.

In the year 1224, Sulimán Sháh wandered from Khorasan to Armenia with only 400 families, that same Khorasan, which gave birth to the Mogul and Tartar conquerors of India. Moved by a strange restlessness, urged on by an instinctive consciousness of power and conquest, these Nomads fought their way under the first O^{ttoman} through Asia Minor to Brussa, a celebrated city of Phrygia. Here was their second encampment in Asia, and even still they have the feeling of their erratic habits so strong in them, that they consider themselves to have no permanent abiding place, but are only encamped in Europe. The son of Osman followed the policy of his father, and, availing himself of the weakness of the Greek Empire, then in its decadence, added Province to Province, and crossing the Bosphorus, placed a firm foot in the adjoining

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which props the falling house of Osman so strangely, at the present era, is British influence directly felt in every part of the world. The Janissaries, by their valor and discipline, had won this Empire, by their corruption and insubordination they lost it, and at the moment a new power in Europe, that of Russia, was beginning to make itself heard, and the power of other European States was daily becoming firmer and more consolidated while that of Turkey was on the decline. The first defeat of them Transylvania the Austrians captured Hungary, and the Venetians began to aspire to Greece. The force and influence of Russia began to appear in the world and the issue of every struggle during the eighteenth century was prejudicial to the Ottomans. The army had deteriorated, had lost self-reliance and discipline, and had become more dangerous to their own sovereigns than to their enemies. The Empress Catherine had already planned the expulsion of the Turks from Europe, and league with Austria would have carried her projects into execution, had not the other great Powers interposed to maintain the ancient enemy of Christendom, as the least of two evils.

Let me pause and take breath and ask myself, whether there is no other Nation that has been thus unreasonably thrust into an arena of Asiatic conquest that has found itself armed, and in the full vigour of youth amidst the debris of decaying Empires and disjointed provinces? Is there no other power that has in the course of one century, made gigantic strides from insignificance to universal empire? that with one foot on the shore and one on the ocean, has been carrying on successful wars on distant frontiers at the same moment? that with a sword in both hands, has celebrated on the same day the victories of her ships in the Levant seas, and of her legions in the Western mountains? That Power is Great Britain. The history of the fall of Turkey from its high estate, from the insubordination of its army, from the corruption of every department of the Civil Government, from the want of patriotism and apathy of its citizens from the falseness of its friends, is one not devoid of interest to any one at all connected with British India. *Du on en accertant?*

The evil of the system was, however, fully appreciated, and, in the hour of her need the Ottoman Empire found men capable of designing a bold deed to strike at the root of the evil by the destruction of the Janissaries, but this was a measure requiring circumspection, it was the legacy of Sultan Selim III to his nephew Sultan Mahomet, who quietly bided his time and eventually worked out his grand scheme of reformation though nearly at the risk of pulling down the entire fabric of the Empire on his head. The whole of his reign was passed in suppressing internal revolts or conducting unsuccessful war against Russia. He crushed Ali Pasha of Janina, but Albania gave birth to a more

formidable rival in Mahomet Ali of Egypt. The present Kingdom of Greece was formed by the Powers of Europe out of the rebellious Provinces of his Empire, he lost his Trans Danubian dependencies to Russia, but with a wonderful singleness and firmness of purpose, he carried out at last the object, for which he appears to have been specially born, the extermination of the Janissaries. Placing himself and his only son and heir under the standard of the Empire, he called upon the people to destroy these subordinate traitors, or he threatened by styling himself and his son to put an end to the hereditary. This then it had the desired effect. The barracks of these Irregular guards were attacked simultaneously at Constantinople and in the Provinces, upwards of twelve hundred were killed or executed, while the great mass (as the whole body amounted to 150,000) submitted to the new order of things, every trace of their former independence was effaced and the supreme power of the Sultan vindicated. It was a battle, worthy of a great barbarian, but it was one essential, not only to the improvement, but the very existence of the Ottoman Empire. From that moment a fresh era is dated.

order" It is an imposing consideration to reflect upon, and gives hopes for the permanency of the Empire, that there could be found ministers wise and firm enough to concede to the advancement of the age, acknowledge the errors of former Governments, and grant, unasked, a constitution to the people The proclamation is known by the name of the "Hatti Shurif" of the "Gul-hânih," "the royal letter of the palace of the garden of roses," where the heads of the State, and the representatives of foreign Powers, were assembled for the inauguration of the new state of things, in November, 1839. The terms of this proclamation are so remarkable, that I do not hesitate to quote it

"THE HATTI SHURIF OF THE GUL HÂNÂH

"Every one is aware, that in the early ages of the monarchy, the precepts of the Koran, and the laws of the Empire, were a rule ever honoured In consequence of this, the Empire increased in strength and greatness, and the population, without exception, reached the highest degree of welfare and prosperity A succession of different causes, during a hundred and fifty years, has brought about the cessation of that conformity of conduct with the sacred book of laws, and with the regulations emanating from it, and the previous vigour and prosperity have been exchanged for weakness and poverty, for it is a fact, that an Empire must lose its stability, when it ceases to observe its laws

"These considerations are constantly present to our mind, and ever since the day of our accession to the throne, the idea of the public well-being, the improvement of the Provinces, and the relief of the people, have not ceased to occupy it exclusively Now, if one considers the geographical position of the Ottoman Provinces, the fertility of the soil, and the intelligence of the inhabitants, one must be convinced, that, by endeavouring with perseverance to find efficacious measures, the result, which with God's help, we hope to attain may be realized in the space of a few years Full of confidence, therefore, in the aid of the Most High, founded on the intercession of our Prophet, we judge it expedient to seek, by new institutions, to procure for the Provinces composing the Ottoman Empire the benefit of a good administration.

"This must be based on three points 1 The conditions, which ensure to our subjects the enjoyment of perfect security of life, honour, and property 2 A regular mode of collecting the taxes 3 A method equally regular of recruiting soldiers, and fixing their term of service

"And indeed are not life and honour the most precious enjoyments that exist? What man, whatever repugnance his character may inspire against violence, will be able to refrain from it, and

product, the waves of the ocean itself wash her store-houses in the Golden Horn, and waft her cargoes from Sinope and Trebizond on the Black Sea, to Smyrna, Beirut, Alexandria, and Tripoli in her own dominions. Two rivers intersect her remoter Provinces, the Euphrates, and the Nile, her coasts are studded with harbours, and so wonderful are the facilities of her situation, that even now the burden of her postal arrangements is conducted by foreign Nations, and her earliest railroad is being constructed by foreign capital; and did not a feeling of independence compel her to look with suspicion on such offers, were her political arrangements more certain, other railways, from the Mediterranean to the Euphrates, from Constantinople to the Austrian frontier, would be undertaken and completed, foreign capital would be extensively invited in other objects, and many of the onerous duties of a Government would be undertaken, for her profit, at the risk of her neighbours.

The Tanzimat is based upon the principle of a direct centralizing Government, and the great struggle of late years has been to compel some of the more distant Provinces to submit to this rule, and become Districts instead of tributary States. The power of the Supreme Government, indefensible in theory, is year by year developing and extending itself practically, to assist in this point the regiments of the army are relieved annually, and move from Province to Province, the Governors are appointed direct by the Sultan and are transferred as occasion offers, the head of the Executive is not allowed to be the farmer of the revenue for his own profits, but the Districts are more or less carefully assessed, certain principles of Criminal Law are uniformly enforced, under appeal to the higher Courts. Such measures are no doubt distasteful to the Pashas of the old school, especially to those who had made themselves hereditary, hence the struggle between Egypt and the Porte. The Sultan one year tries to introduce the Tanzimat, this would be followed the next year by the revenue laws, and the Viceroy would be reduced to a Civil Commissioner.

The Viceroalties have been enumerated above, over each is a Wali or Mutarrif, with the rank of Pasha, he represents the Executive power, has the privilege of calling for military aid when required and corresponds direct with Government. Each Pashalik is divided into Sanjak, or Districts, superintended by a Kaimmakam or Muhassil, who, as their name implies, are but the shadow and representative of their superior officer on urgent matters, they may address the Government direct. In his own immediate District, the Wali acts as his own Kaimmakam, having secondary, as well as primary, powers. This Authority, in concert with the military commandment, conducts the conscription, and presiding over a Junta formed by the Judge of the Civil Court, the Mufti and Moka, and the mem-

bers of the *Majlis*, the Local Council, conducts the Criminal trials with the assistance of a local municipality, he also superintends the finance.

The *Majlis*, or Local Council, meets on fixed days four times a week, and is composed of the *Kaimmakim*, as ex-officio President, the Receiver-General called the *Mal Mudiri*, the heads of the persuasions, such as the Bishop and Rabbi, as the case may be, the *Khoja-Bashi*, or delegate of the Christian community, and deputies elected on a numerical ratio from the people.

This is certainly a most liberal feature in the administration, one to which it will be long ere we arrive in India. Nothing can be decided upon, which affects the interests of the people, without being submitted to this *Majlis*, establishing the important principle of equality in race and religion. But it does not work well yet, neither having practical efficiency, nor being supported by personal independence. I was sitting in Court with the Pasha of Damascus, at the time that one of these local Councils were debating on the rather delicate subject of making up a deficiency in the revenue by an extra tax or benevolence. The delegates of the citizens were there, just the kind of men, whom our large towns of India would produce: their scheme was of course to screw every class but their own. Turning over the subject practically, a subject not unfamiliar in all its bearings, I do not think India would gain by the admixture of a popular element in its system, for this purpose.

The *Kaimmakim* or District Officer, has under his orders a Police-force, mounted and foot. Each District is divided into *Kaza* superintended by a *Mudiri*, who is generally also a *Mutasallim*, corresponding to Police and Revenue Officers: these parties act in concert with the deputies, or notables of the locality. In each *Kaza* are so many villages, over each is a *Muktyar* or *Khoja Bashi*, chosen by the inhabitants.

The Wali is assisted in his Revenue duties by a *Daftardar*, or Receiver-General of the Province, and the *Mal Mudiri* discharges the same duties in the District, superintending all items of finance, as well as the quarantine, customs, and passport department. At the beginning of each financial year, the 1st of May, the accounts of the year are made up and sealed by the Wali and his council, and sent with their vouchers through the *Daftardar* to the Government. Every disbursement in the Province must bear this Officer's seal.

On paper this reads well, and approaches wonderfully to the system in India: the greater infusion of the popular element is to counteract the greater moral turpitude of the local Authorities. I was riding through one of the Provinces with an intelligent French priest, who had long lived there, whom I had chanced to meet that

morning at the house of the Kaimmakam, where he had called to answer some charge of assault made by the Protestants against the Romanists. "Ah, Sir!" said he, "there is a dreadful thing in this country, of which you fortunately know nothing, called 'Hishwit'." "Know nothing?" replied I, "it has been one of the banes of my official life for many years. I can sympathize with you." In fact, venality and corruption rule the day, appointments are bought and sold and justice goes to the highest bidder. Another recess for local councils happily exists not in India. The Pasha is always a stranger, and utterly ignorant of the language, as Turkish is not the vernacular of all the Provinces; he is never allowed to stay there long, for fear of his taking root, there is no detailed system of Record, and consequently each local Ruler is as much in want of a Council, as the noble lords who periodically honour Bombay and Madras with their presence in Government House.

I pass now to the courts of Civil Justice. At Constantinople is the pinnacle of the edifice, consisting of a High Court of Justice and Appeal, divided into two Sultans or Chambers, one for the Europeans, and the other for the Asiatic Province. Each Chamber is presided over by a Chief Justice assisted by ten and seven puisne Judges respectively. These legal fathers rank next after the Sheikh-ul-Islam, who occupies the post of Minister of Justice and Religion, uniting the power and dignity of the Lord Chancellor and the Archbishop of Canterbury, and who has the nomination to all appointments. A Provincial Court of Appeal (Mouhriat), presided over by a Moka, embraces one or more Viceroyalties, according to size. There are twenty-two of these Courts. In each District, or nearly so, is a Kaza, or court of primary jurisdiction, these are composed of the Kazi the Mufti, the Naib or additional judge, the Avak Naib and the Bach Katib (clerk of court). The Courts dispose of all primary cases and as stated above when united to the executive and local council form a Criminal Court. In common parlance they are called the Court of Justice, in distinction from the municipal council, and commercial Court, to which I shall allude hereafter. In some local subdivisions there is yet a lower Court for trying smaller cases presided over by a Naib with a Court-officer.

Justice is thus brought home pretty well to the community, but of what kind is the article? Of what capability are the judges? Are their hands clean? And what is the procedure? This is a subject of deep interest to any well-wisher of India. It is worth a trip to Turkey to watch kindred institutions in similar countries to catch some hints to amend our own. I visited more than one of these Courts in the large towns, and found them generally in central spots, large cool rooms, with a fountain in the centre, a venerable-looking Judge, and most respectable assessors. All the dignity and publicity of Justice but, alas! what say long residents with regard

to the probity and character of the Courts^o. The Kázi openly avows, that suitors are in the habit of sending presents to influence his decisions; and why should it not be, for he had bought his place, and must get the money back, and then the loser can always appeal? What makes it worse is, that these appointments are only *annual*, so it is "catch while you can." Then comes the preposterous mode of procedure, the Mufti is the judge of the law, the Kázi of the fact, the suitors are obliged to bring their respective cases before the Mufti first, in an abstract form. "If Omar does so and so, how is Zaid affected?" And the Mufti gives his fatwa according to the strict law his decision is of course grounded on the facts stated, or mis-stated, by each, and then each party, armed with his fatwa proceeds to the Mekemeh of the Kázi, who decides the facts. These proceedings have the advantage of brevity, for the cause is soon expounded, the order is inscribed on the petition, and signed. The defendant has always the option of demanding, that his cause be transferred to the higher tribunal this is the only check on corruption, and meanness. But the labour of the unfortunate plaintiff is not over yet, for, fortified by his fatwá from the Mufti, and his Ilam or decree from the Kázi, he has to move the Kammakam to execute this decree, and another door is opened for delay, bribery, and denial of justice.

The Office of Mufti and Kázi is filled by parties selected from the body of the Ulema the great hierarchy of Turkey, which may be divided generally into two branches, the judicial, consisting of the Kázi and Mufti, and the sacerdotal, consisting of the Imam the latter being very inferior to the former both in station and influence, for the genius of the Mahometan religion renders its followers independent of priestcraft. The appointment of the Mufti is for life, that of the Kázi is liable to constant change. Both have to undergo a long and dreary apprenticeship ere they reach these desirable posts. To each of the large mosques at Istanbul is attached a Madrasa and there the ten or twelve years of early manhood are spent in acquiring the knowledge of the law, as a *Salib* the scholar then assumes the title of *Dimi hmand* and is eligible for the Office of Imam. But should he accept this Office he would forfeit all claim to further promotion. If he clings to the college, and successfully passes further tests, he is styled *Mulazim*, and admitted to the first grade of the Ulema, and is eligible for the office of Kázi should ambition urge him on, and he be inclined to devote seven long years more and pass higher tests he comes out as *Mudris* a rank specially conferred by the *Shukh ul Islam*, and is then eligible to the post of Mufti in any part of the Empire or by remaining at the Capital he takes his chance for promotion to the very highest Offices of his profession, the Judge of Appeal, or the chair of the *Shukh ul Islam* itself.

The Provincial Criminal Courts, as stated above, are composed of

former errors, a virtue much to be imitated by other stubborn Governments

"*Art I* The Sultan has solemnly pledged himself not to destroy any human life, *publicly or privately, by poison, or in any other way*, unless the party has been condemned by law. No employé of Government is therefore at liberty to kill any one, whoever he may be. If a Wazir should take away the life of a shepherd, he will be punished with death

"*Art II* Every excitement to revolt will be punished by the gallows for life

"*Art III* Every Government servant, convicted of oppression, will be punished without reference to his rank or station

"*Art IV* His Highness has promised not to touch the goods and property of any person. No one, therefore, is at liberty to possess himself by force of what belongs to another. Any infraction of this law will subject the delinquent to the penalty of restitution of the property misappropriated, and should he be a Government employé, to dismissal and exile

"*Art V* As all dignitaries are well paid, any instance of exaction will be punished by three years of the galleys and dismissal

"*Art VIII* In each District there will be three independent authorities: 1 The Courts of Justice. 2 The Executive Police. 3 The Revenue Officers. They are bound to give each other mutual assistance without meddling in each other's affairs

"*Art X and XI* Fatal wounding will be punished by death, as also assassination

"*Art XII* This Code is of equal force in favour of, and against, all subjects of the Empire, *whether Mahometan or Christian without any exception*. It is the duty of all to take care, that no breach is made of these laws by any one, whoever he may be, at the same time that all may claim their protection

Unquestionably, as a Code, this is a very incomplete and unscientific production. But as a manly acknowledgment of past errors, as a noble abandonment of all Caste privileges and unjust social differences, it is entitled to our profound admiration, and moreover, to our humble imitation in British India. If the proud and half-educated Mahometan could resign the privileges of a Code and procedure sanctioned by his Religion, and stamped by antiquity, and could place himself on a level with the Christians, whom his ancestors had conquered, and tread upon for centuries, conscientiously believing, that the best way to improve and purify the Courts is to render the law more amenable to them, how very unworthy must appear to the World the conduct of those, who declaim against the extension of the Codes of British Law to all British subject, whether the sons of shopkeepers in Cheapside, or sprung of ancient families in Hindustan? Here the wisdom of the

Christian Government, as well as the justice, must yield to that of the Turk, but it is a vain struggle, and the dictates of common sense must sooner or later be followed. I trust to have before long a Hatt-i Shari from the Gulshani of the Council room of British India, proclaiming the entire equality of all subjects, without distinction of Religion, or colour, or birth. The first end of the wedge has been inserted by the passing of late Acts. If the British Merchant, or Planter, wishes to reside in India, he must conform to the Laws of the Land.

I cannot hope, nor expect, that in so short a period the principles laid down in this record of rights have been practically worked out. It is long, very long ere an Asiatic people, accustomed to oppression, can learn their just rights, ere the little petty tyrannies, which we have before us daily in the bazaar, and on the high road of an Oriental District, are put down by public feeling. As long as scoundrels are degraded enough to offer bribes, so long will the corrupt Judge dishonour the Bench, as long as men will not hesitate by cringing and flattery to gain their own ends, so long will the dwellings of those in power be surrounded by a grasping crowd of extortioners. In one of my visits to the Pasha of Jerusalem, I was stunned by cries for Bakshish, and had to dance attendance amid a crowd of varlets in the ante-chamber. I submitted to the penance, and fled readily perhaps glally, being now convinced, that the errors of our Public Officials in India, which no punishment would check,

influence, and by degrees the complete centralization will be established. The general features do not differ materially from our own Civil, Criminal, and Revenue Courts, and Executive Power in British India, but Turkey is liable to an evil through its length and breadth, from which we are free, and which has the effect of paralyzing its best efforts at self government, and must continue to do so. This evil arises, partly, from the weakness of the Empire as regards foreign European Powers, and partly from the defectiveness of its own institutions. The Courts above alluded to have jurisdiction only over the Mahometan and Christian subjects of the Porte, but the whole coast swarms with the nondescript subjects, or dependents of Foreign States who, though long settled, still consider themselves as under the protection and the flags of their respective Consul, and entirely beyond the power of the local authorities in any respect whatever. Nor do these individuals keep aloof from the ordinary transactions of life, like the King of Delhi, who remained secluded in his own palace. They are everywhere foremost in speculation and in trade, loud in the market place influential on the exchange, masters of the imports and exports of the country, now the creditors, now the debtors of the Government and its highest officers. The people are of all countries speaking all languages, but preserving their nationalities, or wanting the protection often most profligately extended by the local Consuls of the smaller Powers. This state of affairs was forced upon the Christian Powers by the former denial of all law in Turkey and the haughty denial of all rights to Franks as Unbelievers. Certain Capitulations were made when the Turkish Power was weakened by which all subjects of Foreign States are liable, civilly and criminally only to their Consuls, and through them to their Government, and by Acts of Parliament the British Consuls in the Levant are armed with Judicial powers, and can if required, forward offenders for trial to Malta. This privilege of independence from the Laws of the land has been grossly abused, and by none more so than Great Britain. In addition to the genuine British subject, who maintains everywhere his character of stubbornness and unreasonableness and gives trouble to every constituted Court in every country, the British flag protects a countless horde of Maltese, Greeks from the Ionian Isles, Ionians on the coast who have long enjoyed protection without nationality, Jews, citizens of the United States, who wherever they have no representative naturally look to Great Britain, latterly all converts from the Ancient Churches of the East have put forward a most unfounded claim to the protection of the flag of the Monarchy. Each Consul has a look of protected subjects and it is a point of honour not to concede one, though the licence of adding to their numbers has been checked. I met an old Mahometan of the Panjab, who asked me for a certificate of his being a British subject, for the purpose of evading

read to him "in terrorem." And this is going on in every town, and as foreign relations increase, the system of interference increases also. The Sultan, last year, by edict, reduced the extravagant rates of interest at Damascus. His views of political economy might be wrong, but at any rate he but followed the precedent of every civilized nation. The blood-sucking Jews went *en masse* to the British Consul, and I had the pleasure of hearing that worthy record his protest, or act of defiance, to the Imperial Government, which half a century before would have taken off his head, or consigned him to the Seven Towers. All the authorities are wonderfully urbane, and civil to travellers, and in appearance very respectable. The old race of Pasha, as described by the author of *Fothen*, has expired. Such as I met were sharp and intelligent men, of solemn and staid demeanour. If transferred from Damascus or Smyrna to Delhi and Agra, there would be little to distinguish them from the Deputy Collector or Native Judge, the same grave respect for externals, the same slow and deliberate utterance, the inkstand and paper, the scented pipe, and obsequious servants standing round, add to the resemblance.

The Franks, as stated above, being beyond the control of the local Courts (the Courts being too bad for them, or they too bad for the Courts), Mixed Tribunals have been established to settle their own international quarrels, to enable them to collect their just debts, and protect the natives from their exactions. A Frank cannot be delivered over to the Tribunals of the country, and in commercial matters between Franks, the Consular Court is that referred to, to which alone a Frank can be cited, but the native must be sued by a Frank in the Courts of the country. Even among the subjects of the Porte, the Patriarchs and Chief Rabbis are vested with powers to settle cases, where both parties belong to the same persuasion, with a right to appeal to the Court of Justice, which is the only tribunal, if the nation and religion of the parties differ. The Mixed Tribunals for deciding matters in which Franks or domiciled strangers are concerned, are twofold: 1. The Commercial. 2. The Criminal and Correctional. These institutions date from 1846, and have been established in all the large cities of the Empire, and have been found to answer their purpose. They are composed of a certain number of natives whose appointments are permanent, and a certain number of foreigners, who vary according to the nationality of the party, whose case is before the Court. These Courts are vested by the Imperial *Hirmân* with all the attributes of competent Judicatures, they can compel the attendance of witnesses, administer oaths according to the persuasion of the witnesses, punish perjury, and can, with the sanction of the Executive, carry out their decrees, to any extent, civil or criminal, except where life is affected. If the defendant is a subject, the sanction of the Sultan is required to warrant capital sentence, if

but two forms which taxation can assume. 1 Where, as in Great Britain, the expenditure is fixed, and the sums necessary are collected with the consent of the tax payer. 2 Where the amount of Revenue available appears fixed by natural causes, and the expenditure must be controlled by that. Turkey, like British India, belongs to the latter class. Her best intentions and schemes are checked by want of means, and the method of increasing taxation to meet the legitimate wants of the Government is the great financial difficulty.

The following may be said to be an approximation to the revenue of the State in 1851. However, the data are very uncertain.

Land tax	£ 024 000
Income tax	1,840 000
Capitation tax	368 000
Customs	790 400
Indirect Taxes	1,380 000
Tribute from the dependent Provinces	32,000
	<hr/> £6 724,400

Of the 6, the land tax resembles in some respects the great source of Revenue in India, but it is avowedly founded upon a different right. The State is maintained by law to be the sole owner of real property, and the tax is a kind of rent, and to appreciate the exact position of Government I must refer back to the origin of the Turkish power. When the Turks commenced their career of conquest, the general rule was *conversion or extermination*—still practically their dominions might be divided into two classes, those which submitted without making any resistance, or which were entirely colonized by Mahometans after the extermination of the Christian inhabitants, and those which were conquered by force of arms but the inhabitants spared. In the first class, the lands were generally divided into three shares. 1 Military land such as we should call in India Jghir. 2 *Almougat* and religious tenures so well known in India. 3 Government land known in India as *Khal*. But the State never resigned her lien on the whole, and it is the usufruct alone that is conceded to the holders of the first two shares. As the Government grew weaker in its functions, what happened in India and everywhere else came to pass in Turkey. The subjects carried their estates at the expense of the State. More than half the territory passed fraudulently or forcibly into the hands of the Priest and Soldier, with entire immunity from any State-contribution at all. One of the boldest measures of Sultan Mahomet after the massacre of the Janissaries was to resume the whole of the Service Land. He even had prepared to do the same to the Religious Holdings also but the stout heart, which had not feared the sword, quailed before the curse. These lands still remain free from the tribute which is levied on all lands held direct by Government, and therefore called Military Lands.

In the second class of Provinces, which had been conquered by the sword, the principle was different—a land tax, the right of the conqueror, took the place of the tithes, or rateable collection from the faithful. This of course varies according to the relative strength of the tax gatherer and the tax payer. In all well governed and rich countries, the question is reduced to this—it is only very strong Governments, or very wise ones, that care to limit their demands to what is just; the land should pay, with reference to its capabilities. I saw many instances of this. The Chiefs of mountainous and difficult tracts would not permit a Revenue-Officer to enter their boundaries, and paid a quit rent, assessed in proportion to their strength, not the value of their country. On the other hand, the open country is liable to constant oppression. I was particularly interested with the fiscal state of the valley of the Bekaya between the two ranges of Lebanon, a magnificent valley, irrigated by the Leontes, with great agricultural capabilities. A survey had lately taken place, and an average had been struck, and a kind of Settlement made for five years. This was, however, soon set aside: a new Pasha commenced a new survey. Lines were taken to make false measurements, demands were being urged, over and above the assessment, of a miscellaneous kind, consisting of straw for the horses, food for the servants. The old struggle between Revenue-exaction and agricultural chicane, to improve which the British Consul of Damascus, on some supposed plea of protection was preparing to interfere, without much chance of his mending matters.

The land tax is collected by the head men, and transferred to the State Collectors, who account first to the District, the chief Revenue assistant of the District. The dilapidated state of the currency, the chronic want of funds, and habitual falling of the Revenue, adds to the misery of the cultivator, who is generally deep beyond redemption in the clutches of the Arminian Money lender. Money is taken up on the coming crop, but ere it ripens, the Revenue harpies are let loose to realize in kind, and anticipate the baffled money lender, but a small portion of the amount, really drawn from the people, finds its way to the treasury of the Government. A large part is diverted by little doucours perquisites or plunder, delayed coin, and arbitrary price currents. The people did not strike me as very wretched in spite of all this. I have lodged in some of the meanest houses, and there secured more comfort than I had found in many an Indian village: the husbandman generally tills his fields with a gun slung over his shoulder, and other arms near at hand. In one village I was very much amused by a long string of complaints against the head men, brought by one of the cultivators. The man urged his case, as if he were trying to impress upon me a new idea, instead of a very familiar story indeed.

I am not prepared to say, that very many of the evils described above do not exist in great force in the Provinces of British India many of them are inseparable from the existence of a land tax and the nature of Oriental tenures, and, if found to exist in two countries so separate and distinct as India and Turkey, they may be presumed to be of spontaneous growth. The best of Governments can only modify and reduce within the smallest possible compass, such evil, by fixing moderate assessments for long periods by never anticipating the demand by punishing exaction, and establishing a good currency, and encouraging self government.

The second great head of taxation is the Income tax, levied from all at an average rate of seventeen per cent. The abuses of this tax, and the difficulty of assessing justly, may be imagined the usual method is to assess roughly certain Districts, and to leave the distribution to the Municipality them selves. there is no doubt that it presses heavily on some while many evade it altogether, yet it is a form of taxation, which at least possesses to a large degree the element of fairness, standing upon the position that the State levies a portion of the goods of the subject to secure to him the enjoyment of the remainder, this tax has much to recommend it and in Great Britain is now admitted to be necessary but the question of distribution, everywhere difficult, in an Oriental country becomes one of the greatest nicety, and this will ever render its introduction into India dangerous, although the justice of reducing the tax on land and fixing it upon personalities, appears to be incontestable.

Next comes the capitation tax, levied by the Mahometan conqueror from the Christian subjects, as a ransom for their lives. This exists still but it is no longer attended in its realization by insult or humiliation and circumstances have arisen which will make its repeal, which is probably not far distant, regretted. One of the great merits of the Turkish reform is the entire abolishing of all Caste privileges, and the desire to extend justly to all subjects. Under the present state of things, the conscription for the army falls exclusively on the Mahometans, and the Christians think themselves well off in paying in money instead of in flesh and bone but their privilege is likely to cease and they will be included in the conscription rolls and relieved from the capitation tax. The rate of assessment of this tax is calculated as the value of two, three or four days' labour on each grown up male the number of males of each persuasion being calculated the amount of assessment is distributed among the Heads of Religious Persuasions, viz the Patriarchs of the Christian community, and the Khatam Lashi of the Jews. This new system has added enormously to the power of these dignitaries, who were rated previously with certain judicial functions, and who have seats in the Council, and by some, as naturally to be expected, it has been used for the worst purposes.

which appear to be calculated on a very liberal scale for instance, the Grand Wazir the highest dignitary of the State, receives about £11,000 per annum, Ministers, with the rank of councillor £8000 per annum, the Viceroys of Provinces, corresponding to Commissioners of Revenue and Police £4000 per annum the District Officers, £1600 per annum, the Mutasallim, or superintendent of police, £550 per annum, the Düstardar, or general receiver £1600 per annum. Such are the salaries of the Executive the employees of the Civil Courts receive nothing from the State, but are paid entirely by fees.

In an ordinary year, with a Peace-establishment, the Budget of expenditure falls but a little beyond that of the receipts and by good management the ends might possibly be made to meet but if a bad season were to reduce the land tax, and a change in European politics compel unusual war expenses the necessary result is a deficit which can only be met by loans, and until the finances become more lucreant and an annual surplus be raised the increase of the loans is but adding an additional weight to the millstone round the neck of the State. Three great financial measures suggest themselves to those who have long studied the position of affairs all of them surrounded by difficulties the two latter perhaps insuperable by the present Government as the former is based on religious prejudice the latter on foreign treaties guaranteed by plighted faith and protected by irresistible power. The first is a question of administration and embraces a proposition of abolishing the capitation tax, as an odious religious distinction extending the contribution to all subjects of the Porte, and increasing the income tax at an equal rate upon all at the same time that all farms and the ruinous system of middle men, be abolished and all collections made direct by Government employees. There is no question regarding the policy and justness of the measure, they have been already adopted by every enlightened Government of Tax paying is, under all circumstances disagreeable but it becomes doubly odious when it falls unequally, and is influenced by religion or race, when a large profit is absorbed by a class of middle men who plunder in the name of the State but the question arises whether the Sultan has at his command the administrative ability, and honesty, required to make the system of direct collections answer completely, as it has done in British India.

The second proposition of reform is one that daunted the bold genius of Sultan Mahmud, but still it is a necessary one that must come sooner or later and that forces it self on every Government from the frightful abuses which are connected with its existence. I allude to the appropriation of all the Feudal property, which has by degrees swollen to such a size, that it embraces half the landed property of the Empire,

and pays no contribution to the State. This property is of three kinds: 1. That portion originally assigned by the early conquerors for the maintenance of religion. 2 All subsequent grants for educational or other public purposes, hospitals, libraries, and charities. 3 Fraudulent transfers by individuals to Ecclesiastical establishments, to preserve their property from secular confiscation. The existence of this class is owing to the rapacious and lawless policy of the later Sultans, when confiscation became the order of the day, and the wretched owners saved a portion by making covert grants of the whole to religious bodies. This has had a fatal effect on the finances of the Empire, and, as confiscations have now ceased the nature of the tenure should be altered by law, and the whole of the landed property rendered liable to the land-tax. But in this question is involved the most valuable of vested rights still as the present system becomes established, and the necessity becomes daily more apparent. I hope to see it some day carried out and it will be the final and last struggle of the Conservative party of Turkey.

The third measure of reform is perhaps still more complicated, and the difficulties arise from the Capitulations with Foreign Powers, which were wrung from Turkey in her weakness, and which are as embarrassing as the early Treaties made with the Native States of British India. The principle of the Ottoman Government is that Franks, viz domestic Europeans, cannot possess landed property for the very good reason that they refuse to render personal allegiance to the Sovereign, or submission to the law. But no arbitrary legislation can check the under current of private life and these Franks have intermarried with the Christian subjects of the Porte, and in right of their wives have come into possession of large properties, and then, turning round upon the Government, refuse to pay taxes as being Europeans. Shortly after the inauguration of the Tanzimat, it was determined by the Authorities to check this growing evil, and through the intervention of Mixed Tribunals, to assess all property thus held. This has been violently opposed in some towns, but the principle has been admitted by the foreign representatives in others, and it has in itself so much abstract justice, that it is to be hoped, that a more liberal policy will be forced on both parties by the development of more intimate relations that the Porte will concede the right of holding property, and that the Great Powers will remodel their Capitulations with reference to the very altered position of affairs.

I do not hesitate to state my opinion that no Civil Government could do its duty, if hampered by such impediments at every turn. In British India, step by step, privileges and exemptions from the established Courts have been abolished and I hope to see those that remain and disorganise the Statute book, speedily removed. These

Courts are unfit to exist at all, that are not considered capable of doing justice to all, it is no privilege, but a disgrace, to individuals to be exempted from the ordinary Judicatures of the country in which they were born, or which they have selected for their residence. I trust, that the feeling is gaining ground and that British Merchants and Planters will cease to aspire to the honour of being classed with debased and degraded Native Chiefs, and when the arm of the law is shortened for any individual as a special case, it is inferred that he has been acting, or will possibly act in such a way, as would bring him under the law, did it possess its full attributes. I feel a hind to converse on the subject with American and French gentlemen feeling that the Government of British India is recklessly exposing them to certain supposed evils, from which I am myself by chance of birth protected.

One of the greatest results of the Tanzimat remains still to be noticed. With the Janissaries fell the ancient organization of the Army, which had gradually become an hereditary service supported by land and held in full. Like all service paid in this way, and supplied after this fashion, the work was ill done, and the army became dangerous only to its employers. The present army was established in the year 1842, and is based on the principle of compulsory service, by conscription for five years of every Mahometan subject, and, as stated above, this is being extended, or perhaps has already been extended, to the Christian community also. The army is divided into six separate Corps and Armies. The Turkish phrase is well known in India as the name assigned to that language, which spring into existence in the Turkish camp at Delhi. Each of these Urdu consists of two parts—the active and the reserves, the former under the command of a Field Marshal, is divided into two corps, fully officered and comprising three regiments of infantry, two of cavalry, and one of artillery, with thirty three guns. The total strength of each Urdu in war is 30,000 men but during peace it is reduced by furlough to 25,000 in three, and by the incompleteness of the recruiting system to 15,000 in the remainder. The whole establishment, therefore, is 180,000 men, but the effective strength is 120,000. The Reserve is composed of those soldiers, who have served their five years, and amounts to 210,000 effective soldiers of all arms, but in time of war, twelve corps of 25,000 each or in all 300,000 men would be available, bringing up the effective strength of the Turkish army to 330,000 men, and the full strength to 450,000. Besides this there are detached corps, one in the relief of Crete of 11,000 strong, a second in the Pashalik of Tripoli and a third consisting of engineers and artillery, distributed in all the permanent garrisons in the Empire. These corps raise the effective strength of the standing army to 365,000 men, including the army of Egypt. It is distributed in the Provinces, being periodically relieved. On the whole, it is well looked after,

and the private is paid higher than the British soldier. The hospitals are attended to, the men are well clothed, the cavalry are well mounted, and though every arrangement is confessedly in its infancy, those, who have paid attention to the subject, are sanguine as to the results, and are of opinion, that not only has a force been raised capable of controlling rebel Provinces, and supporting the Civil Government, but also not entirely unable to protect its own frontier, and eventually make itself respected by its neighbours. The whole cost is more than two millions sterling, and the Navy estimates amount to £300 000 per annum. Here again there is great difficulty in arriving at any certain data.

The arrangements for the Reserve are particularly deserving of credit. It consists entirely of soldiers, who have served their five years in the active force, and who are allowed to remain on furlough for seven more without pay in their native Provinces, except during one month in the year, when they assemble at their local headquarters and are drilled. Regiments are recruited from the same Districts and therefore the Reserve is united, and by these annual meetings and neighbourhood, maintains an *esprit de corps*, and the men are always ready to obey the summons, and move in a body where required. The rules of conscription are simple, that every able-bodied youth of eighteen years should serve five years, without any exemption. On the whole it is stated not to be an unpopular service, but no traveller can have failed to meet parties of conscripts, caught after a hard chase, being brought down from their jungles, and carried off to their headquarters, like a gang of prisoners. It may be only a school boy unwillingness to quit their home on the part of some, but, on the other hand, it is a fact unquestionable, that the conscription is so unpopular in some districts, such as the Lebanon that all the males of some villages decamp to the wilds until the evil has blown over. This conviction was sometimes painfully forced upon me, sometimes ludicrously, for under the belief, that Franks are all powerful, I have been sometimes implored on my road to effect the release of a son, or a brother, and on one occasion I met a mulatto, who had been separated from his beasts of burden and turned into a soldier, but the old trade had not been forgotten, for his first inquiry on meeting my servants was after his mules from which he had been taken away. In considering this subject, it is not always to be remembered, that the measure has all the evil of being new, and contrary to pre-conceived Oriental notions. It is scarcely ten years, since it was put in force, and has not yet been fully extended to all the Provinces. To an Englishman it appears strange, how anybody can be forced to be a soldier, to be oppressed himself, and thus become an unwilling instrument of oppressing his fellow-subjects, but it is a measure, which has been thoroughly reduced to practice by the great military Powers of the Continent. No change

are so heavy as those, which are forged and tightened by a people on their own limbs, none are so ready to make slaves of others, as those who are slaves themselves. The British and Anglo-Indian are the only great Armies, essentially formed of free levies, and it is a matter of congratulation to the Government of British India, that the overabundance of the population of those Provinces has furnished our armies with an exhaustless crop of recruits, and saved us from the unpopularity and danger of forced recruiting. On the other hand, we have not, as Turkey, a vast reserve of trial soldiers, always ready to be called at a crisis, and costing nothing. Our army is in the field, but such as it is, it is all we have. The sole object of the Turkish army is to resist foreign aggression. Her career of conquest is over, and the chances are, that she will never take the field against any one of the great European Powers, except in alliance with one or more of the others. The organization is skilful, that each *Urdü* is raised in a certain portion of the Empire, and the headquarters of the active force becomes at once the rendezvous of the reserves, on whichever side the alarm may be, and, if the evils of the conscription are still felt, they are as nothing under the regular and limited system now enforced, when compared to the wholesale capture of the young men of villages who formerly were dragged off to serve for life at a distance from their homes. The term now never exceeds five years. The choice is regulated by lot, and the stations are in the Provinces immediately adjoining the residence of the recruits.

It must not be forgotten, that Military conscription, if fairly enforced, if the conscripts are well looked after, have the advantage of Instruction in reading and writing are well fed and clothed, is one of the best forms of Education of a people in a low state of Civilization. The conscript leaves his home a mere ignorant savage; he returns a man of the world, and a new creature. The only hope of the progress of the South of Italy, Sicily, Sardinia, and the Austrian Empire rests upon regular conscription, and military training.

Such is the result of a review of the Civil and Military establishments of the Turkish Empire since the reforms of Sultan Abdul Majid, and his ministers, Reshid Pasha and Ali Pasha. The information contained in these pages is drawn from publications, which have the merit of being the most highly thought of on the spot, and the works of English and French hands. Both are decidedly favourable, if not entirely in their accounts of results, at least in their auguries and anticipations. There are others who take a much more sombrous view of the state of things, and consider the energy of the present moment as more certainly predicting a sudden dissolution. When first I took up the subject, I was of the same mind; but gradually I have taken a brighter view, and am prepared to believe that time and peace will do much still. There is so much of liberty and wisdom in these reforms, such noble concessions to

the iron spirit of the age, such a single minded desire to re-establish good Government on the best model although those models are contrary to the historic traditions and religions of the ruling Caste, that I cannot but wish well to those at the helm of the State at these critical moments

With the continued blessings of peace, there is a vast career of usefulness before them, extensive tracts of country have been depopulated, ancient cities are falling to ruins as compared with the population of British India, that of the whole of Turkey appears very inconsiderable

Redistributed according to their nationalities, British India itself scarcely could exhibit so strange a variety, differing so intensely and so entirely from each other

Redistributed again according to their religious persuasions, we have a singular spectacle In India we have to deal with Pagan, Mahomedan and Hindu and some minor sects, who scarcely appear above the surface In Turkey the struggle is between Mahomedan and Christian, the latter being there, like the Hindu here the indigenous and conquered race In addition to these grand divisions there are Jew, Druse, and Kurd the two latter being devil worshippers a remnant of the old heathens of antiquity, but too inconsiderable to notice, and included in Mahomedan

As is generally the case in an unsettled country a very large proportion of the inhabitants are crowded in the towns, which are walled or clustered in villages in the hilly districts, which have the advantage of natural defences The plains are comparatively deserted but as order is restored and cultivation is extended, this will cease to be so remarkable Many Provinces have been celebrated for the productions from the earliest period of history for the local advantages are such as to admit of the produce of the tropics, without entirely excluding the staples of Europe As the traveller ascends the plateau retiring from the coast, he comes upon the climate and peculiar productions of different countries the vine the mulberry, the fig, cotton cereals in every European and Asiatic variety are found in abundance Pash Province has some peculiar staples for which it has a reputation which it still keeps up In spite of the millime, which China remits to British India for opium there is still a large and now increasing supply of that article from Smyrna which avoids itself of the overland route, to compete with the product of Patna and Malwa in the market of Canton

The great cities of Turkey are indeed sights such as no other can supply Dwells in India know not the real and unique splendour of an Oriental bazaar we must turn our faces to the setting sun and tread with slow pace the Bazaar of Constantinople Smyrna, Damascus Bagdad and Cum are we can say, that we have entered into and realized the feature of the Eastern world W

have nothing here like the solemn statelyness the racy and varied picturesqueness of a Levantine town. Though familiar with the largest and most magnificent cities of Hindustan, I unwillingly allow, that they cannot be compared for one moment with Damascus and Istambul. The bazaars being covered in are protected from the inclemency of the seasons, and they are an agreeable lounge, instead of being, as in India, an uncorrigible nuisance. The spectacle of the baths and mosques possesses more than a trifling interest, especially the former, and amidst the turmoil and excitement of the town at the busy hour, the stranger is startled at the visions of the white figures reposing in luxurious ease, in the coolest corner of a spacious hall, enjoying their slumber in a way, which Turks alone can enjoy, and forgetting everything under the influence of the magic hashish. An unprejudiced observer can find much to admire in the Police and internal arrangements, and the noble Rest houses for the accommodation of the merchant and the traveller, which open out from every side of the bazaar, with their cool fountains and marble floors, and piles of merchandize piled up in security. How different from the shabby buildings outside the walls of the Indian Town where the traveller cannot always obtain protection from the weather, or the merchant from the attacks of thieves. Yet here the comparison ceases. Outside the walls of her large towns, Turkey has nought to bring into comparison with what has been done, with what is doing in India. no roads connecting the most distant Provinces, with an uninterrupted stream of passengers and unbroken chains of Police stations for more than a thousand miles. no bridges spanning the flood. no acknowledged security on the highway. Such arrangements, in an Asiatic country where all must be done for the people by their rulers where the plundered man will howl over his own losses, but will not stir a foot for his neighbour's, or willingly contribute to the safe protection of his own property, must necessarily be slow without saying, that in India all has been done that ought to have been done up on a comparison with other countries similarly situated, we are more ready to be satisfied.

One word upon Religion and Education. In Turkey, the Mahometan Religion is not only the State Religion but the Law of the Land. The great strength of the anti reformers is in the ranks of the Hierarchy in whom were formerly vested the powers of the State, the Judiciary, and the Education of youth. Even now the native Christian is treated to a certain degree with contumely, and the Turk cannot quite shake off his pre conceived notions, but great changes are taking place with the present generation. The Mosques of the Provinces are no longer closed to the foot of the infidel, yet in social life among the lower orders the Christian is still in the lower position, but the Christian Frank is a privileged person, and to him the strictness of old laws are rapidly unbinding. go where he

French, Italian, German, Turkish, Greek, and Arabic. Some add Hebrew to their qualifications.

Such is Turkey: is it then to be pronounced a corpse, or is it about to commence a long and prosperous career under its new institutions? I have tried to show what a great Mahometan State really is, in order to rectify the popular notions of the efficacy of Native rule, and the evils, which British Rule has caused in India. The Ottoman Empire, by its size, revenue, and importance, occupies the position of the first of the second rate States in the World at the present time, its Sovereign is on an admitted equality with the Sovereigns of Europe, yet what a vast idea does it give of the extent and importance of British India, when we find that the Revenues of Turkey are so very much less than the Revenue which we draw from our own Provinces, and prudent of our paramount influence over the Native States in the matter of population what a small proportion do the few millions under the sceptre of the Sultan bear to the two hundred and fifty millions of British India! Still Turkey is the only Asiatic country, to which British India could be brought into comparison, as regards institutions and government: it is with a view to this comparison, that I visited its Provinces, and I saw much, that was good and much that was to be avoided. But will a great nation condescend to take example from the spectacle of a neighbouring Empire, under somewhat similar circumstances to its own, striving to adapt the tried and approved principles of Western Government to an Oriental people? Have the rulers of India the frankness and manliness to avow the errors of their predecessors, and pursue steadily and fixedly the path of reform in spite of popular clamour or Caste privilege? We have at our disposal great advantages, denied by fortune to the Rulers of Turkey. We have a boundless extent of Executive strength and a store of administrative ability, such as few absolute Governments ever had, and now that the system is fully developed that the engine is in full work, the expansion of the Empire is scarcely the thought of a moment. A new Province is annexed, with a stroke of the pen new levies are raised, new civil divisions are marked out, and the British Official sits down to his desk, or struts on his parade ground, with the same indifference to locality with the same official aptitude in Persia or Peshawar: the duties of the Government are thus carried on with regularity and certainty: the Empire, though vast, is compact, the orders of the head of the State are delivered promptly, and are executed unhesitatingly. While the Turkish Pasha would be deliberating or protocolling with the French Consul, the British General, if left alone will have done the business, and the Civil Governor will report quarterly, that he has annexed the Province, and realized the Revenue. The orders are conveyed by the lightning line, and the great impediments of time and distance are removed. The Government of India is again fortunate

in possessing an inexhaustible supply of native soldiers and of capable Native civil Officials, Hindu and Mahometan polished, intelligent, obedient to law, free from intolerance, and, if well paid, hence the Rulers are restrained by no Capitulations with overpowering neighbours. If the French Consul, or the Kâbul Ambassador, had worried and insulted me in my office at Lalor or Amritsar, in the manner in which I heard the former functionary acting at Damascus, I should have shut him up in the Police-lock-up, till he had cooled his temper, and understood where he was, and I have no doubt, that a British Consul acting in the same way would have experienced the same treatment, and justly so, in Algeria. There are no Provinces, which rise in periodical rebellion, when called upon to pay their quota to the State, and no independent Pashas ever and anon to threaten the existence of the Empire by intestine war. On the other hand, the distance of the Indian ports from Europe still stops the influx of European capital extra, and shall which flowing along the Mediterranean, and increasing with the increasing prosperity of the country will do more, and in

and famous harbours became choked with sand. The present Ruler of Turkey will have gained a victory far exceeding that of his ancestors, if by firm and judicious reform, and wise and impartial Government, he succeeds in restoring, as he already has done partially, these fertile provinces of his Empire to their former prosperity.

BANAKAS, NORTHERN INDIA, 1853

Thirty-four years have passed away, since I wrote the above. Turkey had then her day of opportunity, and has not availed herself of it. There is no hope now. "Delenda est Carthago" must be the verdict of every intelligent observer. Have the Rulers of Turkey in the hour of their might, or of their weakness, ever shown the least capacity of Rule in a substantial degree, have they realized that a Government is only allowed to come into existence or permitted to continue to exist, when it is for the benefit of the people governed? If I did not heartily believe, that the prolongation of the period of British Rule in British India was for the benefit of the people, I for one would advocate our immediate withdrawal. The same period, which marks the continuous degeneration of the principle of Government in India, chronicles the constant advance of the Institutions of British India. Education, Municipalities, Freedom of Trade, Press and Religion, Right of Public Meetings, Local Councils, Improved Taxation, Improved Means of Communication, Equality of all before the Law, and in the Courts of Justice.

Provinces have been wrested from Turkey in this period by France, Great Britain, Austria, Russia, Servia, Bulgaria, Roumania, and Montenegro. Other Provinces are home-combed by the French Priest, the British Missionary, and an army of Consuls, Vice Consuls, and Consular Agents, and a legion of Money lenders have appropriated portions of the Revenue. Liberties are taken by Europeans, which would be tolerated by no other Government. I myself saw a Hospital on the top of a hill, commanding a city, actually with fortified embrasures, and the British Missionary complained, because the Pasha stopped the works. Had any Frenchman attempted to erect such a building in British India it would have been razed to the ground. If the Judicial Courts make a decision against a European, he complains to the Ambassador, and persuades the Executive to revise it. If the Turkish Government establishes a system of Popular Instruction analogous to the one, which the French Republic has introduced into its Colonies, and compels other European Nations to submit to it, the Missionary Societies of Great Britain and the United States begin to bluster and threaten, forgetting the long years of immunity and licence, which they have enjoyed in Turkey, and which they would look for in vain in Russia, Austria, or Prussia. The Government of Turkey has become weak

and contemptible, dishonest and impecunious, and as there is no hope of improvement, the sooner that it disappears, the better for the true interests of the Human Race

LONDON, 1837

It has been asserted, that the Sultan of Turkey, who is by race a hybrid produced by Atrian Males from High Asia out of Circassian Mothers, is the live & representative of the Kaliphs of Arabia who, were pure Semite, the assertion is ridiculous, and the claim would be admitted in neither Hindustan, Persia, nor Morocco. We can hardly conceive the idea of prayers being offered for Biazet of the iron cage, and his descendants by Timur, and Batur and Akhbâr in the Mo-ques of Lahor and Delhi and Agra. How little the present Sultan has succeeded in getting rid of the old Tartar notions is proved by a fact recorded in the *Times* this very year, that, as a mark of favour, he presented his Grand Wazir with £1000 to defray the expenses of the circumcision of his son. I doubt whether the Viceroy of Egypt, or the Nawab of Hyderabad, would be gratified, if the British Government were to convey to them such an honour. Stars and ribbons may be puerile rewards of great service but they are at least not ridiculous. The Newspapers tell us, how from time to time the so called Kaliph of the Faithful, Vice-Liegent of God exchanges compliments of letters, and presents, and decorations with the Pope of Rome, the so-called Pontiff and Keyholder of a sect of Christians. Both these dignitaries seem to resemble that famous jar, which retained the scent of the roses very long after the last drop of Attâr had been drawn off.

LONDON AND 1837

APPENDIX (See p. 276)

Tuid Pasha to Lord Stratford de Redcliffe

12 July 1836.

"The official communication made formerly and recently by your Excellency, both in writing and verbally, upon the subject of religious matters have been taken into much consideration. The important and fruitful services which the Porte has at all times and more particularly of late experienced on the part of her illustrious allies the English and other Governments, are appreciated in the highest degree by His Majesty the Sultan and the Government of great minds inspired by them will remain forever impressed upon the heart of the Ottoman nation. In addition to the sincere desire manifested by the Porte to meet so far as is possible the friendly representations of her allies by as satisfactory measures, she is also well acquainted with the spirit of the age, and she is ever according, with the Imperial sanction, to common sense the decisions adopted regarding it above point. In consequence the assurances formerly given to the British and French Governments with reference to the treatment of refugees are at present renewed and confirmed although with an additional assurance is declared and made known that the terms of the decision at that time adopted will be as far as possible complied with by all expedients. It is merely hoped that this decision which is a new and practical proof of the Porte's readiness to all agree as far as possible with the forwarding or otherwise measures of a practice or not are, will meet with the satisfaction of your illustrious allies. MURAD I PASHA

CHAPTER XIII

EGYPT IS IT WORTH ANNEXATION? WOULD IT ADD TO
THE STRENGTH OF THE BRITISH EMPIRE?

I KNEW Egypt first in 1843. I spent a month in Cairo waiting for the arrival of the first P. and O. Steamer from Suez to Calcutta. I saw the great Pasha Mahomet Ali, and his step-son Ibrahim. Cairo was an Oriental city then, and I read right through the Koran with my Arabic Teacher. I went a little way up the Nile with Warburton on his well known voyage, the Crescent and the Cross. I was with Lepsius at the Pyramids, and I saw Wilson start off with his party to Syria and Palestine, as recorded in the "Facts of the Bible." Sir Richard England was in the Hotel on his road back from Kandahar in the first Afghan Campaign, and Pottinger arrived from England with the ratified treaty, which closed the Chinese War of 1842. I have visited Egypt for brief periods six or seven times since, have watched its Institutions and Railways grow, and always kept myself *au courant* with the events, which were happening. I visited the country, possibly not for the last time, at the commencement of the year 1885, and made a careful survey from the sea to the First Cataract, from Suez and Port Said to Alexandria. I read a great deal of contemporary literature both in the English and French language on the subject. Some of it is entirely worthless, some extremely valuable, yet indicating that the writers had exceedingly small conception of the nature of the problem presented in the Administration of a Province, a matter familiar to an Anglo-Indian Officer, who had been doing nothing else all his life.

The period of my visit was no ordinary one. All eyes were on Lord Wolseley's forces on the Nile above Dongola. I left London Jan. 12, 1885, the battle of Abu Klea was fought on the 17th. Before I reached Cairo on the 24th Stewart had been wounded and Wilson started that very day to Khartum. I started up the Nile on the 25th, and, before I reached the First Cataract all was over, for Gordon was killed on or about the 26th. Wilson had retired, and left Khartum, on the 28th. On a tree at Assuan, was fastened a board to which was attached a notice of the battle of Abu Klea, and the arrival of the troops at Metammeh on the

Nile. I got back to Cairo on Feb 6, the same day, that Wilson got back to Korti, and a few hours later read in the Notices in the Hall of Shephard's Hotel, that Khartum had fallen, Gordon been killed, and I felt thankful indeed, that all prospects of our occupation of the valley of the Upper Nile had passed away, at least for this generation. The stars in their courses fought for us for the bitterest enemy of Great Britain could scarcely have wished to see a large Army isolated for a long period of the Summer Months at more than 1000 miles from its base, with no ulterior object and no prospect of possible advantage. I heard at Cairo with amazement of the large reinforcements sent to Suakin, the Railway plant turned out to connect Suakin and Berber, passing through drifting sand, and over an altitude of some thousand feet. I saw the Camels, stowed away six in a railway truck, being deported to Suez. I read Lord Wolseley's order of an advance in the Autumn, and then gradually common sense began to prevail, and on the Board in the Hotel I one day read, how that the Russian forces had advanced on the Afghan frontier, and sickle public interest was diverted (and for ever) from Meru on the Nile, near which Lord Wolseley was encamped, to Meru and Murchak on the Oxus. The water of the great River Nile, as it flowed silently on from Emin Pasha's distant fort at Wadelai, between Khartum and Omdurman, past Meisamuh, and Berber, past Hebek, the scene of the death of Poyser and Stewart, past the falls of Karkhan, where General Leslie fell, past the Camp at Korti, and Dongola, could, as it conveyed our steamers down the Nile, have told many a tale of Misadventure and Death, which will never be known. I never could divest myself of the conviction, that it was an inane, objectless and wicked war. We were fighting against Patriots, who fought for their country, for Religionists, who fought for their faith. We were fighting for a will of the wisp idea, or the Earth-greed of an ignorant Public. The whole Sudan is not worth now, and never will be in future times, the value of the lives of the brave men, who perished both on our side, and on the side of our opponents. So brave and grand a man as Gordon would scarcely have wished to be achieved at such a price. What a store of heroism we have gathered up in the hearts of these brave races, the Hindoo, the last remains of the free manhood of old times, whose very names we did not know and who to this day do not distinguish us from the Turk! The messengers of the Mahdi spoke as men, who believed that they were fighting in a high and holy cause. They intended to overrun the world and offered pardon to the British Army, if they would become Mahometan, and no longer resist the Mahdi. Sir Charles Wilson mentions, how a fine old Shukh on horse-back planted his banner in the middle of the British square at Abu Klea. He was at once shot down, and fell on his banner. He had been noticed in the advance with his banner

in one hand and a book of prayer in the other, nothing finer could be imagined. He never moved to the right hand nor to the left, and never ceased chanting his prayers, until he planted his banner in the square. The useless massacre of such a man is enough to tarnish any victory.

I had an interview with the Ex Khedive Ismail, before I started. His Highness was courteous and communicative, and talked freely in French in the presence of several persons, who were present, and followed our conversation. He suddenly asked me, whether I knew the Turkish or Persian languages. On my replying in the affirmative with regard to the last, he said in Persian "In your opinion is there any hope for Turkey?" I replied at once, that there was not. After a pause, he asked whether I considered there was any hope for Egypt. I replied, frankly, that there was great hope, on hearing which he seemed disappointed, a flatterer would have coupled with the hope the necessity of Ismail's restoration. I did not think so. It may have been the beginning of the troubles, when he was removed, but it would only aggravate them to restore him. His career as a Ruler has ended.

Although my object was to consider whether the annexation of Egypt would pay financially or politically, yet as Egypt is still, as a matter of form, part of the Turkish Empire, it is well to consider how it has fared with that Empire since 1852. The Crimean war of 1854-55 saved it from extinction, but the Russo-Turkish war of 1878-79 ended in the material reduction of its territory both in Europe and Asia. Immediately Tunisia had been annexed by France, and the district of the Lebanon placed under an independent autonomy. The result of the war of 1878-79 was the establishment of the independent kingdoms of Rumania and Servia, the annexation by Austria of Bosnia and Herzegovina, the cession of Cyprus to Great Britain, the enlargement of the Northern frontier of Greece, the independence of Northern Bulgaria and Montenegro, the autonomy of Southern Bulgaria or Romelia, the annexation of Kars and Batum by Russia. Then followed the bombardment of Alexandria, and practically the conquest of Egypt by Great Britain, eventuating in the shrinking of the Southern frontier of the Turkish Empire to the Second Cataract.

Nor have the Rulers of the contracted Empire become wiser, but the contrary. Sultans have been deposed by palace intrigues, in which the eunuchs play a chief part and one Sultan has been murdered. The reigning Sovereign feels, that any day his lot may be the same, that he may have the choice of the poisoned cup of coffee or the dagger, if he ventures to strike out a path of his own. The influence of the fanatical Mahometan party is such, that nothing but an entire destruction of their political power would be of any use. *Defendit et Carthago.* I can remember the same

thing happening in the Panjáb there were those, who would have maintained a Sikh Kingdom. When it fell, it was found how easily the country was governed: the sting was taken out of the insect: the religious establishments, their laws, their prerogatives, and the nuisance arising from them, disappeared at once and for all time.

The radical fault of the Turkish system is not so much its wickedness, as its inefficiency: to be vigorous it has no other expedient but to be cruel: then comes in outcry: no Official is sure of his position, and no one dares to suggest, or cares to carry out, a reform. Each one makes hay while the sun shines. The absolute non-existence of equitable notions aggravates the danger. According to Turkish ideas, the Mahometans were designed by Providence to rule, and the Christians to be squeezed for money, and supply women for the harems. The very existence of a class of eunuchs is an anachronism in Europe and a shame: the fact, that slaves are still imported and Slavery tolerated at once puts the Empire out of the category of civilized nations. Notwithstanding that there is more religious tolerance in Turkey, and less Police vexation than in Austria Hungary, still there can be no doubt, that Turkey does not deserve to exist, and only enjoys a respite, till it can be settled who is to succeed to the inheritance.

were only levied from a people for the purpose of a good Administration, and that British India paid no tribute to Great Britain. One necessary condition precedent of good government in Egypt would be, that the telegraphs and postal communications between London and that country, should be totally interrupted for one year at the least. The most successful and most daring Indian Administrator would fail in any attempt to govern Egypt under its existing circumstances. Let us think out this subject.

If any one wished to build a bridge, or a house, or buy a horse, or an estate, he would consult a person, who had experience in that particular duty. The opinion would hardly be solicited of the Knights Errant, who are picked up by chance by the managers of the London daily papers, and sent out as reporters. Mr Power, who was sent out to the Sudan by the *Times* may have been a good and gallant fellow, but he was totally unacquainted with the country, and the subject matter. The permanent reporter of the *Times* was clearly a malcontent. No issues of the *Punch* did such mischief, or were so hostile to the true welfare of Great Britain, as the letters of the *Times* correspondent from Egypt in 1883 and 1884. When I reached Cairo last January, I called for the *Express* and was surprised to find, how tame its abuse seemed after the abuse of the *Times* correspondent, and how really wise and well informed it seemed after the unwisdom and ignorance of the same individual.

My own qualifications for writing are just these. I had about a quarter of a century to take part in the Administration of conquered Provinces, and many years in entirely newly-conquered Provinces passing through the shifting scenes of war, annexation, revolt and rebellion, dealings with finance, Courts of law, Prisons, Police and settlement of Land Revenue. Having a taste for the thing, I visited Turkey more than once, and Algeria and Tunisia, South of the Caucasus to see how things were managed there, and published notices of what I saw, and read carefully the Blue Books and the Reports of Lord Dufferin, Lord Northbrook and Sir L. Baring. As may be supposed, I heard a great many opinions. Armed with a letter from Lord Granville, I had interviews with Baring, Nubar Pasha, Amos West and Crueshank. I looked into the Jail in the town, and the great central Jail some little way out. I looked into the Courts of Justice and talked with the Judges. I saw Police Courts and Schools, and marked the ways of people in the towns and in the villages. I never heard a harsh word spoken, or saw a blow struck, or listened to a bitter cry of anguish, or a groan of an oppressed one. I have lived long enough among Orientals not to be taken in by them, and yet not to overlook signs of tyranny. I had plenty of time during my long tedious riles in Syria and Palestine to think out the problems, and digest my information.

My remarks will group themselves under the following heads :

A The personnel of the Administration	I Education
B The Revenue	G The Constitution
C The Judicial system	H The Financial state
D The Police and the Jails	I Taxation of European Aliens
L The Canals and Roads	

Egypt is like a palimpsest, the older writing is read through the new. The state of things, which we see around us, tells the tale of the long miserable centuries of misgovernment, through which the unhappy country must have passed. When people, with imperfect information, speak slightly of the British system of Government in British India and of the French system in Algeria, both of which I have carefully studied on the spot it would be well for them to reflect upon the state of a people, left to the tender mercies of an alien Asiatic Power. Egypt at least had religious liberty, the existence of the Copts with their churches and convents proves that. Those great abuses with regard to which there has been so much frothy declamation, the Corvée, or forced labour, the Courbush, or whip, and the corruption of the Police and Judicial underlings are by no means the peculiarity of Egypt. Laudable progress has been made in suppressing all these abuses in British India and in Egypt a great deal has to be done to abolish or mitigate them. Forced labour is necessary to clear the Canals, upon which the prosperity of the Country depends. To the apathy and want of independence of the people must be attributed the use of the whip, there would be no corruption, if there were not those who have an interest to corrupt. I am not singular in my opinion, that the people are *not* oppressed, the petty tyrant is generally their own headman or one of their own family, or neighbours, and not necessarily a paid Servant of the State.

A great clamour is raised about the loss of the Equatorial Provinces. I knew Egypt before she had conquered them. Egypt is complete in itself North of the First Cataract, if its boundaries are extended as far South as Wadi Halfa or the Second Cataract, no harm will arise, but any further extension will ever be accompanied by danger and profitless expenditure. It was amazing to hear and read about the Mahdi invading Egypt the long trench of the Nile presents no facility to the invader, and with all the appliances of modern civilization, we know how difficult we found the route to Dongola. Egypt has often been invaded from the East, and the West and the North, but rarely, if ever, from the South. It is to the good fortune of Egypt that it has shaken off the Southern Provinces and the greatest blessing to Great Britain that Khartoum was not relieved. The Census of Egypt Proper gives a population of six millions eight hundred thousand souls, about 201 to the square mile, of these, 246,000 are Nomad Beduin of the

desert, and 90,000 are domiciled aliens. There are two cities, Cairo and Alexandria with a population of 375,000 and 213,000 respectively. Six towns of second magnitude, 113 market towns, and 3389 villages. The towns are Tanta, with 60,000 inhabitants, Zagazig with 40,000. Assiout with 27,800, Damanhur with 25,000. Kenneh with 13,000. Those, who have had to deal with the teeming millions of India and their lordly cities can smile at a problem of such insignificant proportions. Such a Province as Egypt if adjacent to India as Sindh and Burma, would be annexed without difficulty, and administered with little expense.

The Province is very compact and accessible as it is permeated by the great navigable stream of the Nile. How different are the circumstances of Syria and Asia Minor! The Oases are like insular dependencies of the main Province as the Isle of Skye is of a Scotch county. They are worth £10,000 per annum but are not readily accessible. The Peninsula of Sinai is a dependent Province as Aden is of Bombay. For purposes of Administration Egypt Proper is divided into three great sections: Lower, Middle and Upper Egypt, which again are divided into eight special City Governorships and fourteen Prefectures in Lower Egypt: Fihria, Gizeh, Gahobieh, Charkieh, Menoufieh and Dakkahieh. In Middle Egypt Beni-suef, the Fayum and Minieh. In Upper Egypt, Assiout, Girziah, Keirneh, Cosseir and Esneh. These again are subdivided into Districts and these again into Cantons, each of which includes several villages. Over each of these subdivisions, great or small there is an Official. In all the details we recognize the well known features which are prominent in any organization of territorial rule. The first thing that we did when we annexed the Panyál was to trace out on a map the boundaries of the Divisions, Districts, and subdivisions and count up the towns and villages. The absence of mountains and streams, the total non-existence of a local aristocracy of castles or forests of mines, the gentleness, docility, and industry of the people, habituated by the tradition and practice of centuries to live on the verge of starvation without manufactures or education only religious in a very mild form these are phenomena rendering Annexation of Egypt and Administration very easy. Lord Duffrin in his Report calls attention to considerable immigration of hardy foreign races, which has been going on from time immemorial, whose descendants are as much Egyptian as the rest of the population, but yet are very different in character. And according to the same authority (who however could have no information which was not gleaned from others and as they are not named we cannot test the value of the evidence), there is a hope for improvement in the inert mass of the Egyptian peasantry. I quote a really beautiful passage beautiful both in sentiment and expression. I only wish, that I could believe in its truth.

"The metamorphic spirit of the age, as evoked by the inventions of science, intercourse with European nations, and other invigorating influences, have already done something to inspire the Egyptian rustic with the rudiments of self respect and a dim conception of hitherto unimagined possibilities. Nor, like his own Memnon, has he remained irresponsive to the beams of the new dawn. His lips have trembled, if they have not articulated, and in many indirect and half unconscious ways he has shown himself not only equal to the discharge of some of these functions, of which none but members of the most critical communities were thought capable, but unexpectedly appreciative of his legitimate political interests and moral rights."

It goes without saying, that the Egyptians are totally unfit for the higher posts of Government, much more so than the people of India, and that they could not be safely employed in the lower positions without close supervision of a higher race. The Turks and Albanians, who were introduced by Mahomet Ali Pasha, were unquestionably of a stronger and nobler race, but totally unskilled in the art of Rule, suspicious and unprincipled. The introduction of Europeans was therefore desirable, but not in such large numbers, with such excessive emoluments and insufficient selection. Owing to the jealousy of European nations, many appointments have been most unnecessarily duplicated, and Lord Dufferin admits, that the excessive predominance of Europeans was the cause of deep dissatisfaction to the Egyptians. If the country were annexed by Great Britain, there would necessarily be a Civil Service, but, if the native Government is maintained it places that Government in a false position to be surrounded entirely by European Officials. Long before the rebellion occurred I had regarded this feature with great dissatisfaction. Lord Dufferin reported, that the number ought to be considerably reduced and, as vicereines occur, gradually to get rid of the Russian Officials. The Native Officials resemble in every respect the Native Officials of India, it handled firmly and sympathetically, they will work well. Their number should be reduced, their emoluments increased, provision made for pensions, security given for tenure during good conduct and penalties enforced for bad conduct. They are now ridiculously numerous, and scandalously ill paid and untrained, with no security of Office. What can be expected? Fortunately for the country there exists the same dualism of Christian Copts and Mahometans that exists in India in the case of Hindu and Mahometans and which is such an important element in good Government. The number of paid Officials is said to amount to 21,000, dividing a wage fund of a million and a quarter sterling. A strong and wise ruler of the John Lawrence type would soon settle this problem, but it is hopeless for an Administration consisting of men, nearly all of whom have a

harem and therefore an infinity of hangers-on waiting to be provided for, to grapple with and overcome the difficulty. After the battle of Tel-el-Kebir the Khedive issued a laconic order: "The army of Egypt is disbanded." The same kind of order is required with regard to every civil functionary; in fact, this is what happened when we annexed the Panjab. The village headmen, and village accountants held fast, but every other functionary, from the highest judge to the humblest messenger, was discharged, and a new order of things arose by a fresh enlistment, upon different terms, of a certain number of the same individuals. As the heirs, the spendthrift and ill-used heirs, of an ancient civilization, there is no doubt, that, with careful selection, good training and careful supervision, there will be no occasion for foreigners, except in the highest posts. Everybody is cognizant of the rare efficiency of the native employes in India, but, if left to themselves, they would come to grief.

Next comes the question of the land, and the land-revenue. It makes the blood of an Anglo-Indian Revenue Officer boil with indignation to read that seventy thousand acres of cultivated land had been taken up for railways and canals, and yet still stood on the books as assessable area. Let us recollect what care is taken on this important subject in India. It is hard to take up the land, but at least pay for it, and reduce the land revenue. This side-glance indicates the utter recklessness and inefficiency of the Revenue Officials. In the three kinds of land tenure, the experienced Indian Collector recognizes familiar phenomena disguised under new names. The *Wakf* is the abominable Revenue free grant, upon which I, and the school to which I belonged, waged relentless war for a quarter of a century. The snake is scotched, if not killed. The only right of the State to levy a land-tax is, that the money is required for the services of the State: if, therefore, the land tax is remitted to the owner, or if the right of levying the land tax on any area is granted to a priest, or a siddler, or a courtesan, it is a gross alienation of the Revenue of the State, which causes the burden to press heavier on the rest of the community. Such are the *Wakf* lands of Egypt, and the *Inam* and *Jaghir* of India. They ought to be extinguished. In the Kharij land the Anglo-Indian Collector recognizes the ordinary assessable land. In the *Ashria* he recognizes the cases of reduced assessments granted for a life, or lives, which ought gradually to be levelled up to the equitable standard of the whole country. The main hope of a country is a good rate assessment made with the owner, or resident cultivators for a long term of years. Lord Darnley's records his opinion, that the assessment is not excessive in Lower Egypt, though perhaps it may be in Upper Egypt. The prospect for Egypt, as also for India, would be an assessment made by impartial officers on existing assets for a long period. The assessment of Egypt is unequal in its incidence,

and that is a great lot. A considerable reduction of the demand made wisely, would eventuate in a vast increase of the cultivated area, for by increasing the area of cultivation the resources alike of the people and of the State would be expanded. There seems to be no limit to the power of extending the irrigation and a grant of a million this year has been a wise policy. There is a power, though a rude one, of raising water to a higher level, there is an industrious and docile population, and a facility of export of sugar, cotton and grain. The time must come, when there will be a market for the cereals, mechanical and fibres of Egypt to the East, for Asia must soon wake up in the general revival of nations. Egypt had corn, when all the World suffered from famine.

No one can go up the Nile without being impressed by the wondrous and weird beauty of the scene. It is not the beauty of the lovely Sul Himalayan Districts which extend in a long chain of park like prairies from Sialkot, Hoshiyarpur and Ambala to Rohilkhand and Ghazipur with their mango trees and Mohra and the snow capped mountains on their flanks, it is not the tropical splendour of the Districts of South India and Ceylon with the fan-palm and the date palm, and the areca palm. The great River Nile, like the Indus in India flows solemnly and without affluents on its Northern course, carrying away tons of sand and mould where with to create new deltas in the bed of the Mediterranean. The peasant is hard at work with his water wheels and lifting apparatus, so well known in the villages of India. The camel and the donkey are unequally yoked to scrape with a light plough the light soil. Twenty years of peace and good Government would produce wonders amidst this light hearted and contented peasantry. There is no occasion for soldiers or cannon to keep this country quiet, but a well organized Police and a kind, strong and intelligent District Officer. I gather from some of the reports that amidst the aboriginal population the lineal descendants of the people of Pharaoh there are here and there colonies of a superior race, who are however, none the less Egyptian, because their ancestors at some remote period, immigrated leaving their descendants like boulders in an Alpine valley when the force that brought them has melted away. So is it also in British India and from this slender material good native Officials are fashioned by the plastic hand of a competent Ruler.

I now pass to the Judicial system. It is a miserable servitude, where the Law is uncertain or the execution of good laws capricious. The state of affairs in Egypt was below contempt. The case is different now. There are two tribunals, the International and the Native. It may be hoped that in the course of time the first may disappear. If England were to annex Egypt, as France has Tunisia it would disappear at once.

Many various nations have acquired vested interests in Egypt, which would under certain circumstances, justify their diplomatic

interference in the Government of the country. A new and powerful international factor was introduced into Egypt by the foundation of the mixed tribunals established in 1875 by Ismail Pasha, in substitution for the Consular Courts. This his own creation, went far to destroy him. The tribunals delivered sentences against him, which he could not execute. He on his side, issued a decree in partial repudiation of debts, which he could not pay in full. Germany, one of the fourteen Powers, whose Consular jurisdiction had been violated, instantly protested. England and France followed the example of Germany, and a storm was raised which ended in the deposition of the Khedive by the Porte. That Ismail was exiled, and that Tewfik, his son, reigned in his stead, is matter of well known history, but it is not so well known that a new right of international intervention in Egypt was first claimed and recognized at that time. Every power, that possessed extra-territorial Consular jurisdiction in Egypt before 1875, has now the right to protest and interfere, if the decisions of the mixed tribunals are not respected.

the newspaper correspondents who had formed their ideas at Peshawar, would be aghast at what they saw. I remembered the temporary buildings, which did duty as jails many years in the Panjáb and was satisfied, that here also there was progress in the right direction.

The subject of canals has been carefully studied from time immemorial Egypt has depended on them for a timely distribution of water. Many noble works have been constructed by Isma'il and his predecessors, the whole matter has been well considered, and plans made for the future. The river is the great roadway. The Delta is well threaded by railways, and a line runs Southward to Assiout, which should be extended to Assouan and a line run across the desert from Keneh to Kosseir on the Red Sea.

There are two parallel educational systems in Egypt. European energy and Mahometan stagnation are typified in each. First we have the old Arab school which is attached to the Mosque. Every traveller has seen at the corners of streets of Oriental towns a room full of children, squatted on the floor shouting out at the top of their shrill voices passages from the Koran, or punfully writing Arabic letters on bits of tin, while an old gentleman in flowing robes and a turban, gets pedagogue with a long stick. This is really no education at all. The children learn nothing the teacher is almost as ignorant as his pupil and the chief use of the school is as a general nursery, where the little ones can be in safety while the parents go out to work (as even the women do now in Egypt). This unfortunately, is still the only kind of school one finds outside Cairo Alexandria and some of the other larger towns. However little by little this system is being changed. Government does not maintain these Arab schools. That is done partly by religious endowment, partly by small payments of a piastre (2½d) a week from such pupils as can pay. But Government has the right of inspection and of recommendation of teachers. A better class of teachers is being trained and arithmetic is already added to the teaching of reciting and writing. Parallel with this old educational system, on which the mass of the people must still depend for some time to come and which I may call the Arab system is the new European system of the Government. At present its schools only exist in Alexandria Cairo and the large towns. But their influence is being extended in the manner I have above described. These schools are divided thus. Primary Schools and Government Schools. Some of the primary schools only teach reciting, writing and arithmetic and the Koran and only differ from the Arab schools in the quality of their teacher. But in Cairo and Alexandria these inferior schools have already been wholly superseded by the better class of schools. The primary schools of the better kind have a fixed programme of teaching, an educational course which extends over four years, and an efficient

staff of masters. No distinction is made of Religion, race, or class; all are admitted who like to come. The pupils are taught Arabic and Turkish, one European language English, French, German, or Italian, at choice, writing in Arabic and European Characters, geography, a little history, physics and drawing. They are either boarders or day scholars. Those of the boarders, who are reported by the authorities of their district as being able to pay, pay £26 a year. Those who can pay partly, do so, those who are poor, pay nothing. Clothing is given to the boarders, as well as food and lodging.

Government, however claims to control the subsequent career of those among the pupil, who pay nothing and who show much promise. They are passed on to the Government schools, to be trained for the Government Service, and many teachers are thus being trained for the improvement of the teaching class in the primary schools. Government surveyors, engineers, doctors, and lawyers are also recruited in this way from the lower classes. Between the primary and secondary schools are preparatory schools, where the subjects taught in the primary schools are brought to greater perfection before the pupils are passed on to the Government schools. The Government schools are each of a special character. There is an Ecole Polytechnique, where the members of the scientific corps of the Egyptian Army receive their training. There is a Surveying School. There are schools of law, medicine, and the higher mechanics. Finally, there is a normal school, but only of two years' standing. Though this higher teaching originally introduced by Mahomet Ali, but allowed to collapse by his successors, has only been revived a few years, it is producing much good result and a certificate, that he has passed through a course of study there already stands an Egyptian in good stead in the battle of life. Diplomas are not yet given. The reason why they are not, is a curious illustration of the manner the Egyptian Government is *exploité*. "The Viceroy does not allow diplomas, because those who receive them, won't consider the Government bound to give them employment."

After visiting the boys' schools I went on to the girls' schools, which are a new institution of exceptional importance in Egypt. Women have, hitherto under the Moslem rule, led a veiled, secluded, useless, ignorant life in the harem. Here and there European governesses have been introduced but the cases are so exceedingly rare, that it may be broadly stated, that up to two years ago women were not educated in Egypt, and consequently, national education wholly wanted the true foundation of all teaching the mother's lessons to her children. But two years ago one of the Khedive's wives a woman in advance of her country, determined to found and to run a school for her sex in Cairo. In one of the palace was utilized, a staff of teachers organized, and a

tories arranged, class-rooms and playgrounds provided, and the Cairo public invited to send their daughters to be taught, fed, lodged, and clothed free of charge. At first the invitation met with no response. Fourteen days before the day named for the opening of the school, there was not a single name entered. The Authorities were in despair. The project seemed hopelessly in advance of public opinion. It was seriously proposed to draught in a number of foundling children from the hospital, so that the school should not be wholly without scholars. But on the 18th day came an Arab mother with her daughter. Three days later a batch of 17 arrived. The school would only contain 300, and on the opening day 400 had to be rejected. Since then the applications have never ceased, and there are over 900 waiting acceptance. A second school has been opened, a third is in process of erection, and numerous signed petitions for similar institutions have come from the large towns in the interior, in fact, popular prejudice is completely routed.

The instruction given is such as is calculated to enable a woman to become the capable mistress of her household. Twenty-four hours a week are given to intellectual training, the rest are devoted to instruction in needlework, cooking, washing, and the proper management of a house. The training is for five years.

It would appear as if a benevolent and intelligent despotism, such as exists in British India, tempered by the action of a free Press, and the independent character of the high Officials, would be the best thing for Egypt for the next quarter of a century, but the spirit of the age is in favour of Constitutions, as if they were of universal application, without reference to the culture of the people. By the organic law of May 1, 1883, there ought to exist in Egypt (i) a Council in each Province, (ii) a Legislative Council, and (iii) a General Assembly, but up to date none of the Provincial Councils had been convoked, though Nubar Pasha was reputed to be convinced of their importance. The Legislative Council is in existence, but works in private, only as a consultative body. The General Assembly has never been convoked. It is just as well, that these wretched travesties of Constitutional Government, though well intentioned, should remain in abeyance. They would be merely the screens, behind which high-handed men, of the Bismarck type, would work their own wayward will.

After all, the real difficulty in Egypt is the financial state. Like the old man in Sindbad the Sailor, the country is weighed down by an incubus. It is of no use asking how did it come about, *it is there*. Ismail tried to carry out, in a few years, what was the work the slow work of a century. He took up loans, the interest of which would tax the resources of a much larger and richer country. He was plundered most outrageously in the mode of getting his loans. He was plundered still more in the mode of spending it, and

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took his share of the plunder. I quote the thoughtful and reasonable remarks of an anonymous correspondent of a leading journal.

"This brings me to the remaining difficulty in the solution of the Egyptian problem—the financial question. I have no particular sympathy with the Egyptian bondholder. He is, I presume, entitled by right to just as much and as little consideration as any other investor in public funds. The senseless outcry which would represent him as the pariah of the Stock Exchange, entitled to no consideration whatever, is as impractical as it is unjust. In abstract justice there is, indeed, no reason, why he should be treated differently to the creditor of any other bankrupt State, but whether we like it or not, we have to recognize the fact, that we cannot so treat him. He is the *prolege* of united Europe, he is the main-

first six months of 1882, we guarantee him 3 per cent upon that value. In other words, assuming that Privileged and Unified during that period should have proved to have averaged respectively 90 and 80, the holder of £100 stock would receive the British guarantee for £2 14s and £2 8s respectively, such guarantee to be contemporaneous with English government of Egypt, and to be withdrawn when it ceased.

"Speaking roughly, the Egyptian debt thus valued, would be about 80 millions, the guaranteed interest £2,400,000. Were England devoting about £1,000,000 yearly to readjustment of taxation and public works, to place aside £3,000,000 for the service of the public debt, employing £600,000 yearly to its reduction, that debt, at the end of 30 years, would be reduced to £50,000,000, and 20 more years at the same rate would suffice to extinguish it altogether. That is to say, in 'case of the present expenditure of £4,250,000 for service of debt, the new arrangement would show £250,000 for covering yearly deficit, £1,000,000 for adjustment of taxation public works, etc., £3,000,000 for service of debt, including extinction in 50 years, total, £4,250,000. And thus, be it observed, is leaving the administrative budget unaltered that is to say making no allowance for the increased Revenue obtainable by taxation of Europeans nor for the largely diminished expenditure incurred by the abandonment of the present complicated international government."

One of the most abominable features of the whole affair still remains to be told, it is that every European who is domiciled, or dwells as a kind of passage in Egypt, is free from every form of taxation, and pays nothing to support the State. The law relating to taxation ought to be applicable without distinction to the subjects of the Sovereign of the State and to the alien dwelling under his protection. This would add £100,000 per annum to the Revenue, and remove a feeling of irritation which is not only naturally exists in Egypt against the injustice of the present practice. It is difficult to imagine any grievance more galling to a people than the gross inequality which now exists between natives and Europeans and which makes the humblest Egyptian artisan subject to a professional tax, from which the richest European merchant escapes scot free. The above are the words of Lord Northbrook in his Report, dated November, 1884.

It will scarcely be credited by any one, upon whose attention the fact has never yet been forced, that in their own land the natives of Egypt are placed at a cruel disadvantage commercially in their competition with the alien settler, who can claim the protection of a foreign Government. The native Egyptian is subject to taxes impost, and disabilities, which the foreigner, however long resident, escapes and the consequence is, that trades and industries, which the natives are perfectly competent to carry on, are usurped by

strangers, whose only object is to get as much as they can out of the country, and then leave it as soon as possible.

As to the connection of Egypt with Turkey, it must cease altogether. Austria had to give up Italy. France parted with Alsace. England lost her American Colonies. The tribute payable by Egypt to the Sultan was a personal matter, between the family of Mahomet Ali and his Suzerain. England once paid tribute to the Danes. *cessante ratione cessat lex*. It is a monstrous abuse, that such a tribute should be paid, and an act of oppression to the people of Egypt. Tributes from one State to another are anachronisms. The Slave trade must be peremptorily abolished under the severest penalties. slavery itself should be quietly suffocated by the application of the famous Indian Act of 1843 and intermediately every slaveholder should be heavily taxed for each slave, and their number registered. no runaway slave can be restored. in the course of a quarter of a century the custom will disappear. It is nonsense to say, that a Mahometan country cannot exist without slaves. How do the fifty millions of Mahometans in India get on without them? What short work was made of the slaves in Algeria and Tunisia! Until slavery is got rid of, there will always be an objection on the part of free men and free women undertaking the duties of domestic service. I found this feeling very strong in Palestine. Girls educated at orphanages refused to go out as servants, even in good Christian families. I visited the Home, that has lately been

been so troublesome and influential. We told them, that they would be allowed to enjoy their property in peace for their natural lives, and afterwards for the lives of their sons, but that they must leave other people alone. If they raised a tumult we told them, that they would be chopped into pieces and their lands confiscated. All these poor old fellows have long since been burnt on the funeral pile, and their very names forgotten. One tribe asked leave to continue their ancient practice of killing their female children. John Lawrence gave vent to a slight oath when he heard this, and told them, that the first of them who did this would be hanged. Eventually we hanged them out of Court by changing their title of "Baba" or Fatherly, which they were called by to "Papa" or Sinner. In the first years of a new system some private kindness must be expected, but it be as little as possible and the period as short as possible.

I perceive that some critics complain that we are "Indianising" Egypt. I can imagine no higher term of praise to a system of administration than that it has followed the example of British India, availing itself of its faults and making use of its trained Officials. The eternal laws of Justice are the same everywhere, and on them is based the system of British India united with as large an amount of personal liberty, as it is possible for a Dependency to enjoy, without risking the peaceful connection with the dominating country. If we leave Egypt the Khedive will be wiser, if he conducts his Administration on the same principle.

I cannot see reason, why the Suez Canal should necessarily be considered an integral part of Egypt. It is fenced in by sand on both sides, and is a little world in itself and might be placed under international protection and treated as an arm of the sea. It is just as much a part of Palestine as it is of Egypt, and not necessarily a part of either. It has been a heavy curse to Egypt by the amount of forced labour exacted and burdens imposed. In considering the future destiny of Egypt it is to be hoped that that country will be considered apart from Turkey, the Suez Canal, and the Sudan, in fact, the Egypt of the Nile Valley.

Now if Egypt were an island, or if it were a Province attached like Sind or Burma to India, the retention of it under British control might pay. In this view the annexation of Tunisia to Algeria has answered the purposes of the French, and the annexation of Bosnia and Herzegovina has not been a source of weakness to Austria. Egypt has an income of eight millions with a possibility of large expansion. This exceeds the income of the largest of the Indian Tributary and Protected States. It may in passing be remarked that in not one of these States has any attempt at progress been made by a Native Ruler, and they still exist. The unhappy Ismail tried to make progress in Egypt, and he has perished in the attempt, and his country been brought into great peril.

Egypt is not an island, but a Mediterranean Power. Alexandria is one of the greatest of ports. Tripolitana its nearest neighbour on the West is gravitating towards Italy, and as to Syria on the East, its destiny is clear. Just as the serpent covers his victim with saliva before he devours it, so has France by religious and commercial enterprises and establishments prepared Syria for absorption. With such frontiers on the East and West the occupation of Egypt would not pay its Military and Civil expenses, in spite of the debt which, under European guarantees, absorbs half the income of the Province. Then France has a sentimental feeling with regard to Egypt. It was the first European country, that actually got military possession of that country and thoroughly described it: the *lingua franca* of the country is French: the Laws and Law Courts are framed on a French type: much of the administration is Frenchified. If England were to annex Egypt, it would be an affront which France would never forgive. Imagine a state of European war and the strength and resources which would be required to retain a really worthless Province. Then, again, Egypt is not like India: there will always be a large admixture of European immigrants and a leaven of European nations. The people have already dabbled in Constitutions. In Egypt I fell into conversation with an intelligent Egyptian, and I casually remarked, that Egypt was a worthless country. He looked at me with astonishment, and replied, that it was the richest and most beautiful country in the world. No doubt every black beetle thinks himself the largest and most shining of his species. The Irishmen no doubt have the same opinion of Ireland and the Bulgarians of Bulgaria. It is patriotic, but not true: yet the sentiment might give a world of trouble to a foreign conqueror.

of the worst possible types. Gradually Ismail had got possession, as his private domains, of a large portion of the soil of Egypt, which he distributed among the members of his family. Something of the same kind had been effected by the ruling families in Upper India and the Revenue of the State was impaired by alienations. The British Official, wherever he goes carries with him in his Office box the dignity of a gentleman and a Christian. Under no circumstances, in any place, and in any environment would he condescend to do or say what is false and mean, he would shrink from what is cruel and treacherous; he would proudly turn away from what is wanton or sordid. Such have been the characteristics of Great Britain's soldiers and civilians in India with some rare exception, which have been noted for the stern punishment andathing condemnation which they received. We had to clear out the harem of the Sikh Rulers at Lahore, and of the Great Mogul at Delhi it was a perilous task but men were found equal to the occasion. Treasures had to be emptied, and the contents conveyed away. I myself in my small local treasury at Hoshiarpur, had to receive thirty lakhs in silver paid in as part of the price of his harem and as no room would hold it for the night I had my bed spread upon the flags, and saw it safe under watch at early dawn.

English Governors have at times tried by persistent opponents they have by persistent efforts captured them, and tried them, and executed them but they have never made use of the coffee-cup, or the secret dagger or the outfit to the old-fashioned regime we should never have heard of Arabi he would have been comfortably disposed of. The rule of British India is founded on justice and mercy, and sympathy for the people and that is the reason why it has continued. No recollection of Victoria's left Calcutta with ship loads of women and plunder to clear out the rear under of his days in the Favorite Palace in the Bay of Naples, or in a harem on the Paphos.

So poisonous has been the official air so foul the administrative environment of Egypt, that even British Governors have forgotten their high character, and done what they would never have dreamt of doing in a like position in British India. The name of Gordon Pasha, Governor General of Equatorial Africa in the time of Ismail Khedive, carries within most minds its own estimation. A book was published in 1881, called "Colonel Gordon in Central Africa" by Dr. Dirkbeek Hill compiled from original letters chiefly to his sister. At page 372 we read the following remarkable words: "I got the slave dealers chained at once and then decided about the slaves. The men and boys were put into the ranks of the army, and the women sold off to the wives of the soldiers." Again "Some of the poor women were quite nude. I disposed of them in the same way what else can I do?" I do not think, that any of the high minded Officers in Civil employ in India would have,

under possible circumstances, distributed unhappy women to be wives of the Sepahis. Many of these women were already wives, and mothers, who had been torn from their homes. In India they would have been carefully segregated under the care of old grey-bearded men, and the fertile resources of benevolent men would have been exercised to convey them to some shelter. Better far the tender mercies of the slave-dealer, or the coffee-cup, than the sentence to be the temporary concubines of troops on the march, to which a Christian Governor consigned them.

Then, again, the Christian Governor-General had a mosque cleaned out, restored to worship, the Priests and the Muezzin were endowed, and a great ceremonial took place for the re-opening. "This was a great coup," he writes: "to me it appears that the Mussulman worships God as well as I do, and is acceptable, if sincere, as any Christian." Such conduct, such sentiments, would be viewed in British India with the highest condemnation, and yet the Mahometans in India count by millions. In Dar-Fur, where this mosque was situated, they count only by hundreds. At page 100 we read, that Gordon paid for the expense attending the *circumcision of a boy*.

is no fear of internal revolt from the people the great Powers of Europe must be responsible, that there is no invasion across the frontiers and, in fact, the Northern frontier is the only dangerous one, and the only invader to be feared is Great Britain France or possibly Italy Let the present Khedive, who as a man is faultless though as a Governor he is weak, be encouraged to introduce an honest a sympathetic and a just Government availing himself of the aid of a few men chosen from European states but dependent on him only Let the bondholders wait their time, and the interest of the debt be postponed to the legitimate requirements of the country Let the people have time to recuperate and get fat and extend cultivation over land rendered cultivable by extended canals Let sanitation, vaccination, education of the rural population, and municipal corporations stand over for a season until peace and quiet, order and justice are re established and Egypt will then take her place among the nations, with eight millions of population and twelve millions of annual Revenue, collected by lawful methods from a contented people

LONDON OCTOBER 1883

Two years have passed away, and the British Protectorate of Egypt still exists and all attempts to get rid of it by a Convention has failed We have not seen the end of it yet Germany had her own way in East Equatorial Africa by pressing the Egyptian screw Russia avowedly made use of the Egyptian complication to have her own way in Central Asia France cynically declines to meet our legitimate demands in the New Hebrides until we meet hers in the Mediterranean Great Britain will only be able to use her gigantic and world wide power, when she realizes the small importance of the Suez Canal Egypt and the Mediterranean in modern Politics, where the world is the Chess Board.

AUGUST 1887

CHAPTER XIV.

A TOUR IN EGYPT AND PALESTINE

At a meeting of the Royal Geographical Society, on the 5th January, 1883, the Chairman remarked, that Mr John Cook was not only a traveller himself but the cause of travel in others. This is literally true. The skill and the enterprise and the local knowledge which the firm, of which Mr Cook is the managing partner have brought to bear upon travel all over the world, are such, that it is now possible for an individual or a party to arrange every detail of a long tour of several months at the Central Office at Ludgate Circus, pay down all the expenses in advance and furnished with a series of tickets and coupons accomplish the whole with comfort and without any mental anxiety. In every chief town, and at every port of the Mediterranean and beyond there are intelligent and obliging agents of the firm, who welcome the coming and speed the parting guest who simplify the transaction and make the way smooth. I write this from my own experience of twelve weeks in January, February, and March of 1881 during which accompanied by my wife I made what may be called the grand tour of Egypt and Palestine and got safe home without loss of anything and having accomplished all that I desired and travelled nine thousand miles.

I place this on record in gratitude to those who managed my affairs so well, and in the hope that others may be encouraged to follow my example and that all find in it their tour as one of unqualified interest, and quite without any discomfort or more than ordinary fatigue. I wrote the foregoing in 1881, and I had myself visited Egypt ten times before on my road to and from India. On one occasion in 1843, I stayed a whole month at Cairo waiting the arrival of the first P. & O. mailer and Oriental Company's steamers from Calcutta. I had travelled the whole of Palestine alone with two Arab servants in 1837, from Dan to Beersheba but the lapse of thirty-three years makes a difference in the state of things and marks the progress which in spite of Turkish misrule, must have taken place. For the benefit of those, who have never accomplished this task, I describe the salient features of my tour.

Leaving London on the 12th of January, I went direct to Milan and Rome, as a few days in the eternal city to me is almost a necessity in each alternate year thence I followed the route of the Post Horace to Beneventum and Brindisi, went on board the Peninsular and Oriental Mail steamer, and in three days reached Alexandria. Without losing an hour I pushed on to Cairo, passed one night in Shephard's Hotel, once so familiar to Anglo Indians, but now visited by so few, as the long sea steamers pass through the Suez Canal, and the mail passes direct from Alexandria to Suez north of Cairo. Next morning at daybreak I took train from Cairo to Assiout, up the Nile and went on board the Khedival post steamer, which at once started up stream in the direction of Assouan. All the steamers of Messrs Cook and Company had been transferred by the necessity of war to the river above the Cataracts, and all the usual facilities for proceeding upwards were gone only a few privileged travellers could find place in the mail steamers and it was uncertain, how long that facility would continue, for Lord Wolseley and his army had all passed up to Dongola and beyond, and, if reinforcements became necessary, all tourists would be sent about their business. As it was we had on board two artillery officers, who were pushing on to the front to take the place of two of their regiment, who had been killed.

The steamers were unable to move during the night, and it was so arranged that on each day, one or more of the great temples of Egypt were visited, Dendera, Edfu, Isneh, and Kom Ombo. Sufficient time was allowed to survey the wonderful ruins. On the third day Assouan was reached just below the First Cataract. The white hospital tents of the British soldiers were conspicuous on both sides of the river, on the mainland, and the island of Elephantine. The bazaar of the little town was crowded with soldiers and the placards of British Rule over several doors betrayed the national weakness. But the most striking feature of the situation was, that to a large tree was attached a copy of the latest telegram announcing the successful advance of the force to the Nile at Metamneh, and the wounding of General Stewart. The English mails were landed here, and the arrival of the mails from Lord Wolseley's head quarters was looked for, as a telegram from Korosko announced that they had passed that station on their downward progress.

The tourists availed themselves of the leisure to visit the Island of Elephantine and the ruins of the Nilometer, and from a high point a view could be commanded of the great river passing out of the network of Islands, which cause the rapids and impede navigation. An excursion was then made to visit the grave of the thoughtless Englishman, who dared to try to do what the hardy Nubians are doing all day for a few small coins, swim down the great gate of the Cataract. A little farther on is the famous

obelisk of gigantic size which some proud Egyptian king had ordered to be hewn out of the rock, but some change of dynasty, or the hand of death or some fickle change of purpose, caused the work to be abandoned and the monster obelisk lies still undetached from the quarry, though its dimensions can be seen. A ride on donkeys across the desert conveys the tourists to Shilah above the Cataract here the Nile again comes into view, and the steamer was seen working its way up to the second Cataract with the mails, and those who are wanted in the front. No dilettante tourist can work his way further if by luck he found a berth vacant in the upward voyage he would probably find none in the downward one, and might be left an indefinite time at Wadi Halfa without the convenience of a Diabashah or hotel. The island of Philæ with its beautiful ruins lies just opposite, and the scene is unsurpassed in romantic beauty. In one of the gateways is a French Inscription recording the fact that French troops under the command of General Bonaparte penetrated thus far in their occupation of Egypt. By a turn of the wheel of fortune the English soldier is now here as a permanent garrison and it so happened, that I read this Inscription with Prince Louis Napoleon Bonaparte son of Prince Jerome Napoleon, standing by my side, as he was one of our party on board the steamer. The next thing to be done was to drop down the Nile in a row boat to the edge of the great gate of the Cataracts, and landing on the rocks to stand on the bank and watch the Nubians leap from on high into the stream, which was dashing downwards with violence although at the period of our visit the Nile was at its lowest and innumerable islands and rocks were exposed to view. The return from Shilah to Assuan is accomplished by a short railway of about five miles, which passes round the Cataract region. It is interesting to note that the station master was a British soldier, that the formality of a ticket was not demanded, that the trains that arrived from Assuan were laden with boxes of treasure guarded by soldiers with bayonets in their muskets and small square boxes containing rations for the troops in the front and the trains arrived, the steamers were laden, and then started up stream.

From Assuan the steamer started with redoubled speed and by midnight reached Luxor and landing all tourists at the comfortable and beautiful hotel, proceeded with the mails on its journey down stream with letters from the camp at Korti, and the wonder of narratives of the newspaper correspondents for while we were looking at ruins and enjoying our lives, Klartum was falling and Gorty being killed. Of this we knew nothing until a few days later when we reached Cairo. The bi-weekly service of steamers allowed a pleasant stay of four days at Luxor and Mr Cook's arrangement provided three most interesting excursions up the river to the Great Labyrinth, and Medinet Abu and to the

valley of the royal tombs and a third on the right bank of the river to Luxor and Karnak. The beauty of the weather at this season of the year passes all description, but the leisure of the tourists is much marred by the ceaseless solicitation and cries for *Batshish*, from a party of boys and girls and professional mendicants, and deformed objects, who accompanied the cavalcade of donkeys the whole day. Throughout Egypt this intolerable nuisance prevails, and it does not appear, that the payment of a small tribute satisfies the applicant, still less does a refusal to pay deterrence the petitioner. For many hours the ear is assailed by fragments of mummies, boxes, mummy cloth, pottery and coins are offered for sale, and indeed the same scene is exhibited in the garden and hall of the hotel.

The downward voyage requires no remark. the whole trip occupies fourteen days and costs twenty two pound, everything included. Another fourteen days is required at Cairo to give time for seeing all that is of interest in the neighbourhood. There is an abundance of hotels, but Shepherd's maintains its pre-eminence. Those, who knew that city forty-two years ago, in the days of Mahomet Ali Pasha, may indeed think with astonishment of the vicissitudes which their eyes have seen. In 1843 the only way of reaching Suez was on the back of donkeys, riding lazily in three days across the Desert, and putting up for the night in rest houses. In a few years came the four horse cars tearing over the stones while the baggage was transported on camels. about the time of the Crimean war, the railway was opened from Suez to Cairo, and Cairo to Alexandria: then came another change, the Desert railway was taken up, and the local traffic from Cairo to Suez passed by the railway to Zagazig and Ismailia.

Cairo is no longer an Oriental town. the broad streets and the European houses have destroyed the romantic features of the old city. It is indeed enough to make Mahomet Ali Pasha leap out of his tomb to see Private Tommy Atkins standing guard over the great mosque in the citadel while the palace of the Pasha is converted into the mess house of the regiment. There is no space here to notice the wonderful progress of Egypt during the last thirty years and the peculiar rocks, by which that progress is now arrested. This has supplied materials for a separate study. Nor is this the place to more than allude to the excavations in progress or completed, and the Boulak Museum, which surpasses all the Egyptian collections in the capitals of Europe. Egypt appears likely to become the bone of contention among the European Powers, a state of affairs which will arrest all legitimate progress, and, if it becomes the battle field of nations, the unhappy people will look back with regret on the time of the Pasha and Marabout.

No one can have accomplished the tour up the Nile without being struck by the beauty of the sunsets over the Libyan Desert.

there is a strange charm in the scenery, as there is nothing like it in any other part of the world. No doubt there is a great sameness, and the much vaunted life in the Dababeh must, in this fast age, to any one who has something to do in this life, appear from description to be intolerable, and probably the days of that mode of travel are past. The steamer and the steam launch will supersede them. During the year, however, the exigencies of the Sudan war removed the fleet of tourists' steamers and left nothing but the Khedival postal ones. The periodical alarm of cholera, the constant political troubles, and the crowds of Europeans and Americans, who are attracted to this particular tour, have taken off much of the charm, that used to surround a winter's sojourn in Egypt.

But the day has arrived, in which the *personally* conducted tour of Palestine and Syria commences. Up to this time I had been travelling under Cook's arrangements, who secured berths, paid hotel bills, and smoothed the way, but there was no party under the *personal* conduct of a European leader. The tour in Palestine and Syria was to give new experiences. Two members of our Nile company had, as stated above, gone up stream to join Lord Wolcott's army, two more went off in a personally conducted party, consisting of themselves and their guide, to Mount Sinai on camels. Some went off by steamer to Athens but fresh arrivals, direct from England, swelled the Palestine party, and by the necessity of the case, the cohesion of the members was much greater, as for good or ill, we were associated for thirty days in fair weather or foul, by sea or by land, until we reached Beirut. Each day's journey was marked on the programme, and as the round sum of forty pounds covered the expense of each member of the party of every kind he had no occasion to take money with him. There was a certain amount of risk in this, as, whether a traveller was ill or well, he must move on with his fellows or forfeit his conveyance, whether he found his companions on the road or in the tent to his mind, he must put up with an intimate association for a given time, and it speaks well for the health and forbearance of tourists, that troubles very rarely, if ever, arise. In some cases the temporary casual association has ended in matrimony.

The party left Cairo by train for Ismailia, passing by Tel el Khatir, and the cemetery, which contains the remains of those who fell in that battle. At Ismailia they embarked in a small canal steamer, specially engaged, and proceeded down the canal to Port Said, passing by the long procession of steamers of all nationalities on their road to Suez. Here there was a halt for the night, and next day a steamer of the Austrian Lloyd's Company conveyed them in an easy night's trip to Jaffa, where they landed, walked up through the town, from the gate of which they were conveyed in carriages.

to a nice little hotel in the suburbs, where they passed the night. The next day carriages conveyed them to Ramla, the ancient Arimathea, where they passed the night, after making an excursion to the neighbouring Lydda. The third day carriages conveyed them to Jerusalem, where they found good accommodation in the Mediterranean Hotel, within the walls, close to the Jaffa Gate and Castle of David.

A great change has come over Jerusalem in the last thirty years. If it has lost much of its romantic beauty, it has gained in comfort and civilization. The walls no longer shut in the inhabitants, the gates are no longer barred and locked at night. A vast suburb has sprung up outside the Jaffa Gate, and the city is no longer Asiatic but European. Cruels, indeed, are still allowed to crush through the narrow lanes, and there is no wheeled vehicle in use, but this advance will soon be made, and we shall see gas, and sewers, and waterworks. Russia, France, Austria, and Germany, have vast establishments, either convents or hospices, to receive pilgrims; schools for orphans, Jewish settlements, and Christian missions, hospitals and churches are in plenty. The interior of the Mosque of Omar, and the Church of Al Ahsa are no longer jealously reserved from the sight of the Christian. A conducted party, accompanied by a Kavass from the Consulate, did all this as a matter of business, and penetrated to the holy rock whence Mahomet started on his midnight-journey to heaven. Russia, representing the Greek Church, jostles France, the representative of the Latin Church, at every turn. The sepulchre of our Lord is still guarded by Mahometan soldiers to keep the Christians from indulging in a free-sight under the sacred dome. The cradle and the manger at Bethlehem are still held by rival jealous religionists. The political future of the city and its inhabitants is very dark indeed. The Greek and Latin Churches backed by rival potentates, are assiduously insinuating themselves into the country, under the mere outward pretence of religion, but with the view of establishing rights, which will justify armed interference. The crisis may be nearer at hand than we imagine, for the delay of Great Britain in evicting Egypt may give a handle to France to place a dead hand upon Syria and Palestine. The Government of the Sultan is at its last gasp. feeble and expiring, incapable of improvement, opposed to all the ordinary requirements of civilization, and therefore doomed.

A week at the Holy City can be pleasantly spent, and all the places, worthy of a visit, can be visited on the back of the indispensable donkey. What would become of Egypt and Jerusalem without the supply of donkeys, the finest of their kind, docile, sure footed, and sweet tempered? For a visit to Bethlehem a horse is required, and plenty of sure footed, though not fast, animals are forthcoming, and no traveller, male or female, can be well advised

to visit the Holy Land, who cannot ride. The alternative, mis-called a palanquin, but in fact a chair placed on two poles, is about the most uncomfortable mode of travelling, the most grotesque, and the most tedious, that can be imagined. Over all the dragomans of the country, over all the horses available for riding, over all the tent-equipage and domestic servants necessary for tent-life, the great firm of the great arranger of foreign tours, Cook and Son, rule supreme. Great attention has been paid by the agent of the firm to the complicated details of conveying, tenting and feeding parties of travellers, totally ignorant of the language, the country, and the climate, the terms are most reasonable, and the programme is carried out to the satisfaction of all reasonable beings, who are capable of being satisfied. Five individuals in every hundred are never satisfied.

There are two seasons, the autumn, and the spring. In the former case the tour commences at Beirut and Lebanon, before the snow falls, and ends at Jaffa. In the latter, the tour commences at Jaffa and ends, after the snow has melted, with Lebanon and Beirut. There are advantages in both. It is in the autumn only, that the Cedars of Lebanon can be visited. In the spring the traveller is less troubled by insects, but he has to face the prospect of heavy rain and snow storms. In both my tours I chose the spring. There is a great charm in the spring flowers, which cover the undulating plains and the hill sides. The deserts, for a short period, do indeed blossom as the rose. On both occasions I left Jerusalem on my journey Northwards, about the 1st of March, on the first occasion I was drenched with rain. On the second I had uninterrupted and abnormal fair weather all the way to Damascus. Tent life in rain and snow and cold would be an abomination, and I was warned, that in venturing on the 1st of March I ran a great risk. However, good luck was with me. Good food never failed. The horses did their work, if not pleasantly, at least they did not show temper, or break down. Nothing was lost by thieves, and no incivility was shown in the towns and villages. There were three ladies in our party, and the average daily occupation of the saddle was seven hours. The hour of starting was early. There was a midday halt of two hours, and on arrival at sunset we found our tents ready for us. The camp-servants were thoroughly efficient, and the cook an excellent one. The great drawback was the ceaseless noise in the camp all night. There was a necessity for watchers at each halting-place, and they kept themselves awake by conversation on the other side of the canvas walls of the tent or by shouts and the troops of jackals yelled all night, imitating the cries of children.

On Monday March 2nd the party of eleven left the hotel at Jerusalem, and in the small open space under the Tower of David, mounted their horses in the midst of an admiring crowd. The departure of a party for the North is an event of first rate interest.

in the Holy City that very evening a fresh convoy of passengers, left at Jaffa by a steamer, were expected to occupy the vacant rooms. We passed out under the Gate of David, and turning to the right, filed round the walls of the Northern front of the city, passed under the Gate of Damascus turned the North Eastern corner, and descended into the Valley of Jehoshaphat, passed Gethsemane and the Tomb of the Virgin Mary, and then rounded the Mount of Olives, without rising to its summit, passed through Bethany by the Tomb of Lazarus, and plodded on by the ordinary route to Jericho. During my visit in 1832 I had been made over to the charge of an Arab Chief, who gave a receipt for me to the English Consul, being warned, that he would forfeit a moiety of his remuneration, if he did not bring me back alive. I had at that time lived so long and happily alone amidst Sikhs and Afghans in Northern India, that the idea did not come home to me, that my Chief might possibly forfeit his moiety, and I might lose my life. However, things have improved since then, and our party in 1865 rode down with as little anxiety as we should have ridden to Richmond, with parasols and umbrellas over our heads and no weapons. We had fine views of the Dead Sea, and passing Jericho proper, we reached our tents, pitched at Rihia or the fountain of Elisha. It was a grand situation for behind us were the lofty Mountains of the Temptation and in front the Mountain of Moriah rose solemnly beyond Jordan. All night we had a full moon and in the morning we saw the sun rise, coming up from the ends of the world.

The sight of the tents was not encouraging to those, who were familiar with the snug encampments of the Indian Officer. All the comforts of life, and most of the decencies, disappeared at once. Married couples were allowed a tent to themselves, the furniture of which was two narrow iron beds, fashioned like the grilliron of St. Lawrence by an ingenious combination of iron bars, so as to render sleep and repose as difficult as possible, and secure early rising, one table, with two metal basins and jugs completed the equipment. In all the vicissitudes of my European, Asiatic and African travels, I never recollect being cut down so closely as this. To prevent the clothes worn in the day becoming damp a friend at Jerusalem had advised us to sleep in as many as possible, and lay all the rest on the bed. The luggage limited in amount of each traveller was placed in his tent and the whole space thus occupied. Reading, writing, or sitting in a chair for conversation were things unknown, folding stools were provided in the mess tent, which just held the party. Close under our tents were the riding horses and sumpter mules which carried the luggage and tents, and round the whole were the guards supplied from the village. Sometimes the necessity of the locality compelled the tents to be pitched on a slope, rendering the beds even more irksome than ordinary. Sometimes there was long grass both inside and outside the tents at early

was won, the detestable trumpet used to sound, and we had to mount.

The party halted a day at Jericho to give time for an excursion to the Dead Sea, where the youngest and most adventurous bathed, all then moved on to the Jordan, and halted two hours at the reputed place, where the Israelites crossed, and then returned to their encampment. The next day was a heavy one passing under the towering heights of the Mountain of Temptation, we could see the caves once occupied by demons, and could discern one or two occupants, who find a home there to this day. The ascent of the mountain to the central table land then commenced, and the line of advance of the Israelites to Ai and Bethel was followed. At the latter place the main line of road from Jerusalem to Damascus was reached, and after a halt of two hours the party plodded on, until they reached their camp at Suzil, on an elevation over against Shiloh, from which a view was commanded of the Mediterranean. At early dawn the march recommenced to Shiloh and thence to Jacob's Well, and the Tomb of Joseph at Nablus, the ancient Shechem. An excursion was made to the top of Mount Gerizim, and the magnificent panorama was commanded of the whole of Palestine, for the snows of Hermon appeared on the North, the Mountain of Moab on the South, the dark mountains of Gilead and Bashan on the East, and the Mediterranean on the West.

This is a proof, how ridiculously small Palestine is, when contrasted with the large place, which it occupies in religious and secular history. When Solomon ruled the united kingdom, he only occupied the position of a petty Indian Raja, at the mercy, for his existence, of the great kingdoms on the banks of the Nile, or the Tigris and Euphrates. Jerusalem with all its heart stirring interests, under Solomon or under Herod the Great, was never more than a petty local capital, and the Temple, whether in its first, second, or third form, could never be compared with the Egyptian or Assyrian Temples, or the great Temple at Babel. I remember, when I traversed Palestine in 1852, fresh from the annexation of the Punjab, arriving at the conclusion, that the whole country from Dan to Beersheba would barely form two good sized Districts in area, and such must have been the case always. I looked with astonishment at the barrenness of the country—no works of irrigation, even if water existed, would make much of these hard rocks. The reports of its ancient fertility and vast populations must be an egotistic exaggeration. We know from the contemplation of Egypt what a fertile and populous country it is, ever was and ever will be. A fat country cannot help being fat, and population follows fitness, just as vultures follow a carcass. It is well to consider this, as this country will give the Great Powers of Europe a great deal of trouble still. It never can hope to be independent. It does not possess

a single staple of export, or any manufacture; there are no elements of self-government, no hope for the future, and yet there is a nice sunny population, a cheerful and sweet spoken people, whom I could have been delighted to rule over and should have learnt to love, and I cannot say so much for the Egyptians.

- From Gerizim and Nablús we visited the ruins of old Samaria, or Sebaste, situated on a lordly hill, and by the rows of columns, which have survived and stand up in the fields, testifying to its former greatness. Descending into the valley, we again rose up to the high level, and had a view of the Mediterranean, further on we emerged from the Mountains of Samaria, and pitched on the very edge of the great plain of Esdraelon. Jenin must always have been a place of importance, as it holds the mountain gorge, which leads into Samaria. As we advanced Northwards, we had the glittering snows of Hermon more and more in our sight, but now we sighted Mount Tabor, the hills behind Nazareth, and Mount Carmel, and the rich country of Galilee was before us, which was, and is, productive of agricultural wealth, but depending on the season. Even well informed modern writers have allowed themselves great licence in describing the wealth and population of Galilee. But the practised eye of the Indian Revenue-Officer, who has spent years amidst the teeming and industrious populations of Northern India, who has dwelt in tents amidst an annual wealth of cereals, saccharines, and oils, thinks poorly of the profits, and rent, and State Revenue, to be raised from the lands of a Syrian village, few and far between as they are, while in an Indian District twenty towns or villages and hamlets can be counted from any eminence. In Palestine there are no forests or mangotices, or Mowha not even the date palm, which rivished the eye at every turn of the river in Egypt. I counted three palms in the city of Jerusalem, and I scarcely recollect any others. At any rate they were not a feature of the landscape, as they are all along the North of Africa from Egypt to Morocco. It is easy to say, that the forests have been cut down, and have altered the climate. I doubt whether they ever existed. At any rate Solomon had to send to Lebanon to get timber for his Temple, and in modern times ships bring timber from Europe even for the construction of private dwellings.

The authors of the historical and poetical books of the Bible wrote as honest men with the knowledge of their time. They had no acquaintance with Geography at all, and little with History, and they fell into the common and patriotic error of overvaluing their own country, the greatness of their favourite sovereign Solomon, and the virtues of the population and resources of the people, over whom he ruled. The Hindu authors with greater reason fell into the same snare, and the modern Chinese and French

people labour under the same weakness. I doubt, whether any one has ever been an hour in the company of a Frenchman without being told, that France was the finest country in the world. The Hebrew writers had just the same spirit, and it is only those, who have had the opportunity of looking into their resources and twice making a deliberate progress through their country, not in a railway train or a coach, but in long country rides can realize, how entirely contrary to facts, past and present, such ideals are. The country is a poor country. It never would pay the expense of occupation. It might be made over without a pang, by treaty or arbitration, to any foreign Government, perhaps the Russian, as that nation has a taste for absorbing unremunerative territories, while Great Britain never takes a country, which does not pay, either as a colony for emigration, or as a consumer of manufactures, or as a self supporting kingdom like India.

I do not write this in a scoffing or doubting spirit. I have an intelligent, and entire belief in the Inspiration of Holy Scriptures, that the hand of a mere mortal was guided as to the manifestation of things beyond mortal ken but was allowed to make use of the degree of human knowledge or imperfect knowledge, which he shared with his contemporaries, with regard to objects around him. If he had not been so, his utterances would not have been intelligible. When I read in the forty eighth Psalm that "Mount Zion was the Joy of the whole earth, and that God will establish it for ever," and in the Lamentations of Jeremiah "Is this the City, which men call the perfection of Beauty, the Joy of the whole Earth?" I believe, that the Psalmist in the one case and the Prophet in the other, whose Geographical and Historical knowledge was restricted wrote as they felt, expressed themselves in the same way in which good people to this day describe a person as "the best of men, the bravest of the brave." They did not anticipate, that an uncritical age would take their words "an pied de lettres."

If the whole is taken as a prophecy of the New Jerusalem, I bow to such an interpretation, though the words do not justify it, but I do protest against the whole handful of mediæval fancies still lingering among pious and ignorant people that Hebrew was the language of Paradise, and the mother of all languages that Moses wrote the Law in the Square Hebrew Character that the Afghans and Irish are descendants of the Lost Tribes of Israel that Palestine at any time was a powerful kingdom that David and Solomon were any more than small dependent Sovereigns on Assyria, or Babylon or Egypt that the Temple in all its glory was anything to be compared with Karnak or Amarah. With one doubtful exception not a single Inscription has come down to us of a Hebrew origin from a period in which Egyptian Assyrian and Babylonian abound, when the Moabites and Hitites are not unrepresented

The great, sole, and unequalled merit of the Hebrew race was, that to them were committed the Oracles of God the overwhelming and unrivalled blessing of this tiny Country was, that in the fullness of Time within its borders the Word was made flesh and dwelt among us, and the awful scenes of the Great Passion at Jerusalem were accomplished and this is enough to sanctify it in the eyes of all Christians as long as the World lasts.

From Jenin we crossed the plain of Esdraïon and the Brook Kishon, a waterless river bed at that season of the year, to Jezreel, which contained the vineyard of Naboth and passed on to Shunam, the scene of the miracle of Elijah and round the hills to Naïn, the scene of our Lord's miracle from this point we struck across the valley, and climbed the steep and rugged slope which leads to Nazareth, at which place the camp halted for two nights to give a Sabbath day's rest to the wearied party. There is much to interest here there is a magnificent orphanage founded, ably managed, by an English Society, and a medical establishment belonging to a Scotch Society, and a Mission of the Church of England with a native church and schools. The Greek and Roman Church, ever in rivalry, have here strong establishments. The Greeks maintain that the angel met the Virgin Mary at a fountain, as she was drawing water and have built a chapel over the spot. the Latins maintain, that the Virgin was seated under a cave, in a small house built within it when the angel came through the window and they have built a chapel over it. In both these

to Tiboras, on the shores of the Lake of Gennesareth passing by many spots of great interest. The scenery is very beautiful, and as the next day there was no wind, we crossed the lake in boats with our mud sail to Tel Hinn, which is supposed to represent Capernaum. The weather was beautiful, and we had fine views of the shores of the lake, which is six hundred feet below the level of the Mediterranean, though six hundred feet above the level of the Dead Sea, into which its waters flow by the valley of the Jordan. We encamped at a solitary spot with a fountain, said to represent Bethsaida. The next morning our faces were turned to Mount Hermon, which towered above us, and leaving Safet the city built on a hill on our left, we plodded on, always ascending, until, at a certain spot, we had our last look of the Lake of Gennesareth, and our first on the Lake of Merom, near which we encamped, over again the snowy height of Hermon, and we could see across the valley Banias, our next night's encampment, but a marshy country intervened round which we had to advance next day. We reached the tiny stream, which represents the river Jordan, as it issues from the valley between Lebanon and Anti-Lebanon. We crossed it by a bridge, and encamped at Banias in sufficient time to make an afternoon excursion up the stiff hill, on which the celebrated Castle of Casarea Philippi is fixed. We had in fact passed through Dim, and were beyond the limits of the Promised Land, and under the heights of Hermon in Syria proper. Our eyes could see at sunset far down into Galilee, and it was our parting view, and thankful we felt for the beautiful weather, which had accompanied us, and, as the road of next day lay over a branch of Hermon which was often bloated by snow, we were glad to be assured, that up to sunset it was open.

Several roads lead from the headwaters of Jordan to Damascus. The pilgrim route from Jerusalem to that city crosses the Jordan, by a bridge at the spot, where the river leaves Lake Merom, and traverses the region of the Hawran. From Banias, which we had reached, one route followed the course of the Jordan up stream into the valley of the Bekaa to Hama and Hama, and joins the great high road from Beirút to Damascus. We followed another route. We crossed the steep shoulder of the mountains South of Hermon, which forms the watershed of the Jordan and the rivers of Damascus. It was hard work, but we reached the top at last, and came upon a fine view of the regions beyond Jordan and descending we stopped to lunch on the banks of the river Pharphar, and encamped at our last station, still under the steep slope of Mount Hermon the village of Kefr Hawar. It was with feelings of devout thankfulness, that we left our hateful beds at an early hour next morning and entered our weary steeds over a flat plain into Damascus passing the spot indicated as the scene of the Conversion of St Paul. As we advanced, we caught sight of the minarets and

trees of the beautiful capital of Syria we then passed from our wild tracks over mountains and plains into the excellent road constructed by the French from Beirut to Damascus we were soon in the midst of gardens, and on the banks of the River Libanus and what was more to the purpose returned to the decencies and comforts of life in the excellent hotel Victoria, where we found decent beds, comfortable and quiet rooms, and a feeling of painful anxiety, which had accompanied me on the whole journey from Jerusalem, disappeared. I for one determined never again to bestride a Syrian horse or sleep in a Syrian tent, or be one of a personally conducted party in camp again. It is a good bridge, that gives a safe passage over a river but a traveller may be pardoned, if he is not willing to cross that good bridge a second time. It took me more than two months to recover from the effects of that camp, and to regain my usual unbroken health and condition. I can well imagine, that with some constitutions and with bad weather, it might lay the seeds of serious melody. Owing to the magnificent weather, and excellent table arrangements and the perfect discipline of the camp servants, none of our party suffered, though all were glad when it was over.

But before leaving a personally conducted Tourist party, let me say a word as to the component parts of this particular party. We were eleven in number, with three ladies, four Citizens of the United States, and four English gentlemen. The two married couples had each a tent to themselves two gentlemen were in one tent, three in another, one gentleman paying an extra £5 had a separate tent with a star and stripes flag at the top, one lady had a separate tent without payment, as there was no other mode of disposing of her. She was, indeed, the evil genius of the party, for, having no lawful protector, she threw her self on the protection of the unattached gentlemen, and, when their aid failed, she monopolized the European conductor. There was more trouble about putting her into her saddle, and lacing up her boots, than in anything else, from Dan to Beer-sheba, and I regret to say that she was English. The American travellers three of whom were ordained Ministers, were delightful but we had the misfortune of having no American ladies. If there is anything in this world more charming than usual, it is the American girl from Philadelphia, or San Francisco or Ohio, in her native beauty and simplicity. As it was, the English and Americans in our camp carried on one continuous interchange of witticisms and friendly attacks on each other. We had friend-enemy and aristocratic hauteur, pitted against each other and all parted with mutual esteem, hoping against hope to meet again.

I marked but little improvement in the city of Damascus since my last visit though it had been the scene of awful events, the massacre of the Christian population, and the vengeance enforced

upon the fanatic Mahometans by the Great European Powers. The road running from Beirut to Damascus, and the daily stage coach were great facts to this must be added the telegraph, good supplies of water, widened bazars and a few hired carriages, which could find their way through the streets notwithstanding the camels, which were still allowed within the walls. Of the four great Mahometan cities, Constantinople, Cairo, Damascus and Tunis the last is the only one, which still retains its pure Oriental character the first two have lost it altogether, and Damascus will probably soon lose it. The native houses still retain their singular and romantic, though rather comfortless beauty. In the cold weather they seemed charming, but I thought of them in the hot weather the fountains bubbling up on the centre of the courtyard, and supplying means of bathing, washing and drinking, seemed charming, until I gathered that the water all came from the same source by a system of waterworks, and is passed by pipes through the city from fountain to fountain, and that the practice prevailed of bathing in the fountains so that the drinking water of the Christian quarters had already served as the bathing water of the Mahometan quarter. I am afraid, that a Hindu would scarcely like that we should not like it in London, if the cisterns of each house were channels of the water of our neighbours instead of being separate reservoirs filled up daily from the main pipe for our use but there is no bubbling up of free currents of the waters in London cisterns, as there is in charming Damascus.

Christians are permitted now to enter the great Mosque which is an old Christian Church, and the sooner, that it is restored to the Greek Church, the better. The bazars are thronged with a busy and peaceful population there are special and valuable manufactures, and a daily train of baggage carts cover the road between Damascus and its seaport, Beirut. A great deal might be made by a strong European Government out of the united Provinces of Lebanon and Damascus there are ample natural resources an industrious people, and a sufficient sea port. Progress had been made since the European Powers asserted their authority in 1860, and if the hateful and baneful Turkish rule were swept away and replaced by a firm and sympathetic Government, powerful to punish, and yet wise enough to leave the people alone, which is the secret of our success in India, these Provinces would be developed and some day a more secure route for commerce would be found eastward of Damascus to the Liphrites and beyond. There is good hope for Syria but little or none for Palestine, and as for the regions below the Jordan they are still only geographical expressions, so heavily has the dead hand of Turkey pressed upon them.

At Damascus I took my leave of the personally conducted party, forfeiting my interest in the next week's arrangements. I had had

enough of it. I secured seats in the daily coach across the Lebanon ranges to Beirut. Without a sigh I saw my former companions mount their steeds, and start off to Halabik. Snow was in the air, and fell before night. The travellers who reached Damascus that evening from Beirut told us of the heavy snow in Lebanon. The long expected change of weather had come, and I hugged myself, as I went comfortably to bed, and thought of my friends again on their glistening beds in their tents, no longer in warm valleys, but up in the snowy Lebanon far above the level of the Mediterranean, in the cold month of March. We all met again at the end of the week in the hotel at Beirut, and I then heard of their sufferings, and of the snow and the cold. And I was thankful, that I had been prudent, I had already seen Paalek, and no change whatever had come over it in the last thirty years, and that was all that they saw.

year 1860, the Governor of the Lebanon is only appointed with the sanction of the Great Powers who are represented by Consul-Generals. Thus no serious oppression can take place in the Lebanon Provinces though all progress is arrested by the apathy, and suspicion, and ignorance of the first principles of Government, which distinguish a Turkish Official, even the most benevolent.

It cannot escape observation that France looks upon herself as the natural successor to the Province of Syria, including Palestine, when the sick man die. Austria would appropriate European Turkey, and occupy the coasted sea port of Salonika, Russia would overrun Asia Minor, Great Britain in an evil day, has set the example by occupying Egypt and it is not clear, in what way it can rid itself of this dangerous and profitless possession. The disappearance of the Turkish Empire would produce a mighty change. The Republic of France which oppressing the Roman Catholic establishments within France and its Colonies, makes use of them in foreign countries, in Asia and Africa as skilled and crafty agents for obtaining influence. The Roman Catholic Religion everywhere clings to the support of the secular arm and is ready to repay the service of French protection by the schools and hospitals and printing presses, which their establish. Thus in Beirut the two largest buildings are under the French flag the great establishment of the Jesuits and the Convent of the Ladies of Nazareth. There are other Roman Catholic hospitals and schools, teaching the French language, inspiring French ideas, and impressing on the rising generation, that France is the head of civilization and the most favoured of heaven. The same kind of thing is going on from different centres in the villages, which glisten on the slopes of Lebanon. The priests and nuns must have a pleasant time of it the Maronite Church has submitted to Rome, preserving its autonomy. The French Consul General is ever active in extending his political prerogative and as mentioned above the road, and all the commercial communications with Damascus are in the hands of the French. To this energy the British Government attempts to offer no resistance, Russia and Austria have no pretence to interfere. The British Syrian schools were started a quarter of a century ago by English ladies, sisters, and have obtained a great development both in Beirut, Damascus and all over Lebanon but they have no political position or aspirations except so far that they with success teach the English language and Protestant doctrines and bring thousands under their influence. By their side, working on the same benevolent object, but entirely devoid of all political object is the great Mission of the Presbyterian Church of the United States of North America. They have schools printing presses chapels and a college with several faculties, specially a medical faculty they give every class of instruction, and use the English language they have existed more than forty years, have translated

the whole Bible into Arabic, and exert a great influence both in Beirut and in Lebanon. It appears to be a special Providence which has so ordained, that the French Roman Catholic's political tendencies should be thus checked and counterbalanced by the single minded labours of Protestant Americans, who cannot in the least be charged with political aspirations. There will be two parties or camps in the Lebanon Province, one leaning to French Roman Catholicism, and the other leaning to English speaking Protestantism. It will be interesting to watch the phenomena, which will develop themselves. The American Mission is spread all along the Syrian coast and into Lebanon, and in Damascus is supplemented by an Irish Presbyterian Mission, of which the chief member is an American. The English language and Protestant Christianity is thus amply represented by Presbyterianism in Syria, as it is by Episcopalianism in Ireland and Anglicanism in the Frenchifying Romanizing efforts of their rivals. As a rule the French allow of no education whatever being given in their Colonies except by French trained teachers: the protection of French language, the extinction of all other educational efforts. In the Districts of the Gambia in West Africa, the American Missionaries have found this difficulty in Madagascar this difficulty is anticipated and feared by British Missionaries.

Thus ended a Tour of twelve weeks for the rail home, from Beirut to London which occupies about one week, requires no notice. There is a freshness and novelty and interest in such Tours, which cannot be found in the beaten tracks of Europe. It may be of practical interest to state, that nine thousand miles were travelled at a cost of three hundred and fifty pounds for two persons; that everything was paid for in London, the traveller being supplied by a series of tickets, which secure him all he wants on the way.

LONDON JUNE 1865



CHAPTER XV.

THE LANGUAGES OF AFRICA.

Light has shone in on every side of the Dark Continent, and it is possible now to give a sketch of the languages, spoken by the unknown millions who inhabit it, which would have been entirely out of the power of the most learned of the last generation. It is possible, that what is written now will be deemed incorrect or insufficient by the men of the next generation who will stand upon my shoulders, making use, without acknowledgment, of the results of my labours, and laughing without pity at my mistakes. Be it so. It may help those scholars and critics, who are still in their cradles or their boarding schools, if I throw a linguistic net over this vast Continent, and place on record what is known as to the varieties of living speech now spoken by the black, yellow, and brown children of the soil.

Homar tells us, that the generations of men are like the leaves of the forest. The similitude applies still more to the languages of men. In one sense nothing is so transitory as the life of a language, from another point of view nothing is so enduring, so imperishable, as the works of a language. Languages have come into existence, and have melted away like drifting snow in Asia and in Egypt, thanks to the art of the scribe, some *débris* of these extinct languages have come down to us on the painted or engraved clay and stone or the papyrus the pronunciation, and possibly the ordinary philology of the people have passed away for ever. On the other hand, the three consonants K, P and B conveyed to Moses and his hearers the idea of "writing" and a "book," and they convey that idea to millions of Arabs, Turks, Persians, Hindus, and Malays still. Of what was spoken by men during the six centuries preceding the Christian era and subsequently, in Asia, Europe and Egypt, we are informed, and we thence know, what manner of men they were, but of the language of the people of Africa during these long silent centuries we know nothing more.

* A translation of this Essay was published at Paris in 1885 in the French language and the same year at Milan in Italian.

than we do of the humming of their insects, and the how of their wild beasts. This is a solemn thought generations men have lived in vain, if life is measured by the invention of an art, or the propagation of an idea. In imagination we can depicture them migrating through their grand forests, huddle together in their straw huts, fighting, their cruel fights, dancing their wild dances, and giving way to their cruel customs of cannibalism, human sacrifices, and bloody ordeals, but of the force of words, which they uttered, the phraseology in which they addressed their divinites, their fellow men, or their families, we know nothing.

difficulty of their task is magnified, because the language is an unwritten one, and because it has not been subjected to rules of grammarians. Now the fact is, that the great majority of languages are unwritten, and that the difficulty is felt only in starting and soon got over, and writers on the subject of languages, which are written in Characters peculiar to themselves, unreasonably enlarge upon the difficulty of mastering the Character, which in fact is only felt for a few months. In most countries the ordinary speech of the people is unwritten, and all correspondence and literature are in a separate literary language, such as Persian was once in India or in a special literary dialect, such as to this day is used in Bengal.

As to the assertion that grammarians formed a language it is sheer nonsense. Did grammarians or the early Hellenic poets form Greek? The grammatical features of a language develop themselves according to the genius of the people and it is impossible to say, why or how this took place. No rules of grammarians could stop the process or accelerate it. It is a great wonder, but such it is. Renan has written that, after ten years more of study, he adheres to his original opinion, that the language of the tribe comes into existence *as the result of a single blow of the enchanter's wand* and springs instantaneously from the genius of each race. The invention of language is not the result of a long and patient series of experiments, but of a primitive intuition which reveals to each race the general outline of the form of the vehicle of speech which suits them and the great intellectual compromise which they must take, once and once for all, as the means of conveying their thoughts to others.

We may also remove from consideration the theory that nations pass through a kind of progression in the organic development of their language. The Chinese never had a grammar, and have none still. The Semitic languages had an imperfect organism from the beginning, and have it still. Language springs completely armed from the human intellect. History does not present a single instance of a nation finding a defect in its language, and taking a new one deliberately. It is true that, as time goes on, under the influence of civilization and contact with other nations a language acquires more grace and sweetness and is developed more upon its original lines but its vital principle, or its soul is fixed for ever. If this be admitted we must accept another fact that far from modern languages being the development of a more simple original the contrary is the case and all they used a language, which is synthetic obscure and complicated that it was the object and effort of succeeding generations to free themselves from it, and adopt a vulgar tongue, which is, indeed not a new idiom but a transformation of the old one.

The remark is made by many that, because the Zulu language is highly developed, accurate, and full, and the people who use it are savages, therefore the race must have once possessed a higher civilization, which is now lost, and that the perfection of the language can be in no other way explained. It would be a great and mischievous error to accept such a conclusion. The Zulu race have still their national life to live, and they are not the survivors of an extinct civilization. Far from being surprised at the wonderful native luxuriance, as of wild flowers, of uncultivated languages spoken by a savage people, we must accept it as a well recognized phenomenon. The further we trace back language, with some few exceptions, the greater the wealth we find in its forms. As it grows older, it throws them off. Business, and the necessity of economy of time, compel the speakers to do so. If it dies away from the lips of men, like the Sanskrit and Latin, the new languages which spring like a Phoenix from its ashes do without the synthetic forms, and use substitutes. Doubt as we may, and argue as we like, there must be a vitality in the intellect of a race, endowed with a power of clothing ideas in word form and a logical completeness of thought, acting unconsciously and working through the whole drapery of sound and orbit of reason, and all without any self-consciousness, and without the operators being aware of the work, which they are gradually reason to do. Thus it has come to pass that nations, hopelessly separated by centuries of years and thousands of miles, unconsciously arrive at the use of the same forms. At the first glance the first man who takes notice of the vocabularies, which are used by those around him in Central Africa records with surprise, that the savages have a grammar to their language. A grammar is but the marshalling of words, which are but the representatives of ideas, it is no more wonderful, that he has a grammar than that he has gymnastics or a marshalling of the limbs which are a distinct representation of ideas. And if the idea is thoroughly grasped, of certain natural processes of clothing ideas in words and sentences being inherent in the unassisted human intellect, all vain attempts at finding affinities between races which never have possibly come into contact may be lightly brushed aside for the simple reason, that the creative genius of each tribe drew upon the intellectual materials, which were the common property of the human race.

Let it not be supposed, that the study of languages of savage races, while still as it were in solution, and unfettered by the bondage of contemporary literature, or the recorded testimony of monumental inscriptions and Papyri is useless, and leads to no further knowledge of the history of the human race, which is after all the end and object of all science. On the contrary, it is priceless. It is the voice crying from the wilderness

the language of North Africa, for before the conquest of Algeria by the French nothing was known of the indigenous tribes. Of the long stretch of coast from the Red Sea to the Cape of Good Hope, absolutely nothing was known, from Cape Verd to the Cape of Good Hope on the West side, little was known of a practical character South of the Equator, but the existence of grammars and dictionaries of the languages, Bunda and Kongo, prepared two centuries previously by the Portuguese Missionaries, was a recognized bibliographical fact, and a curious sight in large libraries by the side of a few Ethiopic books of the same date and stamp. As to the languages of the Negro race North of the Equator, absolutely nothing was known.

Extensive as have been of late Geographical discoveries (and the geologist, botanist, ethnologist and linguist follow the great explorer, picking up the crumbs), still we cannot say, that we either possess a grasp on the whole Linguistic area, or have got possession of the details. The languages of Africa have not yet found their proper place among the languages of the world. No satisfactory description and classification based upon scientific grounds, has yet been given to the public, though there are some scientific studies of certain portions of the field. The people of Africa belong to a great many totally different races: no wonder, that the distinctness of the difference of their languages from each other is more marked than meets us elsewhere. The confusion of so many, and such distinct, languages in the Northern half of the Continent is so great, that it seems hopeless to let light into the chaos and to classify the separate languages. In Asia and Europe we have the language-traditions of many centuries and an unbroken supply of monumental or literary evidence: in Africa there is nothing. Such is the recorded opinion of one of the greatest scholars of comparative philology.

It is self evident, that Africa must have been colonized from North to South: tribes were pushed forward into the interior, and their forms of speech became modified. The procession must have been in a long course of centuries from the North: and the oldest races were pushed to the extreme South broken up into fragments, which survive in the lowest possible form of human existence or were totally extinguished. While, on the one hand the Egyptians occupy the first rank as the very oldest of nations, which History has preserved to us, on the other hand neither on the East Coast nor the West, even up to the time of Ptolemy the geographer, did the knowledge of the ancients extend very far. Homer had grasped one fact, that there were Ethiopians on both sides of the Continent towards the rising and the setting sun. The existence of Negroes is placed beyond doubt by the Monuments in Egypt, and it is in Africa alone that the pure Negro is found.

But it would be an error to suppose, that the typical Negro

represented the whole population of Africa or occupied the large portion of that Continent. The Ethnologist who examined the physical features of the races informs us that in Africa there are two varieties of woolly haired races, the slaves haired, and the tufted and that there exist also link early haired races. The linguistic division is sixfold and, applying it to the Ethnological characteristics above described we find the following division of the population of Africa

1	Link early haired races	Sam. Family of languages
2	Ditto Ditto	Ham. Group of languages
3	Ditto Ditto	Nub. Kik. Group of languages
4	Woolly Slaves haired races	Negro Group of languages
5	Ditto Ditto	Int. Lang. of languages
6	Woolly, tuft haired races	Hamitic Tushan Group of languages

The use of the words Family and Group is made advisedly with reference to the existence or non existence, of proved affinity of the languages of each category to the other, and a presumed descent from a common stock, which can only be asserted of the Samitic and Bantu. A Group is formed of elements not necessarily homogeneous, but it is the only method of discussing a subject of such gigantic proportions as the present.

From the contempt run our operation of several great causes the isolation, in which Africa had remained for so many centuries, began half a century ago to be removed. The opening of the Overland Route to India opened out the coast to the Red Sea and Egypt generally, and the fashion began to spread, of making excursions up the Nile. France fixed her moment hold upon Algeria. The resolute fruitless but at last triumphant determination of Great Britain to put down the Slave trade drew attention to the West Coast from the River Senegal to the River Kunene, which had been the great nurseries of the traffic. The occupation of the Dutch settlement of the Cape of Good Hope as an English Colony, engaged in constant warfare but always increasing its territory, discovered to the astonished world the existence of the noble savages, called by the name of Kafir. The Portuguese Colonies of Angola on the West and Mozambique on the East, remained sunk in hopeless decay, but on the East Coast, North of Cape Delgado, the Government of British India, by force of circumstances and its supremacy in the Persian Gulf, came into contact with the Mahometan Arab State of Zanzibar ruled over by a younger and dependent branch of the Chief of Muscat. Gradually we became aware that the Slave trade was as rampant on the East Coast as on the West, very much owing to the industry and capital of Indian subjects of the Queen of Great Britain which rendered our interference to stop such a scandal necessary. It will thus be perceived, that a cord was tightening round the whole Continent. Scientific

mind that, as these lines flow from my pen, the great drama of Africa, re-discovered and re-conquered, seems to rise as a vision before my eyes. I see the long procession of heroes of modern times, who were not unwilling to jeopardize their lives in the great cause, from the early pioneers, down to Livingstone and Stanley. Some have blamed Livingstone for leaving his narrow and useful Missionary duties, his schools and chapels, his catechists and catechisms, and starting forward to the East and the West and to the North, to reveal the existence of new systems of lakes and rivers, and discover secrets, that had been concealed since the commencement of History, yet he became the great pioneer and the parent of Missions which sprung up from the drops of sweat, which fell from him in his laborious journeys. Some have blamed the great traveller Stanley for meddling with Missionary matters, which did not fall within his knowledge, and yet the trumpet tones of his letters from the capital of King Mtesa woke up an echo in Great Britain, and those two great heroes, Livingstone and Stanley, have indirectly advanced our linguistic knowledge of Africa beyond any other living man. And one other trace of character unites them, the deep rooted sympathy with the people, which irradiates all the narratives of the great Missionary, and many portions of the narratives of the great Traveller. I feel a profound admiration for this great Traveller who while fighting for the life of himself and his company, uncertain when he should emerge from his Dark Continent, found time to record names and words, and was fortunate enough to bring them safe down the Cataracts. The vision rises before me of the great African plains, the vast rivers the ever looking mountains the villages composed of straw bee hives, with the palm tree and the hibiscus, the prickly pear and the Euphorbia, and the men and women clothed in their simple nakedness, with their fanciful hair-costumes, their spears, and their bows. I see the long row of porters carrying burdens and the European plodding afterwards, with his attendant carrying his rifle, on foot or sometimes riding on the back of a man through the swamps or carried in a rude litter. Sometimes I see in the jungle the long kosslo of slaves being marched down to the coast, or the poor broken down slaves fastened together and left to die, or to a cruel death by wild beasts and still, in spite of all this cruel oppression, though this unhappy country seems for centuries to have been forgotten by God as well as by man nothing is more striking than the traces of goodness light-heartedness and gentleness of character, which seem to crop up on every page of every narrative, and in spite of the very hopelessness of the case, hope for better things seems to remain. Something must be done to create a sustained interest in Africa, each one of us must feel that we have a debt to pay back, and an interest to do something to advance our knowledge of this country. Language has an intimate connexion with the advancement of

Arts, Manufactures and Commerce: the disclosures made in the course of the study of a language, throw a light upon the social and intellectual characteristics of the people who use it. The appearance of certain words more or less transformed, in the mouths of a tribe supposed to be cut off from communication with the outer world, tell a tale of some intercourse, which History has not recorded, and the presence and even absence of certain words, has an historical value. That the Fongwe and Kongo languages on the West Coast should have such affinities with the Swahili on the East Coast, in spite of the pathless regions which lie between and the total ignorance of the people of each language is an evidence of unity of origin, which there is no getting over. After all the commerce of thought is the greatest and oldest form of Commerce, that the World can be known, and no manufacture is older or more universal, or more ingenious or represents more clearly the line between man and beast, than the manufacture of words which has been going on

languages unintelligible to his followers and to their neighbours, a few marches behind or onwards. In some cases a scanty Vocabulary represents all, that we know of the words, and a doubtful entry in a map is all, that we know of the habitat. Now the two elementary requisites for linguistic knowledge of the lowest order are a Language Map showing the whereabouts of the people, and a Vocabulary of some extent, showing the words which they use, taken down on the spot or from the lips of individuals to whom the language was their own proper tongue, in habitual and actual use. In these simple requisites our knowledge of the languages of Africa lamentably fails. We know of the existence of tribes to the East, West, North and South of certain other tribes and we know, that their language differs from any language known, and that interpreters are necessary, and there our knowledge ceases. We cannot omit mention of the existence of such a language, we presume that it belongs to the same Group or Family as its neighbours because we have no proof to the contrary, but the whole subject is uncertain. We have, in short very much of the same knowledge of the languages of Africa, that a geologist has of the surface of the globe, *i.e.* a tolerably accurate acquaintance with the language of the Coast all round the Continent, with an occasional peep here and there into the interior and a visionary speculation on the subject of the central region.

taining and recording what we find spoken by the people, and reducing the record to such an order of classification, as will harmonize with our previous conceptions of scientific requirements.

The classification of Friedrich Müller is the only one, which embraces the whole Continent, and commends itself to my judgment. It is not universally accepted, being too simple for some, who would seek a classification based on the intricacies of structure or such grand cardinal features as the absence or presence of distinction of gender. To others it is not simple enough, for they recognize only two elements in the languages of Africa, the alien element of the North, and the indigenous element of the South. There may indeed be some truth at the bottom of this theory, and it may be presumed, that there existed at some remote period, a dark people totally distinct in race and language from the fair people, which invaded the Continent from Asia, coming in succeeding waves, at long intervals, and intermixing with the indigenous race. We can, however only deal with facts, and Friedrich Müller exhibits these facts with sufficient accuracy in his six Families or Groups recorded above, which I will now proceed to describe in detail, after turning aside for a brief instant to notice the alien languages of Europe and Asia which have in modern times found their way to the coast, and established themselves permanently, pushing aside, in some cases the indigenous languages, or intermixing with them, so as to give birth to a new Patois.

While some Languages in which law was once given to Northern Africa, are no longer heard such as the Egyptian, Phœnician, Ethiopian, old Persian, Greek, Latin and Vandal, other languages are now heard with authority all round the Continent. In Egypt all the great languages of Europe are familiar. In Tripolitania and Tunisia Italian and French are spoken. In Algeria and Morocco, French and Spanish have domiciled themselves. Along the West Coast we find Portuguese in the island groups of the Azores, Madeira, and Cape Verde, and on the mainland far into the interior, Portuguese is still the vehicle of written communication, at the Court of Muata Yanvo, the Kuremle and Sejopa on the Upper Zambezi, travellers mention having found that language spoken, and hundreds of Negroes use it in the Colony of Angola on the West, and Mozambique on the East. The language has left as enduring a mark upon Africa as upon India and it is probable, that this Vernacular has a far greater expansion in Asia, Africa, and America than in Portugal. The Spanish has become the language of the Canary Islands, and Fernando Po. The influence of French is felt in the colony of St. Louis on the Senegal River, and in the settlement on the Gulf, and it is remarked by competent judges, that the Neo-Latin languages are pronounced by the African with fairly correct pronunciation, and do not become degraded into *latois*, which is the fate of the English and Dutch. The latter language

has played a remarkable part in the history of South Africa. Some of the Hottentot tribes have adopted the Dutch language in supersession of their own—it is a very different dialect from that spoken in Holland, with its corrupt form of words, misuse of words, barbarous mode of expressions and daring defiance of grammar to such an extent that it has prevailed that a Grammar of Cape Dutch has been published at Cape Town. This language has further expansion before it and may probably be one of the leading languages of the future in South Africa.

The English language has a duly increasing expansion and influence as an instrument of education, a medium of commerce not only between Africans and strangers, but between African tribes speaking distinct languages. All liberated slaves from North America speak English more or less pure, the Kru, who play so large a part in navigation speak broken English. On the East Coast the influence of English will be still greater, as no other European language has penetrated into the interior. A remarkable feature is the prevalence of Indian languages. From Zanzibar, Madagascar and Mozambique and up to Cape Quanaia there were not half a dozen exceptions to the rule that every shopkeeper was an Indian. Voyagers from India can converse everywhere with the whole body of retail dealers and local merchants in Hindustani and Gujarati and their accounts were made up in Gujarati and Kachi. In fact, the whole trade is in the hands of the industrious and wealthy class, who in spite of the reputed prejudice of the Hindu to the sea find their way to East Africa. These alien influences must greatly affect the future development, which will struggle for life on the North South East and West coasts of Africa. Unsupported by any indigenous literature scores of petty languages will disappear in the general assimilation that will go on. As I advance in my survey I shall remark that certain potent languages must and will hold their own and are already becoming under the plastic hand of the Missionaries, mighty elements of culture which will swallow up or tread out, their weaker and less gifted neighbors. It will be an interesting linguistic spectacle to watch for doubtless the same process will take place many centuries ago both in Europe and Asia and we remark the outcome of the struggle but the details of the process are lost to us.

The Samic Family (for it is a Family in the strictest sense of the word) is well known. It includes the Indo-European in being inflexive but its notion of inflexion is quite peculiar, it is most beautiful and symmetrical but no explanation has ever been given of its origin. We find its full development in its earliest records. The book of Genesis gives an account of the creation of the World, but the words used for that account indicate a language in a very high state of development and this characteristic is sharply brought out by contrast with the refined mechanism of the

speech used by Moors with contemporary Egyptian records. The influence of the Semitic on the Hamitic Group or *vice versa*, as some assert, is of the slightest. The Semitic nation was at all times alien in Africa but it received from Egypt the precious gift of Alphabetic writing which it handed on to the rest of the World as if it were of its own proper invention. There are two branches of the Semitic family, the Northern and the Ethiopic. The Semites possessed the Eastern flank of the Nile Valley from a remote period. The notorious subjugation of Egypt by the Hyksos, and the descent of the Hebrews into Egypt have left no linguistic traces in Africa, but the colonization of Carthage from Phenicia has left its indelible trace in Monumental Inscriptions, in spite of the attempt of the Romans to destroy all traces of the foreign culture of this defeated rival. Centuries later the Arabians conquered the whole Northern coast of Africa beyond even the Pillars of Hercules and Arabic supplanted the Egyptian language in the Nile Valley, and pushing aside if not destroying the Hamitic languages of Numidia and Mauretania became the dominant language of Tripolitania, Tunisia, Algeria, and Morocco with a distinct dialectic variation from the pure dialect of the Arabian desert and the Hejaz. A third Semitic invasion of Africa took place from South Arabia across the Red Sea and is known as the Ethiopic or Géz, the language of Abyssinia. In course of time the ancient form of speech gave way to the modern Tigre and the cognate Amharic. These are spoken by a Christian population in a retrograde state of culture. Travellers have brought to notice other distinct Semitic languages, on the flanks of Abyssinia but of no importance. The influence of the Arabic extends far beyond the limits of the settled populations of particular kingdoms. It is the vehicle of thought over a large area in Africa either in the mouths of the Beduin Nomads, who surprise the travellers by their unexpected appearance, or of invading conquerors, such as the Sultan of Zanzibar of enterprising merchants such as the slave dealers, who are generally half bred Arabs, of dominant races in Central Africa, and lastly, it is the instrument of the spread of Mahometanism and of whatever culture existed independent of European contact. Up to this time it has had entirely its own way both as a religious and as a secular power, but it may be presumed that its progress will now be checked by the powerful intrusion of the English French and Dutch languages, and the resurrection and culture of the numerous strong Vernaculars which are ready to the hand of the European civilizer and instructor. The Arabs have left names in their language Kabul, Káhr and Swáhl which can never be forgotten. For the study of these languages we have ample supplies of Grammatical works and Translations of the Scriptures in Arabic Amharic and Tigré.

II. The Hamitic languages come next in order, they are presumed to be aliens from Asia but at so remote a period that

tradition fails. It would be bold, in the present state of our knowledge, to call this subdivision a Family, it is safer to style it a Group, with marked resemblances. It may be divided into three Sub Groups: (1) Egyptian, (2) Libyan, (3) Ethiopic. They probably have linguistic relations to each other, but they have not as yet been worked out, so as to win universal concurrence in the sense that the interrelation of the Semitic languages is admitted as a fact of Science. All the languages of the first Sub-Group have passed away from the lips of men, the Coptic died some centuries ago, and has a galvanized existence as the vehicle of religious ritual, the Egyptian died before the Christian era, and as the tradition of its interpretation died also, it became linguistically extinct, or unintelligible, until revived by the genius of Scholars of this century. As records carved on stone exist in this language, fully developed both as to its Grammar and triple mode of writing, as far back as 4000 years before the Christian era no nation in the World, and no Family of languages, can compete with Egypt, and the Egyptian on the score of antiquity. Moreover, in the handling of words and grouping of sentences we become aware, that we are dealing with an instrument of thought indefinitely more ancient than the most ancient of Semitic or Aryan records. Egyptian had its day and under Greco-Christian influences passed to Coptic, which again disappeared before the inroads of Arabic, thus supplying one of the most notable instances of a nation changing its language, as few will doubt that the belief of Egypt is the lineal descendant of the Egyptian is depicted in the Monuments.

To the West of Egypt, along the coast of the Mediterranean stretches that vast country, known to the ancients as Libya. Herodotus, the Father of History, knew about the Libyans (as Greek and Phœnician colonies were settled on the coast). This region was known to the Romans as Mauritania, Numidia, and Gétulia. These early settlers outlived the Phœnicians, Greeks, Romans and Vandals, and still struggle against the Arab, Turks and French. The old Libyan language had no literature, it is dead and is only faintly guessed at by inscriptions. The region is known now as Tripolitania, Tunisia, Algeria, Morocco and the great Sahara. In one sense, the name Berber may include all the Hamitic forms of speech of this Sub-Group but other terms are met with indicating separate languages. Kabul in Algeria, Shilluh in Morocco, Tamashek in the Sahara, Zenaga on the frontier of Senegal. The extinct language of the Canary Islands, the Guanche belonged to this Sub-Group. The French have contributed a great deal to our knowledge there is an entire absence of culture, and a portion of the population is Nomadic.

Heremund, the traveller first drew attention to the existence of the Tuwank, and Macræden first identified them with the Berber.

Previously it was not known, that any other Nomad tribes existed in North Africa, save the Arabs. Volney was the first to announce, that they represented the ancient Getulians. Vivien St-Martin states, that on the occasion of the second great Arab immigration from the East, in the eleventh century, these tribes left the Tripoli Coast Districts to escape the foreign yoke, and retired to the Oases, and have there preserved their rude liberty, and their ancient language in comparative purity. The meaning of the word is supposed to be identical in the Berber language with *Kabûl* in the Arabic, as already explained. Whatever may be the origin of the word, the name has been applied by the Arabs, and not by the tribes to themselves who scarcely recognize it and call themselves *Imashagh* or *Amazirg*. It is impossible practically to define the boundary of these Nomads for they spread from the confines of Algeria to the limits of the Negro Kingdoms of Bornu and Timbuctu. In the time of the Emperor Augustus Cornelius Balbus, Governor of the Roman Provinces of Africa, 201 c., led his army against these, then as now, unconquered tribes: he took Cydamus now Ghadamis, the capital of Ithuania or Fezzan, the Country of the Garamantes, but he was not gifted like Julius Cæsar, with the power of wielding the pen as well as the sword. There are four confederations of tribes of the Tuwârik I Azjer, North-East, II the Ahaggar North-West, III the Kel Owi, South-East and IV the Awl Immiden, South West, each with its own dialect. Haroteau, who had published a Grammar of the Kilail published in 1860 his Grammar of Tamashick, adopting the first of the above dialects, which must therefore, from our better knowledge of it, be taken as the Standard. He remarks that it is free from Arabic admixture, and that it is reasonable to expect in this secluded District more of the Grammatical forms of the old language. It is the only one, which has its own special form of writing the Tinnag, of the connection of which with the old Numidian form Haroteau has no doubt. He got his information from a Negro native of the Country, where Tamashick was spoken by those who held him in slavery: he had acquired a knowledge of Arabic and from him Haroteau learnt to speak Tamashick, compiled his Grammar and reduced to writing fables and stories. He afterwards had the pleasure of meeting some Tuwârik at La oirat, and conversed with them, and they helped him to translate the Texts which he had taken down in Roman adapted Characters, into Tinnag: his book is therefore of the highest value, and reflects great credit upon his scholarship. To complete his good work, he has attached to this volume a Language-map of the Berber Languages in French Algeria, and an explanatory notice. He adds Texts, Village Tales, Songs translated into Arabic, and translated into French.

The dwellers of the Oases of Jupiter Ammon on the confines of Egypt, and visited by Alexander the Great, though they understand

and use Arabic to communicate with strangers, yet they use a language in their homes quite distinct. What is that language? Anjola is an Oasis West of Siwah occupied without interruption. Hornemann, the traveller at the time of the occupation of Egypt by General Bonaparte, visited the first Oasis in 1797-98, and gathered a Vocabulary, in which Marsden detected the affinity with Berber. The second Oasis was found by Hornemann to have a similar language. Subsequent travellers, Muntch and Cusland, and others, have collected fuller materials. Hamoteau, in his Grammar of the Kaboul has compared these words and no doubt is left of the identity. Vukri¹ writing about Egypt, mentions the fact also. The language is of no importance whatever, and will probably be crowded out by Arabic. But it gives a magnificent idea of the range of Berber, that it should have spread from the confines of Egypt to the Curry Islands, and that the Siwah should have survived the pressure of superimposed languages for more than three thousand years.

The Ethiopic Sub-Group of the Hamitic Group lies along the Red Sea intermixed geographically with the Ethiopic branch of the Semitic Family already described. The languages are the Somali, Galla, Bishari, Dinkali, Agau and several others. We have Grammatical Notes of several and Translations of the Scriptures in Coptic, Berber, and Galla. Missionary Societies have clung with little success to the hopeless task of making an impression on the Hamitic races in Ethiopia. In this corner of Africa the prospect of improvement under European influences seems to be the least cheering. In spite of numerous attempts at exploration, little addition has been made to Geographical knowledge of that dark region between Abyssinia and the Equator. Unlike the Semitic Family, the Hamitic Group has no recognizable affinity with any linguistic Families or Groups in Asia. Its existence on African soil dates back to at least six thousand years and the area occupied is enormous. Lepsius and Bleek would include in this Group the Hottentots of the extreme South, opening up a question, for the decision of which sufficient materials have not been collected. It must be left to the judgment of the next generation, when more accurate knowledge may find the link between the pre-Semitic races of Africa and Mesopotamia.

III I pass to the third Group the Nuba Fulah the least well known and the most doubtful classification. Up to this time I have dealt with inflexive languages, all that remains in Africa is agglutinative. Ethnologically speaking, the Semitic, Hamitic and Nubi Fulah belong to dark, curly haired races. All that remains of Africa consists of woolly sleek, or woolly tufted haired races. It does not follow, that the linguistic fissures should be the same as the ethnic and we know that the contrary often prevails. Friedrich Muller lays it down, that this Group, whose habitat is

partly in the midst of the Negro Group, and partly on the northern frontier, is distinctly separate from the Negro, both by physical appearance, and other certain Ethnical details. It occupies a position midway between the Hamitic and Negro, and here let it be borne in mind that the Bantu Family is reported by some to occupy the same intermediate position, but the Bantu both in their physical and physiological characteristics, take after their Negro progenitors while the Nul a Fulah approximate more to the Hamitic. The connexion between the Nul a and Fulah seems by no means certain.

name appears as Pul, Pulo, Iulih, Fulbe, Fellata Fuladu. The Fulah race has intermixed with the Negro, which has produced other varieties. Fortunately, we have a Grammar by Reichardt, and Tindherbe, and a Translation of some Chapters of the Bible by Consul Baikie. Seven dialects are recorded, but Futa Jalo, on the River Senegal, is accepted as the standard.

Here notice must be made of Lepsius' Monumental Work, the *Nubische Grammatik*, 1880, in which the learned old man condenses his experience of forty years for him in 1843 at the Great Pyramid during his celebrated scientific exploration, and his attention has been continually directed to this, his favourite subject, during his long, peaceful, and honoured life as Professor and Custodian of the Lexicon Museum. Besides the Nubian Grammar, a German Nubian Vocabulary, a Translation of a Gospel, and an appendix on the dialects of the Nubian, in a long introduction he passes under review the whole subject of the classification of African languages. With the utmost respect for the opinions of this grand old Scholar, it is but just to state, that there are too many questionable points of Ethnology and Comparative Philology propounded, to allow of their being accepted otherwise than provisionally, or as a basis for future investigation.

IV. From absence of a better name, the next Group is styled the Negro, a name unquestionably inadequate. It is in fact, a conglomeration of totally unconnected component parts, something analogous to the old *Turmanian* in Asia of a quarter of a century ago—a kind of bag, into which all languages which could not be provided for elsewhere, were provisionally flung. Just as the word *Turmanian* has gradually disappeared from Asiatic classifications or been gradually reduced to the comparatively moderate limits of one family, even so the term *Negro*, which is totally insufficient, will disappear, giving way to a scientific, or at least intelligible, nomenclature.

We must recollect, that the Negro type is a very marked one, and, though it may have undergone much admixture in the interior, it is pure on the coast. Of the purity of the language we cannot speak with certainty. The presence of the Nuba-Fulah from the North and of the Mahometan Religion in their midst the influence of European Nations and Americanized Negroes on the coast, must have an influence. The Hausa is the great commercial language of Central Africa far exceeding the limits of the region occupied by the Hausa race. It is an isolated language, and in certain characteristics resembles Hamitic and Semitic languages. It is attributed by one scholar to the Hamitic Group, by another to the Nuba-Fulah, by a third to the Negro Group. It might have been presumed, that there was a general consensus, that these Negro languages were independent of any other Group of languages, but Bleek has laid it down, that some of the Negro languages actually

belonged to the same Family as the Bantu, and others were related to them. This shows how far we are at present from any certainty, on any portion of the subject, from the absence of sufficient material.

As far as we know, they are all agglutinative, but that is but a slight link of connexion, the Negro Group by no means extends all over Africa, but it comprises the great bulk of the population. A race with less inherent vitality would have been extinguished by the trials which it has had to undergo, circumscribed to the South and East by the Bantu pressed upon to the North by the Nuba Fulah, and deported in millions by the Europeans. The Negro may be said to share with the Bushman the honour of being the original inhabitant of Africa. The tract from the River Senegal to the River Niger is the seat of the pure Negro but the return from America or from captured vessels, of freed Negroes of very mixed races has affected this purity and some of the mixed races, containing Hamitic, Semitic and Fulah elements are the finest.

Everything about the languages of this Group must be accepted as provisional. We know neither the extent nor the variety of the languages, or their relation to each other, or their dialectical variations nor have we full information regarding these languages, of which we have Vocabularies or Grammatical Notes. We cannot define the boundaries of the cells of languages and they have absolutely no literature. One thing is clear, that they cannot have been derived from one stock. There must have been many distinct seed plots, for not only does the Grammatical structure forbid the hypothesis of any original unity, but there is no such uniformity of Vocabulary, as would support the idea.

They are not found to be deficient in intelligence, when trained in European schools, and selected individuals are susceptible of the highest culture. They have been cursed by chronic internal warfare, entire absence of public opinion or personal independence, domestic slavery, the absence of any kind of exportable manufactures, men and women have not risen to the dignity of wearing decent clothing. No messenger ever came to them with a book—religion, reproving, advising, elevating, holding out examples and warnings for be it remembered, to the book religions, however theologically erroneous, Asia is indebted for her civilization. The Negro was never privileged to discover the art of writing, by which his language would have become the handmaid of progress and morality, and he has remained, down to our days, the prey to slavery, cannibalism, witchcraft of the most odious character, and human sacrifices of monstrous abomination.

It must not be supposed, that no progress has been made of some languages of the Negro Group we have Grammars we have numerous translations of the Holy Scriptures, and plenty of religious and educational works we have Grammatical Notes of the greatest value, and Vocabularies of others, but the most competent authorities describe many of the languages, of which we have sufficient knowledge, as isolated admitting of no affinity to any other known variety. This by itself suggests, that the linguistic phenomena of the Negro region have not yet been fully exposed to view. We do not find isolated languages elsewhere except in rare cases, and they are generally survivals of extinct families. The vast empty spaces on the map which have hitherto evaded the pen of the Geographer and Cartographer, and the tale of every explorer, warn us of the presence of a great "terra incognita" and unrecorded millions. It is like standing upon the sea shore and listening to the confused noise of the waves or upon a high tower, and listening to the murmur caused by the sound of voices below, for we know nothing for certain with regard to the languages of Negro land. Even the collections of Koele, "Polyglotta Africana," for which he received the Volney Prize resemble a handful of shells, tossed upon the shore and picked up at random after having been blown far into the interior, for he picked up his knowledge from the frail recollections of released slaves and his records are of no use until they pass under the hands of the skilful assorter, and not of much use even then.

There has been a constant pressure from the savage tribes in the interior down the river basins to the sea coast, crushing and breaking up the tribes, which have already reached the coast and tasted the sweets of Commerce and low Civilization. In the interior are found the raw products, which are required for export, and the savage races wish to free themselves from the go betweens on the coast thus new languages force themselves into notice. Even

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Yet no less than fifty-nine languages are registered in this vast Region, the Vocabularies being picked up from the mouths of Slaves brought to the Western Coast, or into Egypt. The best known Languages are the Surhar, Hausa, Tibbu and Kanuri.

The Fourth Sub Group comprises more familiar ground, as the whole was once under the Khedive of Egypt and includes the tribes dwelling in the basin of the White Nile. They are all downright savages and seem likely to continue so as the attempt to annex the regions to Egypt and put down the Slave-trade appears to have produced greater evils in the unhappy country, than it had to endure before. For the present the veil has fallen over these regions, and linguistic knowledge will not advance.

V We pass on to the Bantu Family, for a Family it is in the strictest sense, and therefore a mighty contrast to the great unconnected incoherent Group, which we have just disposed of.

It was indeed a great discovery that a single Family of languages prevailed throughout Africa South of the Equator, with certain reserved tracts for the Hottentot Bushman. The name Bantu is now accepted. In spite of the wide spread of this Family from shore to shore there is unmistakable evidence in their genius, their phorotics and their Vocabulary that all the languages had a common Mother. They can be dealt with in the same manner as we deal with the Arian, Dravidian and Semitic families. Some of the features of the common parent appear in each of the descendants. The language of the Xosa commonly called Kafir, is allowed to occupy the first rank. However, we must remember, that the linguistic and ethnical strata are not always uniform. Some tribes in Lower Guinea speak a Bantu language, though belonging ethnologically to a pure Negro type.

The language-field of this Family exceeds that of any other but it would be unsafe to state any, even approximate, idea of the population. New tribes are being made known to us every year. It is entirely independent of any other type of language, having remarkable features of its own. It has been well studied by competent scholars both in detail in separate languages and as a family by comparative linguists such as Bleek and Friedrich Muller. It is agglutinative in method, but also alliterative, and subject to euphonic laws. It has on its frontier been influenced by alien neighbours for we find in some languages echoes, borrowed from the Bushman. However, little is known for certain, and the development of this marvellous Family must be left to the next generation. Friedrich Muller confidently indicates Semitic and Hamitic influences, which must date back to the infancy of the language.

Peck, who had local knowledge of the subject, in addition to a knowledge of language generally, records his opinion on the characteristics of the family. The words are polysyllabic, and the

syllables open diphthongs rare, of derivative prefixes there were originally sixteen, but only two have a decided reference to distinctions observed in nature being restricted to nouns respecting reasonable beings, the one in the singular the other in the plural number. The form of this latter is *ba* actually, or in some other manner obtained from it. There are few adjectives, and in their place, most generally, a particular construction is used. The genitive is denoted by a prefixed genitive particle. The cases are indicated by prepositions, different kinds of verbs are formed by variation of the ending and moods and the perfect time is indicated in the same way. The most simple form of the verb is the singular of the imperative.

Bleek paid also much attention to the euphonic laws, which differentiated one language, or branch of language, of this Family from the other. He showed, that the languages differed from each other more than the language of the Teutonic and Neo-Latin Family differ from each other. The greater bulk of words in each language though identical in origin, became wholly dissimilar, owing to the action of the euphonic laws, which change their form. The grammatical forms are also very different. And this difference is to such an extent, that the Ama Nona and Be Chuaná cannot understand each other though in the same branch of the Family. Bleek too points to illustrate this new form of what he calls the great "Grammar" law of transmutation of sound in Bantu. There are three clicks in the language of the Kafir Land Sub branch.

Some further explanation seems required of the euphonic, or alliterial concord, which is so striking a feature. The initial element of the noun a letter, or letters or a syllable, appears as the initial element of the adjective, the pronoun assumes the form corresponding to the initial of the noun for which it stands. The important part of the initial of the governing noun is detached to assist in forming the bond of connection with and control over, the noun or pronoun governed in the genitive, *ex gr*

the copiousness did not lead to the inference, that the tribe had fallen from a higher state of Culture, as some of the Natives of Southern Europe had undoubtedly fallen. An interpreter told the Governor of the Cape, that the Suto language was not capable of expressing the substance of the letter of a Chief while every one acquainted with that Chief, Mohe-sh, well knew that he could have expressed in his own Vernacular without study the whole of his letter in three or four different ways, which was more than the interpreter could have done in his own English. J. L. Wil on writes that students of the next generation will revel in the beauties of Languages, as elaborate in structure, and as musical in tone, as any of the old unspoken languages which delight the Scholar. The general structure is marked by so much regularity, exactness, and precision, so much order and philosophical arrangement, that it would require a long period, as well as important changes in the outward condition of the people, to effect any material change in the leading characteristics of their language. The Vocabulary can be expanded to an almost unlimited extent. It is not only expensible, but it has a wonderful capacity for conveying new ideas. The Missionaries were surprised to find with how much ease they could use it to convey religious ideas. there was no need to borrow foreign words. the New Testament and part of the Old have been translated.

Bearing in mind, that vast portions of the territory of the Bantu language-field have only been imperfectly explored, or not explored at all I adopt provisionally the classification into three Branches, Southern, Eastern, Western. Each of these is again subdivided into Sub branches, which are sufficient for present necessities, but which, as regards the Eastern and Western, must be indefinitely extended, as time goes on to admit of proper classification of the scores of languages which come under observation. This classification is solely based on Geographical data.

Each traveller who finds his way from the Eastern to the Western sea, or *vice versa*, or visits the coast of Unita Yanvo at Kibabé or of the Kazembe at Lundu, or the Kasongo, finds himself in the midst of streaming thousands. New tribes and new languages, or dialects are revealed each year. We have the advantage in this family of Grammatical works in two of the Languages of the West Coast the Bantu and Kongo, written by Roman Catholic Missionaries in the sixteenth century, which supply a certain standard, by which the influence of time upon these unwritten, and therefore fleeting vociferations can be measured.

The Southern Branch is divided into three Sub branches. I Kafir-Land. II Chuana Land. III Damara Land. The word Kafir was applied by the Mahometan invaders of the East Coast to all the Pagan tribes of the Interior and is often used very loosely in linguistic books, but it is now strictly applicable to one tribe only.

of this Sub branch, the Ama Xosa celebrated for their constant warfare with the English and Dutch. Closely allied to them are the celebrated Ama Zulu, and the less well known Ama Pondi, Ama Tingu, Ama Swazi, Ma Fable, Ma Kalala, the ruling tribe in Umzila's kingdom, and the scattered bands of Ma Viti or Wa Tuta, known by many other names North of the River Zambesi. The two great languages of this Sub branch are thoroughly well known, and have become the vehicle of a large grammatical, devotional and educational literature, under the influence of the Missionary Societies.

The Chuana Land Sub-branch comprises the languages of the majority of the population, which occupies the interior of Africa South of the tropic of Capricorn, intermixed with the Lushman and half blood tribes. They are separated from the Kafir Sub branch by the Drakenburg range, Southward they extend to the Orango River. Westward to the Kalahari Desert, and Northward as far as the Lake Ngami. The chief languages are the Chuana and the Siso. The words of this Sub branch sound harsh, and its pronunciation offers a striking contrast to the melodiousness of the Zulu to which language, however, it has a greater resemblance than to the Xosa. There is an abundance of linguistic and educational works for which we are indebted to the Missionaries.

The third Sub branch is that of Damara Land, a fell betwixt the Kalahari Desert and the Atlantic, bounded on the South by the Great Nama Qua Land, and on the North by the River Kunene. There are three language only in this Group the Herero the Ndonga spoken in Ova Mpo Land, and the Yaye, spoken at Lake Ngami.

The Eastern Branch of the Bantu Family is the creation of the last twenty years of English and American exploring. No book has yet been written which gives any account of the phenomena disclosed in the course of the next quarter of a century there will be a rich harvest of accumulated materials. The outlines of the field may be marked with certainty, but it is virgin soil. I have taken the responsibility of dividing it into three Sub-branches, based upon Geographic features.

I. The basin of the River Zambezi.

II. The Region betwixt the Coast of the Indian Ocean and the Central Plateau from the Northern confines of the field down to the boundaries of the preceding Sub branch.

III. The Region of the Plateau as far West as the 25th Degree of East Longitude South of the Equator.

The first Sub branch comprises an ever increasing number of languages spoken by the tribes which come into contact with the Missionaries, who have lately invaded that river and Lake Nyassa, the boundary extends as far into Central Africa as the Victoria Falls. Considering the extremely scanty extent of materials this grouping

must be deemed entirely provisional, and only a convenient mode of collecting the names of languages, known to exist in a certain territory. It is only by constant study of the narratives of travellers and Missionaries that information can be gained but the scientific character of the informants gives a value to what they state far beyond the random jottings down of the ordinary traveller. So far as it goes, it is accurate, but it goes only a very little way.

The Portuguese occupation of the basin of the Zambesi for more than two centuries has added nothing to linguistic knowledge, but small valuable treatises are now being compiled by the Missionaries in Yao, Makua and Ngunya.

The second Sub-branch extends from the island of Illo on the confines of the Mozambik territory, along the coast of the Indian Ocean, to the confines of the Galla and Kwasi where the Bantu Family meets the tribes of the Hamitic and Aryan Fulah Groups already described. It embraces all the low coast and the range of mountains running parallel to the coast from the confines of the Zambesi Sub-branch, to the country of the Vassu or the Aryan Fulah Group. The dominant language throughout this Sub-branch is the Swahili, the speech of the coast, as its name indicates deeply affected by Arabic used by Mahometans and influenced by Arabic culture but unintelligible to the residents of the interior. These savage languages are being slowly developed by the labours of the Missionaries. For the Swahili much has been done but of the other languages we have little more than brief Vocabularies or short notes but it is a promise for the future to have got so much. It gives some idea of the rapidly expanding knowledge, to mention that Friedrich Muller only gives three languages of the Sub-branch which owing to the diligence and energy of explorers is now so rapidly expanding. It is pleasant to read year after year that such a one is busy at the languages, has Grammars and Vocabularies, or a translation of a Gospel in hand and this is going on all down the line, and the funds are entirely provided by Religious Societies who thus indirectly contribute to the extending of Science.

Several Islands as has the Archipelago of Komoro are included in this Sub-branch but Madagascar, as belonging to a different linguistic system is excluded. If any Africans are in that island as slaves or as there they must be treated as aliens. It is remarkable that our great explorers have generally accomplished their tasks by the aid of Swahili and a class of interpreters seems always available who speak this lingua franca. We predict for this language a remarkable position in the civilization of Eastern Africa, but there are twenty three other recorded names of this Sub-branch, such as the Siamala, Boolei, Zaramo, and Gindo.

The third Sub-branch is the result of Stanley's famous

journey across the Dark Continent, and the two great religious Missions planted in answer to his challenge. If in so few years so much has been done, what will be the result at the end of a quarter of a century? In connexion with Victoria Nyanza many languages have been indicated, and their existence substantiated. In the language of the Court of the King of U Ganda, a portion of the Scriptures has been translated, of the Nya Mwizi we have a Grammatical Note. The Northern boundary of this Sub-branch is the line of contact of the Negro, Hamitic, and Nuba Fulah Groups. On the East it is contemporaneous with the Zanzibar Sub branch, and to the South with that of the Zambezi. To the far West an imaginary line must be drawn due South from Nyangwé on the Luabala (which Stanley proved to be the Kongo), until it reaches the Zambezi. Beyond that point the languages recorded must be entered in the Western branch of the Bantu Family, until, in due time, we have collected enough material to establish a separate Group or Family as the case may be, for Central Africa South of the Equator and North of the Zambezi, which is now wholly unknown. In connection with Lake Tanganyika we have information owing to the English Missionaries established on one part of Lake Tanganyika, and French Roman Catholic Missionaries at another. Nothing of a tangible linguistic character has reached me yet, but I am enabled to record the names and position of the tribes, speaking distinct languages, or possibly dialects of languages, and leave it to time to fill in the picture. I can see no limit to the expansion of this Sub branch, which will comprise all the unknown

banks of the Kongo, savages, cannibals, and warlike. There are two Sub-branches.

I The Portuguese Colony of Angóla and its dependencies

II The basin of the Lower Kongo, and of the Ogowih Gabún and the country North of the Equator as far as the Kamerun Mountains. The whole of this Branch presents a hopeful field for inquiry, as there is a great deal of life along the coast, under the influence of English, French, German, Portuguese, Spanish and American visitors for different purposes.

Within the Portuguese Colony of Angóla, the Bunda language is spoken. We have the advantage here of a Grammar published at Lisbon 1504 A D, and a later Grammar and Dictionary of the commencement of this century. It apparently extends over a large tract, but later travellers have reported the existence of another language spoken at Dili, and other names are given beyond the Portuguese frontier, and the German travellers, Pogge and Buchner, who penetrated to Kabébe, the capital of Muata Yauvo, have brought back other names, and new Vocabularies.

The Kongo basin contains the germ of new discoveries, as Missionaries and explorers are pushing up the river far beyond Stanley Pool. The Kongo is illustrated by a Grammar by Bruciottus, published at Rome 1659 A D. We now have steamers from Stanley Pool to Stanley Falls, and a row of new languages revealed to us. We may reckon with certainty on receiving very shortly full information of the languages of the basin of the Kongo, and Translations of the Holy Scriptures.

From this Region, so replete with undefined promise, yet at present with so little fruit which is the result of modern culture, we pass Northwards into the Ogowih Gabún basin, and find several well defined languages illustrated by works of great merit, revealing to us most completely the nature of the Pongwe, Dualli, Isubu, Bimbia, Kele, and Idjia, spoken in the island of Fernando Po. We have Grammars, Translations of portions of the Holy Scriptures, and abundance of smaller works, the results of the labours of Missionaries over a long course of years.

We have recorded two hundred and twenty-three languages and dialects of this Family, probably one third only of the vast number, of which we know nothing, but which will emerge into light. Some of these names will represent dialects only of a greater language. Some will be mere synonyms of languages already recorded, for this pitfall is always open to the linguist. Travellers may bring home a Vocabulary with a new name, but after careful sifting it may be found to be an old friend with slight variations. We take leave of this magnificent Family with the feeling, that it is the only one, which, in the magnificence in its power of word compounding and wide territorial expansion, can compete with the great Arian Family.

VI. Driven down to the extreme South of the Continent 'of Africa, and only saved from extinction by the advent of British Rule and by the efforts of Christian Missionaries, we find the sixth and last linguistic Group, which, but for the smallness of the population, ought to form two Groups, as the component parts have no relation to each other. We allude to the Group Hottentot Bushman. Their existence is, however, important, as throwing some light on the character of the earlier, if not aboriginal, inhabitants of the Continent, as unquestionably we have to deal with tribes broken and reduced by the powerful invad from the North of the great Bantu family. However the word Hottentot may be spelt, or from whatever cause assigned, it is not the real name of the tribe, who call themselves *Khoikhoi* (men of men), and are called *Lama* by their neighbours. They number 350,000, and are considered to have four dialects, Nama, spoken in Namaqualand to the North, Kora, on the Orange River, a third is spoken by the Eastern division of the tribe, and a fourth, and a very impure, variety, in the neighbourhood of Capetown. To these must be added the dialect of the Griqua or bastards, issue of Dutch and Hottentot, speaking a mixed language. There are many works by Missionaries about and in this language, and it may be considered to be sufficiently well known. In all probability its days are numbered. Friedrich Müller records his opinion, that it is isolated, with no connexion with any other African or non-African form of speech though morphologically suggestive, the roots are monosyllabic, there are genders and numbers formed by annexes, the pronoun is the vivifying element and, joined to nouns and verbs, differentiates the meaning. The oral literature consists of songs and animal stories, which have been collected by sympathizing scholars. The great feature of the language is the existence of four clicks, formed by a different position of the tongue. The dental click is almost identical with the sound of indignation, not unfrequently uttered by Europeans, the labial click is the sound with which horses are stimulated to action, the palatal click is no unlike the popping of a champagne cork, and the postal click is compared to the cracking of a whip.

A variety of opinions may be granted as to the Ethnological origin of the Hottentot. Hottelogue declares, that he is but a cross-breed, and that whatever may be said as to the relation of his language he has no pretence to independent use of race. Such assertions must at the present stage of the inquiry, be supported by actual proof. We must deal with actual facts, and, in their absence, it is of no use explaining the acts of an author - mere extending in a continual line down the whole Continent of Africa. No doubt the Hottentot and Bushman are, like the Bantu in Europe, the arrival of an Ethnologist and Linguist structure,

which has disappeared elsewhere and, in the absence of written records, left no trace behind. Bleek and Leysius, as stated above, connect the Hottentot with the Hamitic Group.

A Missionary being invited by the Government to send books in the Kora dialect to be printed, remarked, that his experience was, that it was easier to teach the young to read Dutch, and that the old could not learn at all. Still later, the publication of the Holy Scriptures in Nama is been arrested, because the whole tribe have begun to speak Dutch.

The Bushman is an isolated language and in a very low state of linguistic development. The name was assigned by the Dutch, because the tribe dwell in the bush, they call themselves San and are totally distinct from, and shunned by the Hottentot and Bantu. The language belongs to the monosyllabic order as far as we can judge, there is no gender, the formation of the plural is exceedingly irregular, and of the sixty ways of forming it, reduplication of the noun is the most common as the most natural, but the use of the plural seems to be as abnormal as the formation. In some particulars there are analogies common to the Bushman and the Hottentot. Dr Bleek in his many years study of this subject, having members of the tribe in his household and collected materials for grammar, dictionary, and folk lore before his premature death. It must be remembered, that the Bushman are a broken and despised race, in the lowest state of culture neither pastoral nor agricultural, but living by hunting and nomadic, they have no appearance of tribal unity and no Chief. Before the English Rule they were treated as little better than wild beasts. The click sounds are believed to be their original property and to have been communicated by them, in always decreasing proportion to the Hottentot and Kafir Land Sub branch of the Bantu Family, for the Bushman, in addition to the four clicks already described as a feature of the Hottentot language, has a fifth, sixth and sometimes a seventh and eighth, and not only before vowels and gutturals, but before labials. Such sounds are almost incapable of expression by Europeans, and it would almost appear that they are connecting links between articulate and inarticulate sounds. One remarkable feature still remains to be noticed. No trace of the invention of Writing has been found South of the Equator, but the Bushman have acquired a wonderful power of painting scenes on rocks and in caves. Animals human figures dancing hunting, fights, are portrayed with fidelity, and that the art has existed down to modern times is evident from the appearance of Poers in some of the fights. It appears that the art of sculpture was also known, and that the outlines of some of the figures are excellent.

With the Hottentot-Bushman Group must be included two interesting Sub Groups of whom we know little or nothing except that they exist. I The Helot race. II The Pigmei. Every

traveller mentions the existence of the first Sub Group, a Hælot class in an extremely low state of culture, expert hunters, without habitations or vestments, living in jungle and forests, using the bow and arrow, and, if not always linguistically, at least ethnically, distinct from the dominant and superior races. When Africa is well known, and the names and distinguishing features, and language of all these scattered races are brought together and submitted to intercomparison, then only will any classification be possible. Their colour is often yellow, and when compared with the colour of the black Negro, and brown Bantu, has even been called white. The Second Sub Group is a more marvellous instance of the perpetuation of Ethnical phenomena, for Homer mentions the existence of Pigmies, and later ages have placed their existence beyond doubt in the persons of the Akka, the Hoko and the Obongo. Specimens of the Akka have been in the possession of Europeans and one found its way to Europe, and the language has been recorded. It is yet too early to form any theory—we can only record facts, and wait till the unexplored tracts in the centre of Africa have been revealed. While, on the one hand, we may rest assured, that no monstrosities, or abnormal variations of the human form have been discovered, on the other hand we must admit the existence of every variety of stature, colour and proportions, and as a convincing proof of the wide difference of man and beast, we find unlimited variations of sound, word and sentence to express the thought the wishes, and the fears, fantastic and innumerable fashions of hair dressing and personal adornments and customs differing in detail but resembling each other in abominable and pitiless cruelty.

Over and above the names recorded by travellers or word-collectors, is a great multitude (which no man can as yet number) of peoples and tongues, which it must be left to future generations to discover and record, and till that event takes place, no one can presume to say, that his account of the languages is complete. And there is this further complication, that writers constantly record the fact, that such and such a language is dying out, and, as this process has been going on for centuries, leaving not the faintest impress on the sands of time, an idea may be formed how remote is the solution of the problem of the origin of human Speech. Moïat also records his opinion, that new languages are in the course of formation. I must admit, that in all my reading I never came on the suggestion of such a possibility in Africa, America, or Oceania. Lepsius also remarks on the ceaseless changes of the Vocabulary, though the structure of the language remains the same. How the phonetics of a language change from day to day, we have evidence all over the World.

The great propagandists of linguistic knowledge all over Asia, Africa, America and Australia, have been the Missionary Societies. The motive of their linguistic labours is a higher one than the

promotion of Science, but it has brought together a *repertoire* of languages and dialects in the form of Translations of the Scriptures, the like of which the world never saw, and which is the wonder of foreign Nations, and this remark specially applies to Africa. No other motive is conceivable to induce men of scholarship and industry to run the risk of disease and death for the purpose of reducing to writing the form of speech of downright Savages, except for the one purpose of religious instruction. In many languages the Scriptures are the only book and a linguistic scholar would be devoid of all feelings of gratitude, if he did not heartily thank the Missionary for opening out to him channels of information hopelessly concealed, and for scattering it broadcast below the cost of mere printing and paper.

To the Anglo Sax a race in Great Britain and the United States falls the honour of being foremost in the re-discovery of Africa. No one can dispute that fact. The Portuguese dropped the skein they picked it up. They have not the sweetness nor height of the great French people nor the solidity and depth of knowledge of the Germans but they are practical, strong and self-willed. A camel to them is a least of burden to carry bales of cotton, or of Bibles. A tribe is an aggregation of men and women to be clothed with these cottons and converted with these Bibles, the languages are learnt and books are composed in them for practical purposes and neither Romance nor Science, is thought of. It is well, that a Scholar is always available for such work as composing Grammars translating Bibles and managing self-supporting missions for the Anglo Saxon has no time for such pursuits. Great is the debt of Africa to the great Scholars who have examined the truthful though incomplete, works issued by the labourers in the field and instituted comparison of language with language Group with Group thus gradually some order has been introduced and future Scholars will labour with some feeling of certainty, adding brick by brick to the great fabric the plan of which has been sketched out by great linguistic architects. Though Africa has no works of Art and Science to show as the result of the long silent centuries which have passed away since the time of Herodotus the existence in the Negro Group of isolated and totally distinct languages side by side with the Great Bantu Family, with its scores of hundred languages, with different vocalularies, and phonetic variations clothed upon the same skeleton or the Bantu organization, is a wonderful record of human intellect, acting spontaneously and unconsciously.

Twenty years ago there was a rebellion against the tyranny of the Aryan and Semitic Scholars who attempted to cut down all languages to the length and breadth of their method forgetful of the infinite variety of the then dimly-discerned Families and Groups of agglutinating languages in Asia. The great problem of the origin of language, however, cannot be solved, and is not ready

for solution, until the secrets of the languages of Africa, Oceania, and America are revealed, and arranged in such order, that the lessons taught by the study of each of them may be considered with reference to the linguistic phenomena of the whole World, and this work will not be completed in the present generation. I may not live to see any of these secrets revealed. Africa has become the solace and plaything of my old age, as India and Asia were the joy and interest of my manhood. At the Fifth International Congress of Oriental Scholars, held in September, 1881, at Berlin, I read a paper in the German language on "Our recent knowledge of the languages of Africa." In the same month I exhibited at the Third International Geographical Congress of Geographers, at Venice a new Ethnical and Linguistic Map of Africa specially arranged for me by the cartographer, Ravens'um, as an embodiment of all existing knowledge. Attention was thus drawn to the subject, and assisted me in my task of publishing, in 1883, a volume on the languages of Africa, exhibiting by the help of language maps, and bibliographical catalogues, illustrated by a historical narrative, the extent of our knowledge, half knowledge, and ignorance on this great subject.

I began my work knowing nothing, and, though my materials have accumulated beyond expectation, and kind friends have rushed round me, I seem to be laying down my pen with the feeling that I now know worse than nothing. I feel intuitively, because I know the subject, that I have often been incorrect, and still oftener incomplete. Readers, who have a special acquaintance with some particular part of this vast subject, will easily point out flagrant and stupid mistakes, and easily suggest sources of information, which I have neglected, and arguments, to which I have paid no attention. But is not fullness of knowledge of some limited portion of the field incompatible with the undertaking at a fixed period of so vast an enterprise? I want to push on the whole subject. I might have delayed publishing another five years and enjoyed another lustrium of delightful picking up of crumbs, and clearing up of doubts: but Time is against me. I wish, that I could commence again, and go again over the reading, but the period of life at which I have arrived, warns me. I am an old Goetheker left their great work unfinished, or uncommenced from the desire to be too perfect.

No one will sit in severer judgment on my shortcomings than I shall myself, and my first step after correcting my last Proof-Sheet is to make my first entry by way of correction and addition in my interleaved copy. I feel how large a blank I have left exposed to criticism, both from those who know a great deal, and those, who in reality know nothing. At any rate, here is something in the place of nothing. My book may be thrown into the abyss and form a platform on which a better edifice may be raised, and, as my sole object is to advance Science, I shall be con-

tent to perform the part of an African wife, who is laid alive on her face in the newly dug grave, to form a comfortable resting place for the dead body of her husband. I have no pet theories of my own and no knowledge wherewith to form them, but I have an eye to recognize by intuition the work of a great master, when I read it, and to detect the vagaries of a charlatan, and the unsoundness of the man, who plays, as it were, at dice with words and syllables with a view of working out shadowy and impossible affinities. I sit at the feet of Lepsius, T. Muller, Black, and Krapf and other great men, and try to follow *longo intervallo* the steps of Adclung, Viter, Balbi, Prichard, Latham and Julg, who object was to report the present state of our knowledge. If it prove a bad and useless book I shall be sorry for it, for it has cost me a great deal of money, for which I do not care, and a great deal of the remaining working hours of my life for which I do very much care. At any rate, I have done what I could, and I roused an interest in many a slumbering quarter. In the centre of every conglomeration of rubbish there must be an atom of something useful: if this book prove to be that atom I shall be content for the ball is set rolling. Perhaps the errors and omissions may be forgiven, when the vastness of the subject is considered. He would be a bold man who, without a long study, attacked the whole work but so exposed is the flunk, that from any quarter may come an arrow for Philip's right eye.

My materials consist of copious extracts methodically arranged according to my classification. I cannot but think that a confessedly imperfect book constructed upon the methodical lines followed by me, will be of use in the present dearth of information, and enable some more efficient compiler to put off something better out of the collected material.

One other result has come from my extensive reading of African literature. The common form of description of an African is, that he is cruel, dirty, superstitious, selfish, acornutal and addicted to fetishism, human sacrifices, sorcery, and slave-dealing, besides being a drunkard, polygamist, a neglecter of domestic ties, a liar and a cheat. How different is the impression gained from an extensive consideration of the whole subject! A Japanese, on his return to his home lately, gave an unfavourable account of England and its people, but it appeared that in his short visit to this Country he had never got beyond the immediate neighbourhood of the London Docks, and drew his picture from that unavowry quarter. The average white man's opinion of any people is of little value, as he is apt to form that opinion from what came under his observation during a short visit, when he came into contact with the least attractive classes, by whom, no doubt, he was cheated, while he was trying to overreach them.

Let's remarks, that we cannot be reminded too often, that all so-

called philosophy of language remains a matter of utmost imperfection, as long as we do not possess a correct idea of the extent and nature of all languages. As I lay down my pen after so many years of due examination of the map, so much checking of lists of names, and taking notes from books, the thought came over me—how large, after all, is the undiscovered area, and how many the unrecorded names? The sound of a voice comes crying from the wilderness, a faint sound, such as is heard through a telephone. "We are here, though our voices have not reached you, nor yours reached us. The twentieth century, with many other worders, will reveal the secret of our existence, though to you it is not given." This gives the subject a strange fascination. I little thought, when I left India, that I should live to extend the empire of my interests "*ultra Garamantas et Indos*," but it grew upon and enchained me, as new customs and new languages opened out, new phenomena presented themselves. The map, by being constantly inspected with a magnifying glass, began to be very familiar and then the solemn procession of Nations and Tribes began to explain itself. Still there was a dark side to the shield. I can hardly describe how heartily tired I became of the great work, for it sat upon me like the old man in the story of Sinbad the Sailor and kept me away from lighter and more airy studies, which had to be shunted, until the African Goods Train had passed by. It may be well to have some stock work always on hand, but too much Africa on the brain is apt to cause insomnia and dyspepsia. One word to those, who think it was of time to record the characteristics of languages, destined to be swept away by the broom of Modern Civilization. We deem it, forenoon, not unworthy of our civilization to bring over to England the fragments of Egyptian and Greek Art because they tell of the intellectual power of the Races, who have preceded us. But how much more wonderful is the mechanism of a language than the execution of a statue or an obelisk? It has been wrought out by the silent process of unconscious generations, who each in their turn fashioned the original vocable, cemented it with others, each in its own way, and differentiated it by Tones, if the genius of the people preferred a monosyllabic vehicle of thought, or left it to the friction of after-ages, and to live in the mouths of millions yet to be born as an indestructible inheritance. I mentoned one day at the Geographical Club, that I had at last traced Barth's lost Vocabularies—our only knowledge of certain Languages of Central Africa. "Of what use will they be," said a cynical friend, "who will look at them?" This remark was discouraging but it was not philosophical. Of what use are the labours of the Conchologist and the Botanist? I took up one day a large quarto, newly published by the Dublin Philosophical Society, on Conchology, and though I am endowed to a great extent with the gift of sympathetic receptiveness, I could

not understand one word and a cold shudder passed over me for I thought of my own Book in the unsympathetic hands of one, who did not care for Philology and Africa.

The next step of Generalization is for some trained Scholar to take all the Vocabularies in hand bring them to the same method of Transliteration examine each word reduce it to its simplest form, cast out all Loan Words and then publish a carefully digested Polyglott of a limited size. To help this forward, I have availed myself of my opportunities to distribute among all the Missionary Societies in Africa a copy of a form of selected Words and Sentences, in order that it may be filled up in all the Languages and Separate Dialects of Languages in one in their different fields, and one system of Transliteration.

When all are assembled before the great White Throne, pleading with one voice in mutually unintelligible words the merits of the Sacrament One alone will understand all. There will only be one Language then, the Language of the Angels. The imperfect coinage of words, and marshalling of sentences will no longer be required. Language will have had its day. 'Lo a great multitude which no man could number, all Nations and kindreds, and People and Tongues and they cried with a loud voice.'

Let me turn away from the subject of language and say one farewell word of the Missionaries those good and unselfish men, who for a high object have sacrificed careers which might have been great and honourable in their own countries and have gone forth to live in hovels and sometimes to die who as it were in the course of their striking hand on the anvil of Evangelization, their own proper work have emitted bright sparks of Linguistic Light which have rendered luminous a Region previously shrouded in darkness and these sparks have kindled a corresponding feeling of warmth in the hearts of great, and to them personally unknown Scholars working in their studies in Vienna Berlin or some German University, Scholars who alas! cared little for the object of the Missionary's going forth but who rejoiced exceedingly at the wonderful unexpected and epoch making results of their quiet labours. It was as it were Deep calling to Deep where Ewald Pott, Steinthal, Von der Gabelentz F. Muller Iratorius and many others turned away for a moment from the well worn track of Aryan and Semitic Philology to look into and expatiate upon the wonderful novelties revealed by Schlenker, Koelliker, Christaller, Jacq. Moïssa to admire the wild flowers of luxuriant development blooming in the African garden no longer scaled up. I read the remark of a Missionary in the Kalahari Desert, that the sight of the Great Bar above the horizon made him somehow feel nearer home. Such must have been the feeling of the African Scholar, when he read in the Leipzig Journals the criticisms by the German Doctors, and felt that his labours were appreciated.

Appreciated! the time has hardly come for a just judgment on the subject. The Missionary is the peculiar outcome, the most wondrous development, and the great glory of the Nineteenth Century. I am not careless as to who reads, or leaves unread, these last lines, which are dictated by a long and tried experience in Asia, and a close observation of Africa from a distance, and a conviction that it is well for mankind in the midst of Colonies, Commerce and War, that there should be in addition to the sounding of the War drum, the selfish cry of the Merchant, and the lash of the Slave-driver, in every part of the World, specially in the darkest, an honest, unselfish man representing the highest and most chivalrous form of Morality in Regions, where it is least practised and most wanted: one who is not afraid to be the champion of the oppressed, the denouncer of the evil custom, the protester against the bad Law. And if to some few of these Ambassadors of Christ it is given to be great Scholars as well as good men it is well also. I am not unmindful that of all the Languages, in which Xerxes King of Persia, used his letters to each Province in his own Language only those two have survived and are still living on the lips of men to which the oracles of God have been committed: Hebrew and Greek. I do not find that any Language has ever perished from the great Reservoir of Human Knowledge which has been elevated to the dignity of being the vehicle of Divine Knowledge and I draw the attention of the Negro Scholars on the Niger to these two facts, in order that if, as true Patriots they desired a prolonged life to the wonderful languages of their Country, they should lose no time in committing to them some portion of God's Word for the very fact of a language being the chosen instrument of conveying Divine Truth to poor Mortal Men would confer upon it Immortality.

'Nulla Dies sine lingua memoria vocatur eto

LONDON, 1853

Since the date of the publication of my two volumes "The Modern Languages of Africa," and this Essay in English, French, and Italian the increase of our knowledge in every part of Africa has been very considerable. Whether this result is 'post hoc' or 'propter hoc,' matters not. The fact is beyond doubt. I have become aware of it, because every Author is good enough to send me a copy of his new work and I notice them all in the pages of the Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society. Many learners also in the different parts of the fell have sent me Manuscripts of Vocabularies, Dictionaries, Grammars and Texts the publication of which by the Bible Society, the Christian Knowledge Society, the London Missionary Society or at my own cost, I have promised. The ever reliable Dr Scholes has worked steadily on. Professor Reuchlin has published valuable works quite an Army of Men have been at work on the First West, and South Coast. I have received lately from Professor Leinisch the third volume of his *Wörterbuch der Sprache*,

THE FRENCH NORTH AFRICAN EMPIRE



CHAPTER XVI

THE FRENCH NORTH AFRICAN EMPIRE

It is openly asserted by French publicists that the only chance for France maintaining her position as a Great Power in Europe is to found Colonies in Asia and Africa, and the cherished desire of the French nation is to have a great African Empire. To give birth to great Colonies, such as Australia and Canada, they are confessedly unequal, as, owing to the well known domestic habits, which discourage the maintenance of large families of children, their population is stagnant, and has no annual surplus thousands to throw off. To govern great subject Empires such as India they are not qualified, for they have not, as a nation, sufficient self restraint to be content with the affairs of the Empire, and to leave the property in hand of the subject races absolutely unviolated. What they mean by a Colony is a country, like Algeria, in which French citizens are encouraged to settle on lands, from which the ancient proprietors have been ousted, not, however, cultivating them entirely themselves, but by the agency of the indigenous races reduced to serfage. Their object again is to make such Colonies the strictly guarded commercial preserves of the Mother Country, the raw products of the subject country being collected mainly for the advantage of the conquering race. The manufactured products of the Mother Country are to be poured into the subject country, all competition with other European countries being barred by protective duties, the raw produce of a Colony is to constitute an exclusive mart for the home manufacturer.

Even in the mode of acquisition of their so called Colonies the French nation has a method of its own. Neither the Russian nor the British nation can plead innocence in the matter of annexation, but, when each case is examined it will be found, that there has been no deliberate design conceived beforehand of seeking an entirely new country for purposes of conquest. The uncontrollable force of circumstances has driven both these Nations forward on the path of Empire, against the wishes of the Rulers, and even their repeated prohibition. The French Nation, however, usually selects the spot which seems suitable to their operations, an explorer is sent forward, and makes a Treaty which founds rights, the

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Treaty is of course broken by the Native Power, and it is naively admitted, that it is meant to be broken, and invasion and annexation follow, unless some obstacle arises or catastrophe intervenes. The exploration of the Sahara is a notable instance of a deliberate attempt to appropriate a vast region, without the consent of the inhabitants, and without the shadow of a complaint against them as bad neighbours. Their country was wanted for the purpose of opening up a new market, their country was being annexed by a railway line.

France has two Colonies in Africa North of the Equator. Algeria with Tunisia, which fronts to the Mediterranean, is bounded on the East by the Turkish Province of Tripolitania, on the West by the independent Kingdom of Morocco. The jealousy of Italy as regards Tripolitania, and of Spain as regards Morocco, prevents all hope of French extension on either flank, without a rupture with a European Power. To the South Nature has apparently placed a boundary in the Great Desert, which extends from the Atlantic to the Nile. This desert is not entirely uninhabited, for one of the most ancient Races in the World maintains in its midst a precarious nomad existence, known to their neighbours as the Tuwarik, and to themselves as the Imoshagh, or Amazigh, or "Frie." They are cognates of the settled inhabitants of Algeria, Tunisia, and Morocco, who are known under the general name of Berber. They have outlived all the conquerors of North Africa, Phœnicians, Greeks, Romans, Vandals, Arabs, and Turks, maintaining their rude liberties and perhaps are destined to outlive the French Rule also.

This great Desert extends over fourteen degrees of North latitude, from 32° to 18° , at which point it reaches the great bend of the River Niger, on the North bank of which is the town of Timbaktu, inhabited by a pure Negro population. Fifteen degrees of West longitude, 1° to 16° , from Timbaktu, is the important French Colony of St. Louis, on the River Senegal. The banks of the river are occupied by independent tribes, and the nearest potentate of importance is the Mahometan Sovereign, who dwells at Segou, on the East bank of the Niger. No European Power has any interests or Commerce within many hundred miles, the climate is deadly and the exports insignificant. Yet it is the openly expressed policy and intention of the French people to extend this Colony up the basin of the River Senegal and one of its branches, to cross the watershed of the Rivers Senegal and Niger, and place gunboats on that river, by means of which they hope to dominate over all the tribes inhabiting that all but unknown region as far as Lake Tsad, and finally to connect these regions by a railroad, which is to find its way across the Sahara, in spite of the awful Desert, and the unconquerable Tuwarik, to the frontier of Algeria. The conception is magnificent. Time and the sacrifice of a vast amount of treasure and lives will be required, and, whatever may be the motive, it

will be a great gain to civilization to have connected by a permanent way the Sudan with the Mediterranean. The first attempt to carry out this design has met with a rude check in the total destruction of the Exploring party by the attack of the Tuwárik, who felt that their liberties were at stake. I wish to describe the nature of this check, and it is necessary previously to describe briefly the physical features of I Algeria with Tunisia, II The Senegal Colony, III The Sahara, and then to narrate the history and the tragical end of the Expedition, which took place in the last days of January or the first of February, 1881. No attempt has been made by the French Government to avenge their death, or prosecute their undertaking.

In October 1882, accompanied by my wife, I visited the Province of Algeria with Tunisia, with the double object of observing the French mode of managing subject Provinces, a duty, with which I had been familiar in India, and to study on the spot this great problem of the Trans Sahara Railway. The story of the massacre was very fresh then in men's minds, and it was constantly alluded to in the public press. The idea of this railway had something of fascination even for an outsider. It was a delightful exercise of fancy to draw straight lines across several degrees of latitude without coming within a hundred miles of a single village or well of water the whole way. A service of balloons seemed more suitable for the conditions of the country. I traversed the Provinces of Algeria with Tunisia from Oran, on the frontier of Morocco, to Tunis the capital of the newly annexed Tunisia. The old Bey, who had become a mere puppet, died while I was there, but the French Council promptly placed a new puppet into the vacant chair, who did quite as well as the deceased dummy, and there was no perceptible change. The French system of Administration is strong and judicious. A Civil Government has succeeded to the former military despotism. Although I looked with the eye of a critic into the details of management, I could find nothing to complain of. There was peace and order in the towns, and entire safety to person and property in the open country. Excellent roads and railroads extended over the whole Province. In the Bazar, which it was a pleasure to visit, Commerce was active. Not a soldier was to be seen except in their proper cantonments or fortifications. There were schools and Courts of Justice with too much of the French language and too little of the Native Vernacular to please me, but it is the characteristic of the French Nation to believe, that culture and progress can only be expressed in French, and in a conquered country the Rulers need not learn the language, as the people must be made to learn French. This is just the contrary of our system in British India where the Vernacular is made the instrument of civilization and order.

The Province consists of one long narrow strip of country, though

which a trunk railway runs from Oran to Tunis between the mountains and the sea, from this branches run to the ports of the Mediterranean, and branches cross the Atlas ranges to the South. The longest branch is that, which connects Constantine with Batna, an important fortified town in an elevated situation in the Aures Mountains. I was present, when this line was opened in person by the Governor General, and had an opportunity of witnessing the ceremony and hearing the speeches at the public dinner. They were highly characteristic of the Nation. From Batna a diligence drawn by eight horses, four abreast, conveyed us in sixteen hours through the pass of Kantara, down into the Sahara, and to the Oasis of Biskra. I passed the engineers on the road, lining out the extension of the railway, which has been carried out. For all practical purposes Biskra may be deemed the Northern terminus of the Trans Sahara railway, as Timbaktu is the Southern terminus.

All round Batna are the Aures Mountains, till lately occupied by the Showah, one of the hardest of the Kabail tribes. They represent the ancient Numidians, but blended with them are the remains of the old Roman Colonists, who fled to the hills, when the Mahometans invaded the country. Many of the women are still as fair as Europeans, and a sweet savour of their lost Latin language still clings to their rude form of speech. They call a garden "orto," an elm "ohno." The salutation of the new year is "Bonin," or "Bonon Annus," they use the Solar year and call their months Yemar, Mars, Maio, Junio. On these people the hands of the French fell heavily, when they took vengeance for the uprising during the Franco German war of 1870, all their fair lands were confiscated, and distributed among French Settlers. I thought in my morning walk of Ireland, the Lady of the Lake, and the First Eclogue of Virgil. The ousted Kabail still stalk about like ghosts in the town and the suburb, passing by French nurses and children in perambulators. There will be a massacre and a rebellion some day, and the French know it. Batna is a walled town, and the gates are closed at night. I stepped into a barber's shop to be shaved and found a gathering of Colonists smoking their cigarettes, we talked of the country, the crops and the prospects, the barber was, as usual, an authority. "Mesurez" said he, "you may be kind to the native, pay his wages, take care of him when he is sick, teach him in your schools, but when the opportunity comes (he waved his razor in the flourish of a *cum circumle*), il vous coupera la gorge. Voilà l'impérative." A warning of *resistance* was given by his compatriots. The speeches at the public dinner were characteristic. The Governor, like all Governors in all lands, simulated wisdom, if he had it not and spoke with reserve and a becoming sense of responsibility. I fancied, that I heard the echo of the platitudes of an old farmer in the Panjáb, and of another in the North West Provinces. I, the Deputy for the Department of

sore at having a portion of their own territory lopped off by a stronger Power, are the most ready to violate the frontier of weaker States having a strong feeling for their own independence, but none at all for that of their African and Asiatic neighbours.

Biskra is 410 feet above the level of the sea, after sunset I found it exceedingly cold in the month of October, and this is one of the features of the Sahara. Just below Biskra the traveller comes upon the chain of inland marsh lakes, which stretch across Tunisia to the Mediterranean. They represent the estuary, or drainage of the vast river courses of the Great Sahara, which are now dry and choked with sand. They are known as the Shott of Tunis, the three largest are Melghir, below the level of the sea, Jerid, which is higher, and Phara, which is lower. In ancient times they are said to have been an arm of the Mediterranean, known as Lake Tritonis. One of the magnificent conceptions of the French is by a cutting to let the Mediterranean into this basin, with the object of improving the climate and rendering the Great Desert accessible to steamers. M. Roudure, backed by M. Lessep, has placed his scheme before the public, which has been met by serious objections, the initial one being the certainty of an enormous expenditure with a very doubtful profit. All the French Colonies cost the Mother Country very much more than they can ever return. The budget of Algeria presents a serious deficit, and no wonder, when it appears that an army of 60 000 men is required to control a population of less than two millions in Algeria and an additional 30 000 for Tunisia. British India would not pay its way if the army had such a proportion to the population. At Tunis I asked my friend, the late Dr. Nachtigall, the Consul General of the German Empire what were the nature of his instructions as far as they could with propriety be divulged. His reply was very frank, that the French were to be encouraged to annex as large a portion of Africa as they could possibly desire. Prince Bismarck foresees the advantage of a large proportion of the French Army being detained on foreign duty.

Let me turn my attention first to the Senegál Colony. The prominent position occupied by this previously unimportant colony is entirely due to the energy and determination of a most distinguished military officer General Faidherbe, now Grand Master of the Legion of Honour but for twelve years from 1855 to 1864, Governor of Senegál. I had the honour of an interview with him at the Palace of the Legion of Honour at Paris in 1882, and he is distinguished as a Scholar as well as an Administrator. I found him entirely a cripple, and he attributed his malady to the pestiferous climate of his Province. It occurred to me, that I and scores of other public servants had been twenty five to thirty years in India and that we were generally stronger than our contemporaries, who had never left England, in fact, it is another feature of French colonization,

that of France. These children of the desert are divided into two classes, the nobles and the serfs. The latter are black in colour, probably the aborigines of the country, before the Berbers, under pressure of Arab invasion, retreated from the coast to the desert. The nobles are divided into four great hordes: 1. The Ahaggar 2. The Azjar 3. The Kelowa 4. The Auelmuden. Both nobles and serfs possess Negro slaves. The nobles are a remarkable race, preferring the desert and the tent to cities and fixed houses. They are monogamous, and allow their women full liberty in their action, and choice of their husband. The men wear veils, but the women have their faces exposed to view. Both sexes are tall, handsome, and intelligent, but as false as the Afghan, as addicted to rapine as the Turkoman, as quarrelsome among themselves in their tribes as the dogs of Constantinople. The inheritance of a man passes not to his son, but to his sister's son, and a man's nobility is graded by the rank of his mother. These tribes never have known a master, and probably never will. They may be improved off the face of the earth, like the Red Indian, but they will not kneel down as subjects. But there are other human factors to be dealt with in the Sahara, besides the Tawarik. Some are Berberized Arabs, like the Shamba, who reside near Wargla, some are Arabized Berbers. All are lax Mahometans, and still laxer in morals. Some formidable tribes are known as the "beni" or "aulid" of some particular person, like the Sons of Diarmid, in the Scotch Highlands. Such are the people.

Popular belief pictures the Sahara as an immense plain of moving sand, dotted here and there with fertile Oases, it used to be deemed a flat ocean, devoid of all differences of level, vegetation, and water. Experience has taught us, that it has a great variety of levels and characteristics, and it has its peculiar flora, and a certain, though limited supply of water, which might be greatly increased by art, storage, and good government. There are lofty central mountains, as extensive as the range of the Alps. Barth, on his journey from Ghat to Agades, crossed a range at Egeri, by a pass of an altitude of 4000 feet, the mountains are entered on the map as 5000 feet, these are the Azjar highlands. The highlands of Ahaggar are still loftier, there is snow in these central ranges and in all the narratives of travellers mention is made of the violent storms of rain, which carry all before them. Vast beds of rivers are traced through the whole region, and it is by them that the traveller finds his way, for they are entirely dry. The waters which flow Southward from the Southern slope of the Atlas and Northward from the central highlands, instead of flowing in the beds, sink into the sand, and take a subterranean course known to the Tawarik by covered reservoirs, to which they get access by a well in some hollow, or they develop into an Oasis. The French have largely introduced, and with great

that of France. These children of the desert are divided into two classes, the nobles and the serfs. The latter are black in colour, probably the aborigines of the country, before the Berber, under pressure of Arab invasion, retreated from the coast to the desert. The nobles are divided into four great hordes: 1. The Ahaggar 2. The Azjar 3. The Kelowi 4. The Awelummiden. Both nobles and serfs possess Negro slaves. The nobles are a remarkable race, preferring the desert and the tent to cities and fixed houses. They are monogamous, and allow their women full liberty in their action, and choice of their husband. The men wear veils, but the women have their faces exposed to view. Both sexes are tall, handsome, and intelligent, but as false as the Afghán, as addicted to rapine as the Turkoman, as quarrelsome among themselves in their tribes as the dogs of Constantinople. The inheritance of a man passes not to his son, but to his sister's son, and a man's nobility is graded by the rank of his mother. These tribes never have known a master, and probably never will. They may be improved off the face of the earth, like the Red Indian, but they will not knuckle down as subjects. But there are other human factors to be dealt with in the Sahara, besides the Tuwrik. Some are Berberized Arabs, like the Shamba, who reside near Waigla, some are Arabized Berbers. All are lax Mahometans, and still laxer in morals. Some formidable tribes are known as the "beni" or "aulad" of some particular person, like the Sons of Diarrud, in the Scotch Highlands. Such are the people.

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is a climate relatively healthy, domineering over the Upper and Lower Niger from its source to its mouth, the French will be masters of the Sudan. The object is to get the exclusive monopoly of the products of Central Africa, by being the first to get at it. The writer dreamt of a vast Empire of one hundred millions. He laughed at the idea of other European nations attempting to do the same, as if it were robbing France of its prerogative to have a preponderating influence in Central Africa, as it was not only her right but her duty to claim the exclusive privilege of civilizing the people, and the benevolent work of establishing an African India, to which France had a much better right than Great Britain ever had, or could possibly have, to the East Indies.

Such is the situation of the two Colonies of France, Algeria with Tunisia on the North, and the French Sudan and Senegambia on the South. Between them lies the Great Sahara. A few words on the political and physical features of that mighty region. On the East the posts of Ghadames and Ghat are within the Pashalik of Tripolitana, and are part of the Turkish Empire. An English Consul has from time to time resided at Ghadames, a Turkish garrison has from time to time occupied Ghat. On the West Figuig, Gurara, Angeroudh, Tidikelt and Ain Salah, in the Tuat Oasis, belong to Morocco. The more advanced class of French pamphleteers suggest as a step precedent that the Empire of Morocco should be divided between Spain and France or taken entirely by France, or at any rate Morocco should be asked to give up all the places above mentioned. Such an idea perhaps scarcely enters into serious politics, as the annexation of Morocco would mean war with Great Britain as well as Spain, yet still when once a tiger tastes blood, he never can have enough. No doubt the long necklace of Oases, 160 miles long, with 400,000 inhabitants known as the Tuat, are exceedingly tempting and Ain Salah and Ghat are the keys of the position. Ain Salah is equidistant from Algiers, Timbaktu, Mogadore, and Tripoli. Yet France dares not violate either frontier. She must work a central line from Wargla to some point equidistant from Timbaktu and Agades in the Oasis of Air, which is in constant commercial intercourse through Ghat with Tripoli as indeed Timbaktu is with Sus in the Empire of Morocco. There indeed the shoes pinches. There used in former days to be a direct caravan route from the Niger to Algeria but it consisted entirely of slaves who carried themselves and the light articles of export, such as ostrich feathers and gold dust, but with the abolition of the Slave-trade and Slavery, the intercourse with Algeria ceased, while it still continues in full force with the less scrupulous (in this particular) people of Morocco and Tripolitana.

But right in the passage of the French to the Sudan between the Morocco and Tripolitana frontier, dwell the indomitable tribes known as Tawarik or Amazirgh, citizens of a Republic fiercer than

ignorant of the language of the Kabail spoken by the Shamba their guide and the Tamashek spoken by the Tiwarik. This was a serious deficiency. They had with them one of the members of the religious fraternity of the Malometan dervishes of the shrine of Lemashin near Tuggurt which was believed to be a great assistance. Their guides were mainly of the tribe of Shamba, who were on friendly terms with Azjar Tuwarik but very hostile to the Ahaggar. Camels were purchased at a heavy price in large numbers. It was determined to follow the line of Wadi Igharghar the Ghur of Ptolemy the Geographer and leaving Ghat considerably on the East to get to the South of the central highlands whence there would be an open road to Timbukt. The distance from Wargla to Timbukt can be expressed either as 15 Geographical degrees of latitude or 1800 kilometres amounting to 1100 miles.

The Expedition left Wargla on March 5, 1880 and halting at many places the chief of which were Ley Durrin Ain Laibah El Adia El Boudh reached Lemashin on April 1 and Ain el Hajar April 6, where two Tuwarik emissaries came to the camp and told them that the Chiefs of the Azjar Tuwarik were at Ghat. This placed Colonel Flatters in the dilemma of either going to Ghat to which he objected or waiting for an unknown period the arrival of the Chiefs. It is characteristic that, though on an Expedition of a purely peaceful nature he regretted that he had not one hundred and fifty or two hundred of his soldiers to enable him to force his way. In his journal he tries to satisfy himself that such an organization would be just as safe as much more inexpedient as the fear inspired would be more potent than the presents which he distributed. He gives us also his views of the political situation. In the check and offer to his progress he detected the influence of Turkey which had lately occupied Ghat under the pretext of putting a stop to the eternal quarrels of the Azjar and Ahaggar Tuwarik, a kind of Turacy he detects the cloven foot of *pro fide Alios* always ready to thwart the legitimate expansion of France. Such reasoning would read as the expression of the narrow and jaundiced mind of an imperfectly informed soldier bitterly disappointed but General Faidherbe in 1881 after the destruction of Colonel Flatters flows himself to indulge in expressions about the magnanimity of Great Britain in thwarting France in her scheme to civilize Africa. It appears incredible that Great Britain should have anything whatever to do with Colonel Flatters' first expedition across the Sahara or even any knowledge of the project.

On the 16th April the expedition had moved to Lake Melkouch which proved to be their final stage. Colonel Flatters tried in vain to get an interview with Ikhoumeden the god Chief of the Azjar, who kept him off out of the way but sent some of his subordinates

success, the use of artesian wells. The soil is good, if only water can be obtained. Palms spring up in hundreds round the newly discovered water, and under the shade of the palm other vegetation. The fatal desire of the Tuwark to conceal these wells led to the destruction of many, and care has to be taken to keep new wells in repair, and prevent their being choked by the sand in motion.

The Wadi Igilghar and Wadi Mis are the two great roads, by which routes to the central watershed of the Sahara has been sought by the French, and never yet been effected. Guides are found with difficulty, but still they are found to show the way, and names have been assigned by tradition to numberless localities. The leading physical features are high rocky plateaux of hard gravel which retain no mark of the camel's foot, vast dunes, the sand of the surface of which is raised by the winds. These dunes are grouped in lofty chains, extending in parallel lines North to South and separated by stony desiles. Then there are isolated flat-topped cones, rounded off by the wearing away of the wind and rain, to all these features there is a distinct terminology, the horror of the scene can only faintly be portrayed in the pictures, with which the narratives of travellers are illustrated, and the intense fatigue and suffering, both of the man and the camel, cannot be described fully in words. The climate is indeed exceedingly healthy, but the heat intense, it is significantly recorded, that no firewood or substitute for firewood being found, water and coffee were during the expedition boiled by powerful lenses attracting the rays of the sun to brass vessels, and in a few minutes boiling heat was attained. On the other hand, the cold at night is intense, and such a sudden change of temperature must prove deleterious to health.

Commerce is put forward as the motive, but clearly conquest and glory are the chief attraction, there are no manufactured goods worth speaking of to be got from the Sudan, the raw produce consists of ivory, ostrich feathers, gold dust, ground nuts, and possibly cattle, on the other hand, there are inexhaustible stores of salt in the desert, and no salt at all in the Sudan, the profit of the salt imported into the Sudan is fondly calculated upon as being likely to pay for the expense of the entire railway from Biskra to Timbaktu.

I now come to the last act, and the details of the tragedy. The Government of the French Republic were induced to make the experiment of a preparatory survey of the Sahara, and the greatest prudence was evinced in the selection of the means; it was to be a Civil, not a Military, enterprise, and was placed under the command of Colonel Flatters, an Officer of tried experience on the frontier at Laghouat, from which point he had well considered the question. I certainly gathered from the Public Press, that he and his companions, though well versed in Arabic, were totally

ignorant of the language of the Kabail, spoken by the Shamba, their guides, and the Lamashel, spoken by the Fawarik. This was a serious deficiency. They had with them one of the members of the religious fraternity of the Mahometan dervishes of the shrine of Temashin near Tuggurt, which was believed to be a great assistance. Their guides were mainly of the tribe of Shamba, who went on friendly terms with Azjar Tuwrik, but very hostile to the Ahaggar. Camels were purchased at a heavy price in large numbers. It was determined to follow the line of Wadi Igharghar the Ghur of Ptolemy the Geographer, and leaving Ghat considerably on the East, to get to the South of the central high lands, whence there would be an open road to Timbaktu. The distance from Wargla to Timbaktu can be expressed either as 15 Geographical degrees of latitude, or 1800 kilometres amounting to 1100 miles.

The Expedition left Wargla on March 5 1880 and halting at many places the chief of which were Feij Duran in Tubah, El Ahlan El Bielh, reached Temashin on April 1 and Am el Hary April 6, where two Tuwarik emissaries came to the camp, and told them that the Chiefs of the Azjar Tuwrik were at Ghat. This placed Colonel Flatters in the dilemma of either going to Ghat, to which he objected or waiting for an unknown period the arrival of the Chiefs. It is characteristic that though on an Expedition of a purely peaceful nature he regretted that he had not one hundred and fifty or two hundred of his soldiers to enable him to force his way. In his journal he tries to satisfy himself, that such an organization would be quite as pacific as much more inopulent, as the few injured would be more potent than the presents which he distributed. He gives us also his views of the political situation. In the chapter now offered to his progress he detected the influence of Turkey which had lately occupied Ghat, and the project of putting a stop to the eternal quarrels of the Azjar and Ahaggar Tuwarik, and behind Turkey he detects the clever foot of *l'empire Allemand*, always ready to thwart the legitimate expansion of France. Such reasoning would not be the expression of the narrow and jaundiced mind of an uneducated soldier utterly unsuspecting, but General Sandherbe in 1881, after the liberation of Colonel Flatters allows himself to indulge in expressions about the ingratitude of Great Britain in thwarting France in her scheme to civilize Africa. It gives us in addition, that Great Britain could do anything whatever to do with Colonel Flatters and his expedition across the Sahara, or even any knowledge of it.

On the 16th April the expedition had reached Lake Menkough, which proved to be their final stage. Colonel Flatters tried in vain to get an interview with Lamoudden the great Chief of the Azjar, who kept him out of the way, but sent some of his subordinates

to spin out delays, while he, through the Turkish Governor of Ghât, applied to Tripoli for the orders of the Sultan of Turkey. The Colonel dared not advance into the territory of the Ahaggar Tuwari without some previous communication, he was therefore obliged to give up his hope of working his way through the territory of the Azjar to the Lake of Amadghar, which was the object of his journey, there was nothing for it but to retrace his steps to Wargla, and put off the Expedition for another year. Colonel Flatters went himself to Paris to report the diplomatic complications which had supervened. Thus ended without success, and yet without loss of life or disgrace, the first Expedition.

On the 4th December of the same year Colonel Flatters found himself on his return from Paris again at the head of his Expedition, slightly modified in details, but prepared to attempt the passage across the Sahara by another and more Westerly route. Before he started he received a message from the French Consul at Tripoli, full of anxious and sinister meaning, when read by the light of the coming catastrophe. The Governor of Ghât had written to Tripoli that Ahitaghien the Chief of the Ahaggar Tuwari, had received the letter, which Colonel Flatters had written to him from Lake Menkough, intimating his intention to pay him a visit, and had himself visited Ikhonuden, the Chief of the Azjar Tuwari, and reproached him bitterly for having encouraged the Mission to return, this reproach was quite unjustifiable, but it indicated the hostility of Ahitaghien.

The second Expedition took the line of Wadi Mâa. No European lived to return, so their progress can only be traced by the letters despatched on their route. They were heard of at Hassa Inafel on December, 17, 1880, at Hassa Messaguem January 6, 1881, at Amguel on Wadi Igharghar January 16, 1881, and Inselman Tikhien on January 29 1881. Beyond this we know nothing for certain. The fate of the Expedition could only be collected from the confused narrative of a few natives, who struggled back to Wargla on the 2nd of April. In this progress, Colonel Flatters had indeed avoided the Turkish influences at Ghât but he had got within the sphere of Morocco influence at Ain Salah in the Tuât Oasis. He recommends in one of his last letters, that a mission be sent to Ain Salah, strong enough to defend itself, but not having a military appearance, but the name of France speaking loudly behind it. He was clearly quite prepared to bring pressure upon Morocco, though not on Turkey. He came across a caravan working its way with merchandise from the Sudan to GL. lām s and Trip li. The exports from the Sudan were ostrich feathers gold dust, henna, dates, some cotton manufactures, carpets of the Sudan, and some black slaves. He found that the return caravan from Tripoli would bring European cotton manufactures brass vessels, tea and sugar. He came to the conclusion, that slaves were the most valuable article

of commerce, and as Slavery was forbidden in Algeria it might be expedient to substitute caravans of negroes under engagements for service which would be in fact Slavery in all but name.

It is noticeable that no member of the Ahaggar tribe had met the Expedition. A messenger had been sent to Ahitighen but as he had not returned they halted five days at Amguid. Colonel Flatters felt, that he was deflecting too much to the East but he dared not venture across the great and waterless plateau which obstructed his course Southwards. Their guide knew no route and none of the Ahaggar tribe had hitherto volunteered to show one. At length the messenger returned with a letter from Ahitighen intimating that his brother in law Shukkat ben Hanfi would meet him at a halting place further on and would be his guide. The Colonel believed the message, and his last letters were written in the highest spirit as he fancied that his passage to the Sudan was secured. He moved on to In elman Tikhin on the 9th January and wrote his last letters full of hope and confidence to his wife, his friends and the French Government.

Nothing was heard further of the Expedition till on the 21st of

to run out delays, while he, through the Turkish Governor of Ghat, applied to Tripoli for the orders of the Sultan of Turkey. The Colonel dared not advance into the territory of the *Abeggar* Tuwrik without some previous communication, he was therefore obliged to give up his hope of following his way through the territory of the Azjar to the Lake of Amadghor, which was the object of his journey, there was nothing for it but to reverse his steps to Wargla, and put off the Expedition for another year. Colonel Flatters went himself to Paris to reject the diplomatic complications which had supervened. Thus ended without success, and yet without loss of life or disgrace, the first Expedition.

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The second Expedition took the line of Wadi Mir. No European lived to return, so their progress can only be traced by their letters despatched on their route. They were heard of at Hassi Inafel on December, 17, 1880, at Hassi Messagrem January 6, 1881, at Amguid on Wadi Igharghar January 16, 1881, and In elman Tikhon on January 29, 1881. Beyond this we know nothing for certain. The fate of the Expedition could only be collected from the confused narrative of a few natives, who straggled back to Wargla on the 2nd of April. In this progress Colonel Flatters had indeed availed the Turkish influences at Ghat but he had got within the sphere of Morocco influence at Ain Salah in the *Sant* Oasis. He recommends in one of his last letters, that a mission be sent to Ain Salah, strong enough to defend itself, but not having a military appearance but the name of *Frances* speaking loudly behind it. He was clearly quite prepared to bring pressure upon Morocco, though not on Turkey. He came across a caravan working its way with merchandize from the Sudan to Ghadames and Tripoli. The exports from the Sudan were ostrich feathers, gold dust, henna, dates, some cotton manufactures, carpets of the Sudan, and some black slaves. He found that the return caravan from Tripoli would bring European cotton manufactures, brass vessels, tea, and sugar. He came to the conclusion, that slaves were the most valuable article

of commerce, and, as Slavery was forbidden in Algeria, it might be expedient to substitute caravans of negroes under engagements for service, which would be in fact Slavery in all but name.

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Nothing was heard further of the Expedition, till on the end of April, forty native followers reached Wargla, in a miserable plight with the sad news, that all the Lusoians had been killed and the camp plundered. Several conflicting accounts of the details are given. Colonel Flatters, and some of the chief of his assistants were induced to leave the camp, and were killed, the Colonel falling by the hand of a Shamba Sghir ben Shaukh, who had accompanied him on both his Expeditions. Twenty nine persons perished in this first onslaught. Lieutenant Dinoux, who came and hid in the camp, beat a retreat, but he was followed. Some Tuwarik, pretending friendship supplied them with food which was poisoned. They then attacked the retreating party, sixty three in number and killed nearly all. A few took refuge in a cave, and held it, ending four men to Wargla to beg for help. When help came, twelve alone found their way to Wargla, all the rest were starved.

On the other hand, the following letter, which is published as authentic was sent by Ahitaghien to the Governor of Ghadames.

"You warned us to protect our land against the foreigner, and we have done so. Colonel Flatters came into our country, but the people have waged a holy war, and massacred them all, and it is finished. Dear friend let the news of these great actions be conveyed to Constantinople, let them know there what has happened, that the Tuwarik have waged a holy war against the Christians in an exemplary way, and that God has helped them to destroy them."

In another letter to a notable of Ghadames, Ahitaghien writes "For what reason do these Christians come to travel in our country? We never in all our lives saw them passing through our country. It is an impossible thing they are not Christians."

and from them a repressive control exerted over the Nomads. The French must adopt this quiet policy and they will find, that the Sahara will be more profitably conquered by the boring rod of the rsten well than by the sword and chassepot of the soldier.

Having thus described the Colony of Senegal and the interesting independent Sahara and the unsuccessful attempt to penetrate it, I now propose to give the history of the Province of Algiers. Fifty years have elapsed since the invasion and conquest of this Province of North Africa by the French. The idea was started by the Legitimist Monarchy carried out by the Constitutional Monarchy. Under the Imperial regime the greatest attention was paid to the welfare of the country, under the Republic an attempt is being made to introduce civil government, and as a corollary to the complete domination of Algeria, a policy of expansion has been inaugurated by the practical annexation of the adjacent Province of Tunisia.

Nor is the expansion of the French power in Northern Africa to be deplored. The extinction of the weak and retrograde Mohammedan domination was absolutely necessary to allow these once fertile Provinces to remain their old position as the granaries of Europe. France is the only European Power that has the strength and the will to make and retain the conquest. The pretensions of Spain and Portugal to the Western portion of the Coast belong to the past; their population is not sufficient for their home requirements and they have not the resources for a great struggle. Fifty years hence Italy might possibly be ready, but the year seems to be ripe and ready to fall and the solution of such a problem cannot be deferred till a political nation is strong enough to let her part in it. The Kingdom of Greece might, on the same grounds, put in a claim for a share obviously without the power to obtain or retain it. The Northern Powers can afford to look on with quiet disdain. It is a positive advantage to commerce to get rid of the Mohammedan system. Bismarck is credited with a kind of satisfaction at seeing his enemy thus weakening her resources. Great Britain can feel nothing but a quiet satisfaction at seeing her rival developing her energies in North Africa on the Senegal, and in Coolin China regions beyond the orbit of British influence, and interests for the very simple reason that they are, and probably will ever remain, entirely unprofitable.

It does not lie in the mouth of a Briton, leastways of an Anglo Indian to dwell on the moral side of the question on the injustice of foreign conquest and the destruction of national independence. The story of Afghanistan and the Transvaal is too fresh in the annals of the time. It can only be surmised that great nations are periodically liable to savage outbursts of lust for conquest and annexation that they feel that they

the strength of a giant, and must use it, even if it be to their own shame and injury. Whenever this tendency exhibits itself in another Power, it is at once sternly condemned: no words are too strong for the reprobation, but, when the fierce privilege is indulged in, however wantonly, it is qualified at home by the necessity of vindicating national honour or the public weal. This is the light, in which, with a kind of pitying wonder, the policy of France fifty years ago, when it annexed Algeria, and during the present year, when it has laid its hands upon Tunisia, must be regarded. My object is to describe the manner, in which the French Nation rules subject peoples, and the degree of qualification, which it possesses for introducing Occidental notions of justice and equality without offending hopelessly against Oriental prejudices.

Great Britain has under its control constitutional Colonies, such as Canada, Australia, the Cape of Good Hope, and others Crown Colonies, such as Gibraltar, Malta, Hong Kong, and others and subject Empires such as British India. The circumstances of each class are very different, and the attitude of the Mother-Country is not the same to all. That Great Britain has succeeded in the mighty work of colonization by her own people is a fact, which history can testify: that France has failed seems a fact, that cannot be doubted. It requires no great skill for a superior military power to hold possession of a Crown Colony, such as Malta, or Hong Kong. Portugal is able to do thus much. But the most difficult problem is the last: to rule a subject Empire firmly, yet justly, to give every blessing of civil and religious liberty, while independent Parliamentary institutions and political liberty are sternly denied, as things inconsistent with foreign domination. In this particular, Great Britain may be said to have, to a certain extent, succeeded. Portugal and Spain have miserably failed in Asia, Africa, and America. Holland is considered to have had but scant success, and France is still on her trial.

There are abundant books published in France to help us to form a judgment with regard to the success of the last fifty years in Algeria, and I approach the subject without prejudice and with the advantage of a tolerably accurate knowledge of British India during the same period. The problem is therefore one, that is not strange to me, and I have further had the opportunity of personally examining the Administrative system of Turkey in Asia and Egypt. The great story of *Modern Algeria* is a North Africa is to me not unfamiliar, and my particular attention has of late been turned to the state of the people of Africa generally. North and South of the Sahara. I have planned it in my mind to do what I now propose to do, accurately and impartially. M. Mercier, a Frenchman who has resided in Algeria for twenty-six years, has opportunely published a volume in French, called 'Fifty Years of

a Colony, or, Algeria in 1880," in which he impartially and with full knowledge reviews the history of the vacillating policy of France and the progress of the Colony. Another Frenchman, Jules Duval, who devoted his life and best talents to the interests of Algeria published several volumes in his lifetime, and since his death his Essays written at different intervals in leading periodicals have been published collectively, and are store houses of facts and suggestions. Meritorious works have been published by English authors too, as Algeria has become of late a place of resort for invalids who seek to avoid the winter of Europe.

The physical appearance of the country is simple. There are three regions. I. The Tell, extending from the sea shore to a distance varying from fifty to one hundred miles, an undulating, cultivated strip of territory but including the Atlas mountains, which run right across the Province, and the mountainous home of the Kabâil. II. The "High Plateau" formed by vast plains, separated by parallel ranges of mountains increasing in height as they recede from the Tell and again decreasing as they approach the third region, the Sahara. During seasons of copious rain, and where there are means of irrigation, this plateau produces abundant crops of cereals but otherwise it presents to the eye an unbroken stretch of stunted scrub-plants on which browse the herds and camels of the Nomad Arab. III. The third region, or Sahara consists of the Lower Desert to the East on the confines of Tunisia and the Higher Desert, which extends into the kingdom of Morocco. The features are quite distinct. The moving sand which is conventionally supposed to be a feature of the Sahara tract, is found in both but does not cover one third of the region. In the Higher Desert there are rocky steppes and the depressions between them are filled with sand the greatest depression not exceeding fifteen hundred feet above sea level. In the Lower Sahara not one point reaches that altitude. In the one the plateau is the prevailing feature in the other the depression. In the one rocks abound in the other they are totally absent. These facts should be borne in mind now that it is contemplated to traverse this region by rail ways to inundate portions with the waters of the Mediterranean and the Atlantic, and to pierce it here and there with artesian wells.

The political divisions are the central Province of Algiers, the Province of Oran on the West extending to the frontier of Morocco, and the Province of Constantine to the East, extending to the frontier of Tunisia. Algiers and Oran are sea ports. Constantine is inland but connected by railway with the port of Philippeville. Between Constantine and Algiers is the famous country of the Kabâil the eastern division has Blugie for its port and the Kabâil highlands, so celebrated for their picturesque beauty, and the dauntless independence of their inhabitants.

In the time of the Romans the Province of Oran was known as Mauretania Cæsariensis, the Province of Algiers corresponds with Mauretania Sitifensis, and the Province of Constantine with Numidia. Space is wanting to go back to the time of Syphax and Masinissa, or to those still more ancient days, when Carthage was the ruling Power in Africa. There appear to be no remnants of indigenous African race, such as are found South of the Sahara. When the first Phœnician settlement, who were of the Semitic Family, came from Asia by sea to North Africa, they found races already in possession cognate with the ancient Egyptians, belonging to what is called the Hamitic Group, but it is reasonably supposed, that there were also immigrants from Asia at a still more remote period by land. These races were called haughtily by their superior Arian conqueror by a name which survives in the word Berber and the language which they speak, extends under varying dialectal varieties from the Oases of Ammon on the East, to the Canary Islands on the West, and Southward to the basin of the Rivers Niger and Upper Niger, and the confines of Lake Chad. They are the same people, who resisted the Romans, and they have preserved their speech in spite of the successive domination of Vandals and Arabs, though the ancient Egyptians have lost their language.

slaves with the Moors, which have now been diverted to the duty of educating the Arabs of the streets. The evil had become intolerable, and continued down into this century no sooner was peace restored to Europe in 1815, than Great Britain undertook to chastise the Dey of Algiers, and in 1816 captured Algiers, and set no less than three thousand Christian captives free. But this lesson was not sufficient to bring down the pride of the savage dynasty, for in the course of an altercation about the compensations, due by the French Government to a Jewish subject of Algiers, the Dey had the imprudence with his own hand to strike the French Consul, and declined to make any apology. This led to an invasion in 1830 in force by the French, then ambitious of recovering their lost military renown, the dethronement and banishment of the Dey, and the occupation of the country. And from whatever point of view it may be regarded, it is a distinct gun to civilization, that such an abominable Government should be put an end to, and the North of Africa brought under the influence of European civilization.

Nature has been bountiful to Algeria, both in its soil and its climate. Its Geographical position fits it to become the entrepot of an annually increasing trade. It possesses in itself the potentiality of unlimited expansion by a more scientific husbanding of resources, and a vast increase of population, and therefore of cultivated area. The products of Libya and North America have to be conveyed great distances, the products of Algeria are within easy distance of Spain, France, and Italy, and its earliest harvests of European products enables it to supply the markets of those countries with fruits and vegetables in anticipation of the further harvests of Northern climates. The legend of the city of Rome having been fed with the corn and other agricultural wealth of North Africa has come down to us and appeared almost incredible, considering how scanty were the exports from that Continent under its Mahometan rulers. But the Exhibitions of London in 1851, and Paris in 1855, 1867 and 1877, opened the eyes of Europe to the extent of the resources hitherto unknown of Cereals, oils, fruits, fodder, wines, fibres, tobacco, cotton, silk, wools, dyes, wood, marbles, minerals, all these are forthcoming. It would appear, that in some portions of the Colony are found the products of the North, in other portions the products of tropical climates. Some of these are long established in the country. Other industries have been introduced by the French. Mines have been re-opened, or worked more scientifically. Every mineral, but gold, seems to have come to hand. The culture of the vine, forbidden by the Mahometan, appears to have been most successful and the phylloxera of France has been Algeria's opportunity. Under a wise Government, and congenial institutions, Algeria has in it elements of wealth and prosperity. And there is no doubt, that Commerce has been

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have alluded above draws particular attention to the undeveloped resources of the Sahara and the evidence of better things in former times in the existence of runs half buried in sand. The industry of man has sometimes on the shore of the sea or in the basins of rivers to contend against excess of water by strong embankments or to drain marshes caused by imperfect levels in the desert that same industry and engineering skill can triumph over obstacles of a different kind and the success which has attended the efforts of the French augurs well for the future. It must be remembered that the Sahara is not a dead level but presents an infinite variety of surface and the indigenous inhabitants have in their rule way stored the surface drains, or pierced rude wells, erected their huts upon some elevated ground, planted palm trees erected walls to protect their gardens from the encroachment of the sand or the attacks of the Nomads. But their labours till now have lacked stability and scientific supervision and intestine wars and tribal feuds have often proved fatal. The wonderful date palm is the feature of such desert settlements tall elegant, fruitful clustering together in dense forests. The date forms one of the main staples of the food of the people. Under the shade of these palms spring up figs pomegranates peaches and a coarse kind of grape. The rare beauty of these Oases is described in the brightest colours as the verdure of the trees and the cool shade present a grateful contrast to the lurid yellow heat of the sand. Animal life is described as gathering to these retreats. These seasonal surveys have been made of this region. During a certain season of the year the steppes are covered with a luxuriant and spontaneous vegetation and a wealth of flowers supplying pasture to herds of unlimited magnitude and the pastoral life is the necessary complement of the agricultural life of the other portions of the Province. We must not place an undue value upon this region and while the area of the Tell and the high plateau regions is so thinly populated it would be premature to dream of Colonies in the Sahara but its immediate occupation and domination have been found to be a political necessity. No civilised country can tolerate a No-man's Land in its neighbourhood as it becomes the refuge of rebels and criminals as witness the jungle of Central India in the old days the bush of Australia and South Africa in modern times. The French Government has therefore extended its jurisdiction to certain Oases notably Laghouat Geryville Biskra and Tiggurt.

Beyond the actual confines of the Province to the South lies the mysterious Oasis of Tuat a district of considerable size enjoying a desert independence. Here all the caravans from the North meet from Ghat Ghadames Tripoli Agades and Morocco to form a united party to traverse the great desert which separates them from the Sudan and the Kingdoms of Fumbuku on the Niger and Segu. The residents of the Oasis of Tuat are Berbers of the

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same stock, but speaking a dialect affected by alien elements from the South. The most enlightened Frenchman can never free himself from the deep rooted conviction, that all depends upon the action of the State, while the Anglo-Saxon, whether in England or North America, knows that all success results from the uncontrolled energies of the people.

Though the fact is unrecorded in History, there is reason to believe, that for many generations and centuries there has been an intercourse of caravans betwixt the Sudan and the Province of North Africa. Like the navigation of the ocean, it is indeed attended by dangers, but it is stated, that natives of Algeria are to be met with, who have found their way backwards and forward to Timbuctu no less than eight times, and for proper remuneration travellers are always found ready to make the journey. The physical danger and suffering are aggravated by the savage character of the Nomad tribes, who infest the main tracks, and levy tolls from the merchants. But all these features are known elsewhere, and yield to better acquaintance, mutual advantage and the gradual infiltration of civilization. The Tuarek, as stated above, are Berbers in a wild and uncultivated state, who have been pushed back into these inhospitable tracts by the more powerful races, who occupied the better favoured regions. The fact of their using an indigenous Alphabet, only gradually giving way to the Arabic written Character marks their position in the ladder of culture far above that of the Negro or the savage. Their Religion sits lightly upon them. The work of civilization appears to require the labour of a century rather than of the few years already bestowed upon it. Good organized caravans, proceeding at stated periods, within a reasonable time, appear to be the practical aim which any English administrator would place before his eyes in this generation. He would mark out stations by the most convenient route at fixed distances, conciliate the Nomads by regular payments, and firm yet gentle treatment, teach them new arts and accustom them to unheard-of luxuries for themselves and their women. Their right to levy tolls, if they protect the passing caravans, would be admitted, and thus gradually a reign of order would be inaugurated. It is not clear that the extent of the Commerce, thus nursed and encouraged would for many a long year cover the initial cost, or pay the working expenses, of the cheapest form of Railway. We all know in British India that the railway and telegraph are the emblems and the agents, and the crowning triumph, of a Rule firmly established. No one seriously proposes a line connecting Quetta with Kanbhar, since the Afghan spectre vanished into the air, and British India awoke from the nightmare which for two years had oppressed it. The Tekke Turkoman look upon the Railway from the Caspian to Merv as a badge of subjection, and will tear it up

on the first opportunity. So will it be in this generation, and probably the next, with the Fuwank of the Sahara.

Such then is the country, and such are the people, with whom the French have had to deal. In the whole of the half century of occupation circumstances have been in their favour. They have had plenty of money and plenty of men, and they have been willing to bury a great deal of both in Algeria. No hostile fleet in the Mediterranean has intercepted their convoys: no long European war has weakened their resources: no change of dynasty, ministry, or form of government, has modified the fixed determined policy to occupy Algeria. The captive Sovereign, whom they displaced, was deported with his family, and neither have been heard of since. The patriot Abd ul Kadir, after waging an unsuccessful war for liberty, gave in and was deported also. The Sultan of Turkey gave in with a good will, and, being used to the process of amputation of limbs, made no sign of dissatisfaction at the blow inflicted upon his rights as a Sovereign, and the heavier blow upon the Religion, of which he pretends to be the spiritual head. Europe looked on in silence. Italy at first was too disunited, and after that, was too indebted to France for her own liberty, to make any objection to the occupation of Algeria. The extension of that Power to Tunisia, and the creation of a new Carthage, as a rival to old Rome, has not been submitted to so calmly. Spain and Portugal, which might have looked upon the African Coast, or at least the Province of Oran, as their own, were too weak to raise even a cry of remonstrance. Morocco submitted to the existence of a new neighbour at her very doors in sullen silence, and has been careful of giving offence. The Bey of Tunis did more, and entertained friendly relations, feeling no doubt all the time that cold shiver, which indicated that some one was walking over his grave. The sturdy mountaineers of the Kabylia at last gave in, and knuckled down to the new system. Be it ever remembered, that the struggle has been one of a united nation of forty millions, in the foremost rank of civilization, with every appliance of modern warfare, and an army and navy of the first class in the World, against a weak disunited congeries of tribes not exceeding two millions, in a low state of culture entirely devoid of military science, or a standing army, with a long, unprotected sea coast, dotted with practicable harbours, the whole of which were within three days' voyage from Poulon and Marseilles. Such were the opportunities.

From the first to the last the Province has been ruled by a military Administrator, in spite of the constant protest of public writers at Paris. At this moment the Governor General is a civilian, but it is clear that the principle upon which the Administration is based are not those, which in Europe are considered to be essential to Civil Administration. Let us sum them up: the Judicial

Courts in lay on lent of the Executive the reservation of the power of making laws to the Legislature, however constituted the prohibition to any soldier to do any act of any kind, until called upon to do so according to law by the Civil Magistrate, or ordered to do so by the Civil Governor, to whom the Commander of the Force is entirely and completely subordinate the subordination of the Civil Governor to the head of a Civil Department of the Ministry of the Mother Country We have a striking instance of this in British India If there is a fault in that system, it is that in some cases such as that of the frontier forces, the Civil Power has intruded upon the strict prerogative of the Military. But, as a fact during the last half century, in the newly annexed Province, as in the oldest no soldier, as such has the least authority over the people of the country If any Military Officer is employed in any Civil Department, for that period he ceases to be a soldier or under the orders of the Commander of the Forces, just as much as a Military or Naval Officer in England ceases, while on Civil employ to be more than nominally in the Army It is true, that in non Regulation Districts the Civil Executive Officer exercises Judicial functions, and that the Civil Executive occasionally issues Ordinances having the force of Law, yet under no circumstances short of rebellion when Military Law is formally substituted, does the Commander of the Forces exert any authority, except over soldiers and camp followers We do not allude to freedom of the press freedom of speech freedom of locomotion, freedom of worship freedom of education, freedom of commerce, such are the privileges and peculiarities of the Anglo Saxon alone in his Mother Country his Colonies, and subject-dominions extended to all under the British flag, but such privileges are unknown in their entirety to any other nations except Great Britain and the United States and are not, therefore, necessarily a constituent portion of a Civil Administration

What was the conception formed at Paris under a Constitutional Government continued under an Empire, and allowed to continue under a Republic? The control in the Mother Country is vested in the Minister of War, who, and his subordinates, contrary to the English practice are always soldiers The Governor General was to within a short period, and may soon be so again, a Marshal of France, commanding the troops, with the instincts and weakness of a soldier, and totally ignorant of the very elements of Civil Government Under him were three Generals of Division, placed over the Civil and Military jurisdiction of Algiers Oran and Constantine in each Division there were subordinates under the control of General and staff-officers Gradually, as time went on, and French colonies established villages a distinction arose between two kinds of Districts 1, those which might be called entirely completely civil, and where property was held in severalty, 2,

those which might be called tribal Districts, where the Land was held in common by the tribe. Over the former, presided Prefects, and Sub Prefects, after the fashion of France. Over the latter, the "Bureau Arabe," the peculiar feature of Algeria, an institution with regard to which we shall have more to say, for from one point of view, they seem to have done their duty nobly, and protected the natives against the overbearing colonist. From another point of view, they appear justly open to the severe condemnation, heaped upon them by some of the Parisian journalists, by one of whom this sentiment is expressed, the result of experience, as he himself had spent some years in Algeria, that the worst form of Civil Government was preferable to the best system of Military Government. I agree in this sentiment, for such rule is the worst form of personal rule. The military Officer is liable to constant removal, from military considerations. He is entirely ignorant of the language of a people, with whom he has come in contact for the first time. Of the laws, the customs having the force of law, the procedure, the details of administration, he is as totally and entirely ignorant as the civilian is of the drill, and the orderly room. The French soldier has, moreover, a hearty dislike for the Pequin, or civilian, even in France. What would be his feelings towards the Arab, the Berber, and the Algerian Jew?

Those, who are acquainted with the details of our rule in British India, can realize what this meant by imagining the disappearance from that country of the Viceroy, his Council the High Courts, and all the Civil staff from the Lieutenant Governor down to the Magistrate, and the Commander in Chief being vested with the power of Civil Government, the Divisional Generals, increased in numbers placed in charge of the jurisdiction now exercised by Commissioners in the Panyal, and Field-officers exercising the power of the Deputy Commissioners, Officers fresh from England, and not relieved of regimental duties, moving about according to the usual habits, ignorant of language, customs, law, and routine. No doubt they would be brave, honourable, right minded men, a little hasty, and self-willed, quite ready to draw the sword and take strong measures. We can imagine them the dupes of their native Officials, the Native Police and Revenue-officers in the so-called Civil Districts. On the other hand, the Bureau Arabe, entrusted to able and competent Officers, would be very effective, though rather high handed, and jealous of interference. That such is the case, there can be no doubt, as one of the complaints against them is, that they stand up against their countrymen in the interest of the people entrusted to them, a fault of which the majority of the Officials in British India are we are thankful to say, equally guilty, and that, though technically subordinate to the Officer commanding the District, they are prone to exert an independent authority, which, considering that they are well acquainted with the people from continuous

in protecting the tribal lands of the Nomads from the appropriation of land speculators and agricultural companies perhaps they were wrong in adopting the loose social views of their protégés and for getting that they were Christians and gentlemen but such men as these are of the same type and brotherhood as that great and glorious body of Political Officers and non-legislative administrators who have saved British India in the hour of peril kept at bay the men with the red tape and the Revenue-sponge and stayed off Rebellion in newly annexed Provinces by the iron hand in the velvet glove the personal rule the high and really administrative the gallant and daring bearing which awed and attached and at length subdued those who came under their influence. Such men are hand in glove in the legends of North India Sleeman and Dixon John Nicholson and James Abbott and many others who respected and loved the people whom it was their destiny to rule and who were respected and loved in return.

Let us hear what the French historian says of the Officers of the Bureau Arabe. The results obtained by the energy tact and spirit of justice of some of these Officers were remarkable. Some of their names have become entwined in the legends of their people. With their lives always in their hands, without the possibility of any success or escape they learnt the art of disarming their antagonists by their dauntless bearing and established respect for the French name and thus brought about a state of security of life and property previously unknown. Their mode of procedure was inexorable severity rigid conception of plans and instant execution and such a policy was unpalatable to such a people. From the first they hazarded the eyes and gaunted the spirit of the tribes, and established the moral superiority of a dominant race. If to this be added open and unhesitating partiality of words unflinching truthfulness and a wealth of pardon and forgiveness without limit the art of ruling subject-races in an inferior state of culture is revealed. Future can always be traced to some regard economy some low deceit some rancorous revenge some dishonourable intrigue.

Unhappily the best of institutions have a tendency to decay or to transformation from the influence of lower motives. The exercise of uncontrolled power brings with it the seeds of its own ruin. The Bureau Arabe did not escape this fatality. The head of the Bureau became a Sultan or in Anglo-Indian parlance, *Buldar* and roused the envy of his brother Officers in military service and the indignation of the French colonists. Their honesty was suspected and instead of courting they resented, the criticism of the public Press. In 1857 arose a terrible scandal in one of the Bureaux all the years of good service were forgotten and the failure of one led to the unjust condemnation of all.

The constant change of the political horizon in the Mother

Country appears to have had a disastrous effect on the institutions of the Colony. In 1848 the Republic inaugurated a dualism of Civil and Military Authorities, which must have ended in conflicts, for French men seem incapable of conceiving the simplicity of a Civil administration with the Military Department in entire subordination. With the Empire in 1851 the Military Authorities obtained predominance, because political offenders were deported from France to Algeria, and the necessity of further military operations became paramount. In 1848 a Ministry of Algiers and the Colonies was created under the superintendence of Prince Jerome Napoleon, the victorious Planchon, who never even visited Algeria, but who initiated a number of reforms some premature, all abortive, for the war in Italy broke out the next year, and his connexion with Algiers at once ceased. The tendency of his reforms was to increase the extent of territory under Civil Government and to restrict that under Military Government, and to introduce the system of Provincial Councils in each of the three Civil Departments. A considerable expropriation of land was proposed by allotting to each tribe a proportion supposed to be sufficient for their wants, and appropriating the remainder to French colonization. Moreover, the portion allotted to the tribes was to be divided, as personal property to each individual. *Bou vex Arabes* with a civil complexion were to replace similar institutions with a military complexion in certain localities.

These measures were abortive, they were well intentioned, but mistaken. Of what possible use could a Council be in the administration of departments in their rudimentary state of civilization? An intelligent Civil Commissioner was sufficient to work out the principles laid down by the Governor for his guidance. What a deep sense of injustice would be roused among the tribes at the sight of the reduction of their ancestral grazing grounds, and the sale and grant of their lands to French colonists? It is well to have a giant's strength, but not to use it as a giant. The notion of individual, as opposed to tribal, property is one, if it can only be inculcated gradually.

The Emperor Napoleon visited Algeria in 1860, and another change took place. Marshal Pélissier was made Governor, corresponding direct with the Emperor, military predominance was again established, and the Bureau Arabes of the military type held another turn of triumph. More than that, in a *Lands letter* in 1863, the Emperor announced to the Marshal, that Algeria was not a Colony in the ordinarily accepted sense of the term, but an *Arab Kingdom*. This raised a violent excitement among the French colonists, who had been tempted to invest their money in the country, and who protested strongly against the idea, but their objections to it were not admitted to an audience, and the Emperor carried out his policy, and ordered surveys to be made,

and the property of the tribes to be reserved to their use. In maintaining a military regime, the Emperor may have been wrong, but in protecting the tribes from the wholesale spoliation of their land, he was certainly right, and there is truth in his assertion, that Algiers was not a Colony, but an Arab Kingdom. In spite, however, of the strong Military government and the justice promised to the tribes, a serious revolt broke out on the frontier of the Sahara, a French detachment was cut to pieces, the Kabyle rose in arms, and it required the work of a year, and the aid of reinforcements from France, to restore order. Marshal McMahon succeeded Marshal Pélissier, who is said to have died from vexation at his want of success, and a terrible famine followed. The starving tribes crowded into the cities. Half a million are reported to have perished, and acts of cannibalism took place in several localities. The Press was strictly gagged but privy letters and an address of the Archbishop of Algiers round the whole of France. To the sword had succeeded famine, to the famine now succeeded pestilence, to which many of the French colonists succumbed. Alien Rulers of great foreign dependencies must calculate on the recurrence of such scourges. Great is the responsibility of a nation when it charges itself with the care of the weak and woe of subject millions. It is not conscientious and parental system of Government may fail to arrant such evils, but it can mitigate their consequences. A harsh unsympathetic system, mainly directed to the interests of the alien colonists, will eventually in the annihilation of the subject races.

The power of the Emperor was unmistakably growing weaker when in 1869 the Senate appointed a Commission of Inquiry, the result of which was the determination to diminish the Military system of Government. The news was received with enthusiasm in Algeria. In the meantime the war with Italy broke out, the Emperor disappeared, all his troops were recalled from Algeria to fight the fight of the Mother Country. The Military Government ceased to exist, and by decrees of the Assembly at Bonaparte, a Civil Government was established or supposed to be so for in fact, the state of affairs amounted to anarchy. The natives of Algeria looked on in astonishment, gradually they felt that their position with the Emperor were to be recalled to the Emperor, to the Emperor's will, and the objects of unjust taxation were no longer to be kept in subordination, but a right state of mind. At length a serious rebellion broke out, and a number of colonies were massacred, and was retaken by troops sent from France, but with difficulty. If the natives had commenced their revolt earlier, the Emperor might have been much more serious. At a great crisis a subject of serious nature, that an unsuccessful and prolonged war in Europe, must entail a ruin of the tribes.

in Algeria. The result of the revolt was the confiscation of a vast area of tribal land.

Under the Presidency of M. Thiers, a system of Civil Administration was restored, of the usual type, and an Admiral was appointed Governor General, but he fell in 1873, with M. Thiers, and General Chanzy was appointed Governor General by the reactionary party. He had been an old chief of the *Bureaux Arabes*, and knew the language and the secret policies of the tribes. He appears to have had singular qualifications for his duty, but, justly or unjustly he raised against himself the feelings of the colonists, and, when the result of the elections of 1879 crushed the hopes of the reactionists, he retired from Office, and was succeeded by the first Civil Governor, M. Albert Grévy, brother of the President of the Republic, who was succeeded by the present Governor, M. Tiernan.

General Chanzy's failure was not owing to his wishing to introduce the military system, for he was Civil Governor, and acted as such, but because he did what appeared to him justice to the natives, and therefore drew upon himself the hatred of the party of the French colonists. As stated above, a vast territory had been confiscated, and the colonists looked upon this with greedy eyes. But the General felt that a *modus vivendi* must be given to the tribes upon their submission, and he consequently settled them in villages, and assigned them a sufficiency of land, in fact, he allowed them to redeem their own lands. He did his best to carry out the law, establishing individual in lieu of tribal property. Any one, who has studied such subjects, knows that such a measure must be the result of time, and of spontaneous action. A less well informed public opinion fancied, that such changes could be effected by a stroke of the pen, and blamed their Governor for the slowness of his reforms.

The question fairly arises—would the Empire of British India have been built up to its present magnificent proportions, if, on every change in home politics, radical changes had been made in the local administration, and the shadows, that passed across the sky at home, had been reflected in the distant seas of the subject territory? There is little doubt that the opportunity of adding to, or consolidating, or maintaining, our Empire, would have been lost, had there not been an authority like the East India Company, and parent of party and instability to the contemporary current of popular feeling. Sometimes, indeed, a popular cry, a doctrinaire expedition, the crash of some great union or dominant school, heaved over the Province, and for a moment infused the pulses of the local press, or the discussion of the Council Board, such as the settlement of Englishmen upon waste lands, the general introduction of a perpetual settlement of the land Revenue, the invasion of a neighbouring kingdom like Afghanistan, as a supposed measure of self-defence, but these soon have been lived down, and the Powers of the country have

returned to their well understood principles of governing *it great country on the highest principles, and for the benefit of the people of that country*—to perpetuate!

From the first Algeria was treated as a Colony, and schemes of colonization were made, of the most faulty nature evidencing the inequality of the French nation for such enterprises. M. Duval expresses his wonder, that the vast stream of emigrants should flow to the United States and the distant Indian Colonies and not back out Algeria, which is so much nearer but the wonder ceases, when the history of the fifty years is examined. In 1848 the discontented workmen of the great towns were tempted by great material assistance, to rid their native country of their presence but they were not the material for agricultural colonies in attempt was made to garrison the country with military colonies but the old soldiers gradually disappeared. To check the schemes of the land jobber concessions were made gratuitously in small lots interlaced with the holdings of others who were entire strangers and some of these lots were in numerous detached fields. Those who are familiar with the interior history of villages in British India, can readily see the complications arising from such needless entanglement. Moreover, all the concessions were conditional and liable to forfeiture in certain periods, thus rendering all advances to the holders from banks impossible as there was no freehold to place in mortgage as security. Upon the principle of the Latin race the State was expected to do everything to select the village site to make the road to open the canal nothing was left to individual choice, or municipal exertion. The gratuitous concession of lands opened the door to favoritism and tedious formalities and delays instead of the simpler and more acceptable expedient of public sales. Wild schemes were broached of introducing particular modes of culture and particular products, ending in disappointment. British India has not been entirely free from such errors as if the experience of centuries had not taught the resilient agriculturist the mode of culture most suitable to the soil and the product likely to give the best return. In the region confiscated from the tribes, there was always the risk of reprisal from the ancient proprietors, and we read of massacres of whole villages, and hazardous escapes to the cities.

When the Emperor Napoleon in 1860 announced the new idea of the Arab Kingdom or in other words 'Algeria for the Algerians,' French colonization received a rude shock, or in other words, *French citizens were robbed of their patrimony* for the idea, that the vast lands of Algeria belonged to the French people collectively and not to the Arabs and Berbers who had held them in undisputed possession for centuries had taken deep root in the public mind, and it will be curious to watch the growth of this idea in the adjoining Province of Tunisia. In 1871 justice was again done to

the people of France by extensive confiscations, and emigrants from Alsace and Lorraine, who could not brook the domination of their country by the Germans, who were people of their own kin and language, left Europe and settled in Kabylia, upon lands which had been held by the free and independent Berbers since the time of the Empire of Carthage, so strange is the inconsistency of the human mind when roused by political passion. The ousted Kabail were not pastoral Nomads, but dwellers in lakes and villages and cantons, after the manner of the Swiss Confederation, living a settled life, practising the ordinary arts of their particular stage of civilization. The Cantons were leagueed together in a kind of savage Bund, based upon Republican principles, but tempered by an aristocratic element, evidenced by the existence of families of military or religious origin. It is as if the Government of British India had ousted some of the time-honoured Rajput settlements in the Lower Himalaya, and divided their lands among European colonists, to prove an apparent element of strength, but a certain element of weakness, when the great struggle for Empire has to be again fought out, and the hand of Great Britain is shortened. The great emigration from Alsace was not a success. Of the ten thousand who landed in Algeria, a great many sold their grants, and disappeared. The void appears to have been filled up by grants to members of the new class of the issue of French colonists born in the country, with the singular condition, that the grantee should be married, giving, as it were, an incentive to the increase of population. We have however, yet to learn whether the issue of French women in such a climate as North Africa retains the vigour and productivity of his European parents.

There are two regions in Algeria open to the colonist in the littoral region, where the soil is peculiarly fertile, small holdings may be exceedingly remunerative, and life in a village may be tolerable. But in the region of the Tell where the country rises in successive swells of low mountains and valleys to the high plateau, nothing but farming on a great scale can answer, and a pitiless picture is drawn of the adventurous colonist, who enters upon such an enterprise without abundance of capital, and capital is just the one thing which the French colonist does not possess. It is worthy of remark, as bearing upon the political future of Algeria, that a very considerable Spanish Colony has settled in the Province of Oran and many other Nationalities are represented. Experience has told us, that gratitude to the Mother Country is not to be expected from colonies of the same race and language. How much less from a motley collection of emigrants from people of other race and language. Never it will long rankle in the mind of the colonist of the next generation, that France has always treated Algeria as a foreign country. Influenced by the political necessity of protecting certain powerful interests at home, the policies of

the Colony have been placed at a disadvantage. Repeated protests against the unjust fiscal policy have been made, and in vain.

An acute observer remarks, that the French peasant, or farmer, is not an emigrant by choice. It is only those, who have failed in their own country, that are induced to venture, and these are just the class not likely to succeed. There is no religious persecution now, which has the effect of inducing the very salt of the earth to leave their ancestral homes. This germ of colonization has, thank God! ceased for ever. The Frenchman has now no political necessity to fly his country, and no talgia is one of his greatest trials, and it has been found in practice, that the facilities of return are too great, and France is too near to her Colony. The unsuccessful adventurer returns penniless to his native village, and by painting a sombre picture of the state of affairs, and suppressing all mention of his own misconduct, he discourages others. The real colonist burns his ships, and lays the foundation of a new home, and thus is the secret of the success of the Anglo-Saxon colonies. Owing to the strange phenomenon of French domestic life, openly alluded to by religious and secular writers, that in a French home there is never a large young family, the material for healthy colonization is not forthcoming. It is the surplus, the young, healthy and vigorous, of young men and women, who seek an opening, that enables the English to people the remote parts of the World with a never ceasing stream of emigrants.

Another strange feature has forced itself into notice this very year. In spite of fifty years' domination, the French power has not been so exhibited, as to convince the Arab and Berber tribes of the hopelessness of any attempt to throw off the yoke. It is a struggle of a nation of two millions against one of forty, whose resources are within two days' voyage. In British India the problem is being worked out of a population exceeding two hundred millions being kept in subjection by a nation of thirty millions, whose resources are at the distance of one month's voyage, and no doubt there is great peril for the future. It is, indeed, strange to hear of an insurrection in Algeria following at once upon the occupation of Tunis, and, no doubt we are by no means at the close of that drama yet. Another notable feature is that the Spanish colonists of Oran, who have suffered so heavily in this insurrection, do not consider themselves French subjects, but those who survived, hurried back to Spain, and urged, through the Spanish Government, a claim to compensation from France for their losses. There may be tea planters of French or German origin in British India, or German and Dutch colonists in South Africa, but we doubt, whether any claim to compensation, urged by a foreign Government, would be listened to by the British Government. It would be, indeed, laudable to found a Colony, if the integral parts still maintained their original Nationality.

The French Colony has escaped the religious snare, and has incurred the wrath of the Ultramontane party in consequence. Entire freedom of worship is guaranteed, and there may be said to be no established dominant Church. Here however, the true line of policy has not been followed. We read of mosques converted into churches—this is an outrage unworthy of the century. We read also of mosques erected at the expense of the State—this is an insult to the common Christianity, which is presumed to be the heirloom of every French colonist. The priests loudly denounce the firm and prudent Government, which will not permit, in a Mahometan country, the offensive and needless display of a foreign cult in the public streets. They equally denounce, and with as little reason, the free licence allowed, from time immemorial, to the Mahometan to celebrate, in public, in his own country, his annual festivals. Religionists must be blind, who do not perceive the equity, which underlies this distinction. The Hindu and Mahometan are allowed in British India a licence of religious external display, which would not be tolerated for a moment in Great Britain, or in any Christian Colony, or to the Salvation Army in India.

Let us examine the returns of the census of the European population in 1877, the latest available

French, born in France or in Algeria	—	—	—	156 000
Jews	—	—	—	33 000
Other European nations	—	—	—	156 000
Civil establishments	—	—	—	9 000
Army	—	—	—	51 000
Total	—	—	—	405 000

Of the French some are Creoles, that is to say, born of French parents, in the colony, of the second generation, who have never seen France, and who have colonial culture and prejudices. It is shown conclusively, that the birth rate exceeds the death rate, and that the average number of the family is larger than in France, which is not saying much. Frenchmen may flatter themselves, that their colonists will be the same as themselves—we have the notable instance of the French Huguenots of South Africa having passed entirely into the status and culture of Dutch Boers and abandoned the French language. The French of Canada and the Mauritius care little for France, though very much for their own liberties. It is quite a dream to suppose, that the inhabitants of Algeria will identify themselves with France, as soon as they are able to stand alone. Attention is called to the size of the army of occupation, and the cost, which that must entail upon the Mother Country. Compare that with the regiment or two, which forms the garrison of an English Colony, and the expense of which is grudgingly supplied by Great Britain, who, instead of shutting her

ports to the exports of her Colonies, finds the ports of her Colonies partially closed to her own manufactures

What shall be said of a Colony, in which the European population is composed of the same number of French inhabitants as of other European nations? The Spaniards alone number 90,000, and are settled in the Province of Oran, which, as late as the year 1792, belonged to the Crown of Spain, which they still regard as belonging to themselves, and which resembles so much their own climate. None of these strangers take the trouble of naturalizing themselves as French citizens, because they have greater advantages as strangers: they are not liable to military service, or civil duties, such as those of jurymen, and can appeal to their Consul at discretion. On the other hand, though forming so large a proportion of the population, they have no municipal rights, but have the scant privilege of nominating one foreigner to represent them all in the Local Councils. The inconvenience, if not danger, of such a state of affairs is admitted, and the Spaniards have lately been called upon to serve one year in the Algerian Militia, though not liable to serve in the French Army. The immigrants from the Balearic Islands and Sicily are of great importance, as supplying cheap labour, and thus necessarily push out the French immigrant, who requires higher wages, and who would be glad to exclude such rivals from the Colony, if he dared, as he has deprived them of the privilege of obtaining any concession of land. But if this state of affairs continues, we may see at not very distant date, when the Colony will become hostile to France, especially as the fatal policy of deporting in former years political antagonists to Algeria, and encouraging old soldiers to settle there, has given birth to a community decidedly hostile to the Mother Country, and apt to criticize and turn to ridicule her Administrative measures.

The population of 33,000 Jews is a remarkable element: they are all naturalized as French citizens, are in comfortable circumstances, have large families, and are on the increase. There are in addition, some 7000 alien Jews, who, to avoid the burden of conscription, have entered themselves as subjects of Morocco. They were all naturalized *en masse* by a decree from Paris, in 1870, and were, in fact, unworthy of an honour, which they had not even solicited. They have by no means amalgamated with the Europeans, being African by birth, culture, and prejudices. They devote themselves to small city commerce, to the entire exclusion of all European rivals. They appear to be very unpopular, and so far in arrear of modern French ideas, that, on their return from their year's service in the army in France, they adopt the turban and loose pantaloons, and the other customs of their country. It is self-evident that, in a struggle of the Colony with the Mother Country, this section of the community would be with the colonists, and probably that section of the colonists which would be the least

friendly to the French. It is quite possible, that, in the hour of peril, they would take part with the Mahometans against the Christians, whom they detest.

A more important subject is the indigenous Mahometan population, which is estimated upon credible data at two and a half millions. To Britons who dwell in British India tranquilly, and were handfast among the millions of Hindus and Mahometans, it seems strange to hear a Frenchman discuss the grave danger of the number of Europeans being one only in seven to that of the natives. It appears, that the indigenous population had in 1861 reached to two and three quarter millions, but has been reduced by epidemics and rebellions to the extent of a quarter of a million, but it is clearly again on the increase. To these must now be added the population of Tunis, to enable us to form a right conception of the political situation. The French writer, whom I have followed, does not think that the position will be safe, even as regards Algeria, until the colonists amount to one million, an event which is still a long way off. He admits, that there is not the least moral assimilation betwixt the two races going on, that the Arabs have not taken one step towards it, and he attributes this to the difference of religion, but this has not been found to be so absolutely a wall of separation elsewhere. No intermarriage takes place betwixt the two races—the number of Arabs, who have applied to be naturalized

son was respected, but this implied no right of alienation to a stranger. The pastoral tribes drive their herds to the region of the Sahara during the winter, and return in spring to the high plateau region, looking out for localities, where there is abundant pasturage, but not necessarily returning to their former stations. This kind of occupation may be necessitated by the physical features of the country, but it is difficult to reconcile it to the hard and fast rule of individual property. In Kabylia, and in certain localities, individual property does exist, and can be guaranteed in the ordinary way. The point of view, from which the colonists and their supporters regard this question, is unfavorable to the tribal system, because they wish to secure the surplus land, and the best land, to themselves. In British India the only question would be, what is best for the people, and what system will enable them to discharge their duties to themselves and the State best? In Algeria, there is always the Lathi greed, and the pressure from *Homo t.* provide land for the colonist. No doubt, historically, the right of the Arab is no better than that of the Frenchman. He came as an alien, and extinguished all that had survived of Roman or Vandal colonization, and sat down upon the lands of the Berber. Centuries of occupation have supplied him with a good title and mixed races and similarity of religion have bridged over the difference betwixt the two peoples. The French colonist has before him the task of extinguishing the Arab, if he is strong enough to do it, and of assimilating with the Berber, if the proximity of Europe will allow of such a degradation. The circumstances of Kabylia are quite different. A densely populous and mountainous country, parcelled out into separate properties, gives no room for colonist except on confiscated land, where the grant is accompanied by the undying hate of the descendants of the old proprietor.

Attempts have been made to open schools and colleges, but with little success as regards the natives. The institutions were, of course, of the French type, and the inevitable dualism took place betwixt the Civil and Military authorities. In the Medical College there were in 1877, 77 French students, 3 foreigners and 4 Mahometans only. Three Colleges at Algiers, Constantine, and Tlemcen, gave instruction in Arabic Grammar, Mahometan Law, and (Heaven help the mark!) Mahometan Religion. There are only 129 students in the three Colleges training to supply the Native Bench and Bar. There are establishments for secondary instruction at Algiers and the chief towns for boys and girls, but it is not stated, whether the students are Natives or Europeans, most probably they are the latter. As regards primary instruction, among the 31,000 students, only 2000 are Natives, showing that the impression made upon the two million and a half of Arabs and Berbers amounts to nothing. In fact, the French have yet to learn that the only way

tion as the Colonists, and have no more knowledge in their collective capacity of the offender than the Colonist, and thus policy of punishing the innocent for the guilty would only exasperate them, and render them hostile to the Authorities as their natural enemies, or compel them to become themselves brigands in self defence.

The only real remedy is that, which has prevailed in other countries viz. a strongly organized Police, of both arms, commanded by energetic Officers, spread over the whole Province in constant communication with each other, and under one head, thus defying all collusion of jurisdiction. Such a Police should have no judicial powers whatever, and be independent of the judicial Authorities, except so far as making over offenders for trial. Brigands, robbers, and cattle lifters would soon find the country too hot to hold them, and a Frenchman, like members of other Continental nations naturally suggests, that a passport system should be introduced and no native be allowed to move from his residence without a police permit but the Englishmen know that, as regards England, English Colonies, and British India such a measure is unnecessary, and hurtful.

Let me briefly recapitulate the heads and main features of the Administrative system as it existed in 1880.

I. A Civil Governor General, in whom is centralized every authority and who is responsible only to the Chambers. He presents his Annual Budget which is voted by the Chambers, and disburses the annually appropriations made to him through the Minister of the Interior.

II. A Corps d'Armée commanded by the General who is under the orders of the Governor General.

III. An Executive Council to assist the Governor General, with special duties fixed by law.

IV. A Financial Council purely of a consultative character consisting of thirty eight members, eighteen being delegates from the Provincial Councils, and the remainder high officials civil and military under the presidency of the Governor General. They meet for twenty days only, and, their duty being to examine and discuss the Budget, and apportion the taxes they are authorized to open out every question of administration.

V. Each of the three Provinces of Algiers, Oran, and Constantine, has a civil and military Prefect, and a military territory, and the General commands the Division.

VI. The Prefect, as styled by a *le général*, exercises the Civil functions and is represented in the subdivisions by his subprefect civil administrators mayors and *chefs de tribu*.

VII. The General is represented by his sub-divisional Commandants, Barons, Arabes and native chiefs, in the Military Territory.

VIII. The Civil Territory includes all the Land of the towns, and the external appropriations. The Military Territory is pulled back

year by year, and is chiefly in the high part of the frontier, & the sea coast.

IX. In each Province there is an elective Council of twenty Frenchmen, and six native magistrates, chosen by the Prefect, who have a vote: these functions are very much the same as those of the Councils General of Departments in France.

The chief sources of Revenue of the Colon are as follows:

I. Octroi of the Sea upon all merchandise.

II. Annual payments for holders of concessions of land.

III. Registration and Stamp duties.

IV. Taxes upon the natives: these consist of

1. The tithe on land, settled permanently in the Province of Constantine, but of a to annual revision in the two other Provinces.

B. Contribution tax on cattle.

C. Capital tax in Kabylia, and tax on perfumery in the Province of the Desert.

Revenue Officers make the collections in the Civil Territory, and the Bureau Arabe, with the help of the Chiefs, in the Military Territory.

The Civil Territory is divided into arrondissements, under a Sub-Prefect, very much as in France, but under him come several communes, and perfect communities. The former are composed of certain number of fragments or settlements of a tribe in the Civil Territory, having each their juma or Council. They are under the control of a civil administrator and elect a Council juma, of the president of the juma, and notable Europeans residing within the jurisdiction. The perfect communities are managed by a mayor assisted by an Elective Council consisting of a proportion of natives elected by their countrymen. These communities often comprise a large number of settlements. It is admitted, that the majority of such communities are good enough kind of people, but quite unfit for the really important duties of good upon them.

In the Military Territory the subdivisions, and going to a certain extent in the civil department are administered by a number of brigades. In the subdivisions are entrusted to field officers, captains, or lieutenants. An attempt is made to settle native communities in the Military Territory as soon as the people are fit for it. It is noteworthy that of the whole population of the Province, one million and a half are still under Military Authority, while a little more than one million and a quarter are conceded the privilege living under a form of Civil Government.

The current of French colonial opinion as represented violently and with unreasonable passion in the Public Press, acts to the effect. One party go in for assimilation with the Mother Country, abolition of the separate Government and the addition of the three Departments of Algiers, Oran and Constantine to the other Departments.

affairs. It must be remembered that this party forgot the existence of the Arabs, the Mountain, the Sahara, the climate in the hot season the language, and all the other physical facts, which render their political and administrative attempts futile. The other party go in for Autocracy and universal imperialism of the British Empire, who have to go to the expense of maintaining an army of fifty thousand men and expend millions in harbours, railways, fortresses, and so on, but to leave to the hands of French Colonists the administration because in their own opinion they understand the past and all the people of Paris, and the Chamber at Paris, having a feeling of France is not. It is as if the Government of British India were made over to the Europeans of the Presidency Towns, and the gentlemen in charge of the tea, coffee and cinchona plantations. What would the Arabs and Berber say to this? What would the Hindu and Mohammedan of India say, if they were left, not to the great universal imperialism and political experience of the British of the Mother Country, but to the contracted and narrow view of a Colonial Council? Does not an echo of this lunatic race come from Basutoland in South Africa? What has been the basis and may possibly be the ruin of the South African Colony? Is it that it is a majority to manage the Natives with Justice and Wisdom. The factor which strikes the reader most in the not moderate and noble of the French writers, is the entire absence of consideration for the Native. There is talk about and dealt with as Australia and New Zealand and Canada, and not as British India, Ceylon and South Africa, are talked about and dealt with. There is a craving for Home Rule, but Home Rule is a not dangerous land where the governing classes are to be of an inferior race supported by bayonet and the governed are to be unrepresented by their own delegates and not to have the slightest guarantee for protection of their interests in the presence of an independent body of public servant whose duty and pride and *raison d'être* consist in struggling up for the people even against their own countrymen. In the Legislative Councils there are as stated also a certain number of native members and it was to be expected they vote on the side of the Premier and therefore enable the Government Officials to outvote the elected French members. This is looked upon as a great grievance as the small body of Colonists would like to have the power to control in their hands the affairs of the Natives involving peace and war and the important considerations of policy to subject races.

The late incursions of Arabs into the Province of Oran then were of the Spanish colonial and the destruction of property have attention to another half of the misdeeds of the Administration. In the towns and villages, where there are no garrisons, there exist no arrangements to meet wild attacks. Every Colonist from the ago

will keep such tribes in order, and Law is administration to be devised, which will keep the haughty tribes in order with the sword, who by process of attraction are drawn to certain centres, and live intermixed with French Republicans, who expect to be treated with the same legal rights that are in vogue in France.

This leads on to the third and most ridiculous mechanism of the system. British India is governed by a *legal* system of absolute Rule. The idea of a Municipal Council in each Province, elected by any portion of the population, to assist in Executive duties would never enter the brain of the wildest theorist. The Lawist-man, who for his own profit settles in British India, accepts this legal system, and, if the law be departed from, his remedy would be appeal to the public Press, or to refer the matter to Parliament. Perhaps a benevolent absolute monarch, jealous of his crown and controlled by a popular assembly, is the most perfect machinery for governing subject nations who are unable to govern themselves, that human wit has devised. A direct Constitutional Government lacks vigour, energy, and rapidity of execution. An absolute monarchy, such as Russia and Turkey, lacks humanity, conscience, and publicity. In Algeria it is a farce to talk of Elective Councils, when the real population is so inadequately represented. The wallah and a quarter will elect the Civil Department's have only eighteen delegates *chosen by the State*. The Seniors and a half under the Military Authority are totally unrepresented. It would be better for the Arabs and Berbers to be left to themselves, and a few experienced, high-walled statesmen like MM. Albert Grey and Luridan are a good substitute for a Parliament. Mr. McMahon, and Churchill, who for the best of their hearts would act in the interest of two people, than of the short-sighted interests of, and the whole class of Colonial representatives by the elected members of the Council, with whom Lathiged and cheap labour are the first objects.

M. de Touquille, in a report upon Algeria to the Corps Legislatif, even goes as far as remarks, "that it would be preferable to prepare OMRs for the irrigation of the land, than to have prepared them before we have the power to irrigate in Algeria." It is a pity that the British in India "that the OMRs were sent out to irrigate were with few exceptions ignorant of the language and customs of the people, and were ignorant of the principles of the Algerian irrigation, which the representatives and apparatus of the Council of Living with the ruins of the old had been abandoned to the hands of the natives have improved the system at least in some instances. But it is a pity that even now, that the natives are always charged that there is no separate Civil Service for Algeria, and is a colossal mistake that men are sent to Algeria as stepping-stones to something better in France, or are sent there as to help to do the

ment for masochists in France. It is sadly remarked in "the volume" before me that many functionaries civil and military have lost their reputation by accepting miserable bribes, or by admitting to too great an intimacy Arab, who have compromised them, and made themselves centres of dishonest intrigues. A European placed in such a situation among subject races should maintain a lofty independence of character, an immaculate purity, a kindly but firm disposition, a readiness to listen and such transparent honesty of purpose and action as will consolidate the esteem, respect and devotion of the people, amongst whom he is thrown. Have the French in Africa considered the existence of their power, have they realized the ancient maxim?

Iercules to the confines of Tripolitana, but there he must stop, as a new class of interests is affected by any interference with the basin of the Nile. If it pleased the Republic of France to assume the imperial title of Numidia, Mauretania, Getulia, the Sahara, Senegambia and Nigritia, and to develop the resources of the North-Western quarter of Africa, the World would be the gainer. It would lead to a vast expenditure of French money and French lives, and cripple the power of France in the case of a European war, but it would not turn the Mediterranean Sea into a French lake, and the trade that would develop itself across the Sahara would scarcely be remunerative. The annexation of Tunisia will cost a decade of severe struggle; the annexation of Morocco will be still more difficult. The idea of an inland sea by letting in the ocean from the Mediterranean or the Atlantic, appears to be a vision; at least, the Great Sahara is at a considerable elevation above sea level. The real policy would be year by year to push forward posts and by artificial wells make new Oases, and get used to the wild Tuwarik, and teach them new wants, and show them new advantages. When Ismail Pasha was discussing the best mode of conquering Nijd on the other side of the Arabian Desert, he placed a lamp in the centre of a carpet, and asked his councillors how they could reach to it. Some bent over, and tried in vain to reach it with their arms, but one crafty adviser began to roll up gradually the border of the carpet, until with the out-stretched length of his body he could reach to it. The Pasha took the hint, and he went year by year by advances of his frontier posts to encroach upon the Desert, till gradually what once was distant came within his grasp. The French must do the same: it may be the work of years, and in that time, perhaps, the tribal possessions of land, which they work with a high hand to modify, may give way to individual holdings, as, in the progress of the life of a nation, it has done elsewhere. On the other hand, so unchangeable is the Sahara and the Nomad character, that it is possible, that both features may outlive another cycle of French Monarchies, Empires and Republics, and see Paris taken a third time.

* LONDON, AUGUST, 1881

CHAPTER XVII

THE INTERNATIONAL CONGRESSES OF SCHOLARS AT BERLIN,
LEYDEN AND VIENNA

In the first series of my *Lectures on Modern Oriental Texts*, 1880, I gave accounts of the Oriental Congresses held at London in 1874 at St. Petersburg in 1876 and at Florence in 1878. No one can doubt the great benefit that have arisen from the periodical gatherings as they have led to a marked advancement in certain subjects and the exact manner of scholars of different countries has tended to become more uniform and pleasant. I now propose to present under review the proceedings of the Oriental Congress at Berlin in 1881, the Geographical Congress at Venice in the same year and the Oriental Congress at Leyden in Holland in 1883. The detailed reports of all have been published.

The first Oriental Congress has been gradually increasing since 1874. Africa has been entirely absorbed and there is nothing to prevent our maintaining the same list. The real purpose of the gathering is to unite together all scholars who occupy themselves with the less well known parts of the world and to bring together information with regard to races, languages, languages, and customs.

International Congresses of the various Sciences, even from this point of view capable of being developed into very important institutions. While communication between different countries was difficult and occupied a long time students worked in an isolated manner gleanings which might be obtained from the books of their predecessors and scholars publishing after long years results which may have been already suggested by the independent researches of another. Now, with the varied means of publicity and intercommunication which modern science and progress have given us, things go on at a much more rapid rate. The results attained by individual students are immediately available for all his fellow workers and the races of the world go on by the use of electricity. The World thus becomes as it were, one large organized and divided laboratory and the necessity for such a central bureau as a periodical International Congress provides, makes itself more and more felt from day to day. It is, of course, a few years to get the machinery of such an institution

into working order but the International Congress of Orientalists may be now considered as having arrived at a satisfactory if not exactly a perfect condition. The first three meetings were found too attractive to mere tourists and light seekers and to that class of persons who think that a little of the reflected light of Science may be caught by mixing with the crowd of its professors or who seem to fancy that learning may be taken in through the pores by merely sitting out a meeting. It is clear that the presence of such interlopers can only impede real business since they can bring no technical or professional knowledge to bear upon the discussions. The Florence Committee accordingly, very properly decided that none should be admitted to the conference, but those who were recommended as fit and proper persons by the delegates of the various Governments and learned Societies, and this regulation is to remain in force. The term itself even excluded the wives and daughters of Orientalists from the privileges of membership but on the other hand provision was made for the diversion of the idle to the meetings, that the really intellectually hungry might be allowed to pick up some crumbs of comfort and information.

It is a time always to be pitied during the vacation of the Universities at a time when most men are taking a holiday trip. With all that in the delicate touch Congresses are a fault-finding machine for the whole world the cry of waste of money. The British Government never could send to the any recognition of any such proceedings either in Great Britain or on the Continent but the other Governments without exception make grants to meet the expenses of the Congress, mainly in the travelling charges of their delegates. The Secretary of State for India has been induced to do the same. Now that all the great Nations have had one turn of the Congress-Rotation it is felt that the interval of the assembly may with propriety be increased and that three or four years ought to elapse. One useful feature has already come under observation. It is due to the labors of bilingual scholars in the interval however brief it may hitherto have been.

One more reform is required. Greater severity should be enforced in the admission of papers on subjects of a scholastic and purely collegiate interest but not calculated to interest a large assembly or to leave a lasting impression. Lengthy papers should also be excluded. There is so much of low matter always coming forward so many subjects of startling interest cropping up so many monographs which require attention, that it is tedious to waste an hour upon a Dissertation or a narrow dissertation. It is desirable that the paper should arouse interest, lead to discussion, and sword being crossed by sword. The difficulty of language of course stands, and languages will stand on the threshold but no knight is warranted to enter the lists of an Oriental Congress, unless he is armed with a competent knowledge of the languages of Europe.

nations. The members then retired to constitute the *nations* into *Sections*; these were four in number.

A. *Semitic*, in which was included both the old Semitic of the Cuneiform Characters, and the modern Semitic. Sixty Scholars attached themselves to this Section, and elected Dr. Schrader as their President.

B. *Indo-Germanic or Aryan*, including Comparative Philology. Sixty Scholars attached themselves to this Section also, and elected Dr. Weber as their President.

C. *African*, including Egypt. Fourteen Scholars attached themselves to this Section, and elected Dr. Lepsius as their President, who was eventually relieved by Brugsch Bey.

D. *Last Asia*, to which was attached the subjects of Archaeology and Ethnology. Twenty-five Scholars attached themselves to this Section, and elected Professor V. von der Gabelentz and Dr. Huettenlocher as Presidents of the united Sections.

A considerable number of papers had been sent in previously in the English, German, and French languages, and were at once distributed among their Sections, which began their work in the different apartments all owed to them, and carried them on vigorously to the end of the week, when a final general meeting and a banquet closed the proceedings. It may be remarked, that the members of the Imperial Family, and the upper classes of Prussia, showed no interest whatever in the Congress. The matter fell into the hands of a kindly body of Professors, who did their best to entertain the foreign members, and were successful. It remains to notice the most remarkable of the subjects, treated upon in papers read, or submitted, or discussed.

The Semitic Section ran upon a high and pedantic line. Papers were read upon the so-called Theology of Aristotle among the Arabs, the Geography of Ptolemy among the Arabs, the progress of Arabic studies in Spain, the explanation of a difficult Hebrew text, remarks on the vocalization of the Pargam. It was necessary to be a specialist to listen with interest to such papers read or to read them, when actually in print. Some were very technical in kind. A Greek Professor brought under notice the fact, that in the synagogues of Corfu the Jews use hymns in the modern Greek language transliterated into the Hebrew character. When and how this strange jumble took place was not known. No doubt the devout Israelites, in their simplicity thought they were chanting in the language of their forefathers. Nothing is such a mistake as to suppose that the ordinary Jew knows anything about Hebrew: in North Africa he knows nothing but Arabic, in Poland he speaks a Polish jargon, in Abyssinia a dialect of Agau, in India an Indian language.

Professor Oppert, who was in great force, described later excavations conducted by French explorers in Chaldaea, to which he attached

the highest importance. Dr. Paul Haupt discussed the transmission of the Sumerian or Akkadian language, which at once brought Professor Oppert to the front. It is a controversy not likely to come to an end in this generation. Professor Sayce, of Oxford, read a paper on the decipherment of the hitherto undecipherable inscriptions on the rocks at Van in Armenia. This was followed next year by an elaborate paper in the *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society*, and the subject is of the highest interest. Equally so was the paper read by Dr. Strassman, of the Netherlands, on the Contra Tablets found at Warka in Mesopotamia, and now in the British Museum.

I pass to the Indo-Germanic Section presided over by the most genial of scholars, Professor Albrecht Weber. The first paper, by Dr. Wadrich on the Greek influence upon the Indian Drama, was most unreasonable in length, occupying one hundred pages, and unsuitable in subject for a Congress of young scholars and critics. It was an abuse of the opportunity to print this lengthy discussion upon a subject of second and third rate importance in the records of the Congress. On a matter of this kind there were, as was to be expected, two German Professors on one side, and two on the other, the latter standing up for the independent origin of the Indian Drama. Professor Oldenberg followed with an interesting and brief lecture upon the *Lalit Vistara*, the *Life of Buddha*, a subject handled by him with great skill and one of increasing importance. Professor Max Müller, of Oxford, followed with papers on two separate subjects. It is difficult to judge exactly the position of this eminent scholar. He was a German, who had chosen England as his domicile, refusing the opportunity offered to return to a dignified position in his own country. He handled both English and German with great facility, but, as often happens to those, who occupy an ambiguous position, he seemed to possess neither the confidence nor favour of his old or his adopted country. He was sent as a delegate by the University of Basel, which would have shown more self-respect by sending one of their own nation. It was not, that there were no British scholars forthcoming. By a kind of irony of fate the subject of the Professor's first paper seems to be the shortcomings of Great Britain and of Oxford in the matter of fostering Oriental studies. This hardly comes with a good grace from the mouth of one, who, under the patronage of English institutions, has risen from narrow circumstances to a position of dignity and abundance. In the *Rig Veda* alone the Indian Government paid the Professor nearly six thousand pounds, or an allowance of three hundred pounds per annum for eight years for editing the *Sanskrit Books of the East*. Surely these subjects are outside the region of the practical interests of the British rule in India, and relate to scholarship pure and simple. We could have governed India without the Text and Translation of the *Rig Veda*, and without the

Sacred Books of the East, they were added by a Liberal Government for the purpose of promoting Science.

In his second paper the Professor was more fortunate and he deserves our best thanks for the comment and pertinacity with which he followed up the matter and eventually unearthed Sanskrit Manuscripts in Japan far exceeding in antiquity any others found in India. It is pronounced that the date of the earliest Sanskrit Manuscript carried back to the seventh century of the Christian era. Altogether modern as this may seem compared to Egyptian papyri, and to some few Greek and Latin manuscripts it is a considerable advance over previous established dates. It was on this occasion, that the Professor produced his Japanese friends, Panjin Nanjo and Kenji Kawara, to whose co-operation he was indebted for the happy results obtained.

At the next sitting of the Section Prof. Monier Williams Bodley Professor of Sanskrit at Oxford, most markedly interesting, gave an account of the Sanhya and Bhagavata ceremonies and the place which the Rig Veda occupies in the daily morning and evening prayers of the Hindu at the present day. Scholars in Europe deal with the Rig Veda as something of a fossil and of a dead character, such as a ritual for the erection of the Temple of Diana at Ephesus or of Vesta at Rome. Sojourners in India take no notice of what falls so often under their eyes, the liturgical ceremonies of the Brahman by the banks of a river and know nothing of the Veda. Both parties forget that for three thousand years it has moulded the faith and inspired the prayers of a large proportion of the Arian race. The Professor went through in detail the recital of personal observations in his late visits to India the different stages of the morning, midday and evening services. One of the celebrated Gayatri prayer holds a special interest. Turning towards the Eastern sky the worshipper repeats these words, which take precedence of all other forms of Hindu supplication. Let us

meditate on the excellent glory of the divine vivifying sun may His enlighten our understanding. This incantation extends over thirty or perhaps forty centuries to a late contemporary to our era and to the Jewish Dispensation and yet still it is the law of life to millions. Such contemplations should have sheltered this ancient ritual as well as that of the Egyptians from levity or thoughtless remarks for they represent the efforts of uneducated man in these early days to hold in communion with their Creator. I with others therefore regretted that my talented and amiable friend Panjit Bhavarni Hari Bhavarni could have been induced to give a theatrial recitation of the ceremonial verses intoning them according to the nasal peculiarities of the Hindu world and portraying himself in a mode which produced the hilarity and ridicule of a mixed crowd of both sexes who neither understood the words uttered in Sanskrit, nor the solemn nature of the intended worship. All Religions are sacred.

appointed to thresh out the subject, but it is one of those, which each nation must settle for itself. No Prussia, Germany, or England will ever arrive at a common platform, nor is it of much practical importance, so long as each author maintains one intelligible system.

Professor Harkner's paper on the Calendar of the Avesta, and the original history of the Avesta Religion, was handed in for publication, the author being prevented from attending by illness. Professor Ascoli then read a most interesting and thoughtful paper on "The Ethnological Reasons for the Transformation of Languages." It really is a brief abstract of the contents of a large volume, published by this distinguished scholar on the subject. Dr Hermann Collitz followed with a paper "On a Peculiar Kind of Vedic Composition." The last paper in this important section was by a scholar of a country newly enfranchised to liberty and literature, Serris, Louka Marinkovitch, the representative of six millions, who had found a new status. His paper naturally turned upon the literature of his country, and he recorded the Persian, Arabic, and Turkish words, which had engrafted themselves in the vocabulary of the people, the badge and the record of their long servitude. Political liberty does not free the language of the conquered race from the impurities arising from contact with the conquerors. If India were to shake off the yoke of Great Britain, in their *lingua franca* would live for ever certain words or phrase, which would reveal to the historical student the foreign domination.

Finally, in this section, a strong representation was made to revivify, if possible the dying, if not absolutely extinct, Sanskrit Text Society. Founded in 1861 by the late Professor Goldstucker, it had done excellent good service in publishing texts, which, important though they were to science, no publisher could, or would, undertake. If at that it is hopeless, that funds will be forthcoming for the purpose, either from private or public sources.

I pass now to the African section. The attendance was small, but the subjects of great interest. M. Edouard Naville reported the progress made by himself in carrying out the duty entrusted to him in 1874, by the London Congress, of editing a revised text of the "Book of the Dead," that wonderful compendium of the eschatological views of the Egyptians. An approved text, after a comparison of scores of original documents, had at length been prepared, and a table of the variants. It will add greatly to philological knowledge, as well as the peculiar subject of the Religion of that wonderful people. M. Naville then communicated, on the part of M. Maspero, an account of the wonderful discovery of coffins and mummy cases, which had lately (July, 1881) taken place at Dar el Bahari in Upper Egypt. His attention has been called for some time to the number of Papyri and other objects, which

Arabs were bringing for sale, and the conviction had been arrived at, that the tomb of a king named Pinotem must have been by some chance discovered and rifled. M. Maspero, when he was at Thebes early in the year 1881, ordered a certain man to be arrested, who was supposed to hold the secret, and one of his brothers then revealed it to David Pasha, and the Khedive gave orders to have it examined. The find was wonderful: the most important mummies were antecedent to the Eighteenth Dynasty. Schemenr Ra Tasher (of the Inscription of Ahmes) mummy case only. Queen Ansera, Eighteenth Dynasty. King Ahmes I. (Ra men phet), the black Queen Ansera, wife of the foregoing, Queen Hout-ti moo hoo, Prince Mes-hout ti moo hoo, Princess Set Amen, Prince Se-Amen, eldest son of Ahmes I., King Amenhotep I., King Thothmes I. (mummy-case only), King Thothmes II., King Thothmes III. (mummy doubtful), Queen Sit kr (mummy only). Nineteenth Dynasty. King Ramesses I. (mummy case only). King Seti I. Twentieth Dynasty. Ramesses XII., Queen Nofemut, wife of Her Hor, King Pinotem I., King Pinotem II. (mummy only), Prince and High priest Masahirta son of Pinotem II., Queen Hathor Houtua. Queen A-t-en-af, Princess Nesikhonsu, Queen Makera, Queen Mautehmah, Prince Tot Ptahankhi Ramesses, called "the royal son of Ramesses," evidently a son of one of the latter Ramesseses.

Besides the above there have been discovered five royal Papyri, and an immense store of precious objects of all kinds, including the outer sarcophagus of a Queen Ah-hotep, whom M. Maspero inclines to identify with the Queen Ah-hotep, whose mummy and famous jewels have long been the crowning glory of the Dulak Museum. This identification promises to solve a problem, which has long baffled conjecture. M. Maspero is of opinion, that the royal mummies, of so many different epochs and families, were transferred from their tombs to this obscure hiding place, in order to defeat that famous gang of tomb robbers (*temp. Ramses IX.*), whose depredations are recorded in the Abbott Papyrus. Various Hieratic Inscriptions traced upon the mummy-cases and bandages of An-hotep I., Seti I., and Ramesses XII. state, that the removal was performed by order of the Prince King, Pinotem, son of Tanka. At the time (there being rebellion in the North of Egypt, and a contemporary dynasty of Semitic origin reigning in the Delta) the royal family of Thebes were evidently content to use this ancient burial vault for themselves. Beginning with Queen An-hotep, the whole line would seem to have been consigned to this spot for last burial here, probably the last who died at Thebes before the coming of Shishak. "Sunt et sua fata sepulchris." After the removal of the mummies of years these royal remains concealed in vain by pious hands, removed in vain by reverend hands to secure safety, have been transferred to idleness.

the Museum at Bulak and gratify the crave of inquisitive and unsympathetic Scholars. The Hindu Kings who burnt their dead, were wiser in their generation.

Brugsch Bey then read his paper 'On the Egyptian Ethnology' full of new facts and suggestions. He proposes to read the name hitherto supposed to be Hutennu as Hutennu and to identify it with the Assyrian *hutu* ('north') the original situation of the people meant being nearer the sources of the Euphrates. Khar, one of the Egyptian designations of Phenicia was he thinks similarly borrowed from the Assyrian *gharzu* (west). The Hyksos or Mentis he would bring from the mountains of Ham. Mentis Situ denoting the districts of Tigris and Euphrates. In Uchi the old Egyptian name of Cyprus he sees a word meaning empire and an indication of the important part played by Cyprus in the trade of the ancient World. He further finds a people called Kheta, to be carefully distinguished from the Kheta or Hitites on the North Western shore of the Persian Gulf and he explained the Lygmies and Blumines of Herodotus from Egyptian sources pointing out at the same time that Habesh is the name given to the Abyssinians on the Monuments.

Other papers of less striking interest were read by distinguished Egyptologists who made up for their paucity of number by their zeal and activity every scholar having something to say or present. It has often been said that Egypt by its history and its affinities is part of Asia. Assuming this for the moment the great Continent of Africa remained unrepresented in the Congress in spite of its many hundred languages and many millions of inhabitants. Africa's day has not yet come but twenty five years hence it will come.

At this Congress the compiler of this Essay read a paper in the German language on 'Our Present Knowledge of the Languages of Africa'. Unfortunately it had not occurred to me to imitate the example of the Oxford Professors and fortify my position by posing on the rostrum betwixt a Negro and a Hottentot and having a chat delivered to a fetish as a wind up so Africa fell still in bed, and no one seemed to care very much about it.

The Fourth Section was not important. Two sittings disposed of its scanty work even after the annexation of the Archaeological Section with its five members. Nothing can illustrate more strongly the one-sidedness and narrow views of European scholarship at the present epoch. How small a portion of the area of the world is occupied by the Indo Germanic and Semitic races, and how small that small area for the purposes of an Oriental Congress the whole of Europe must be lectured. Yet to this petty fragment of the World the Scholars of Europe once sheepfolded the other over a well beaten path restrict themselves while such vast fields rich pastures never invite their attention. Is nothing new to be

an interval of two years, and on the 10th of September of that year, the assembly was soireed in that quaint little Dutch town, which, however, occupies so prominent a position in the History of Science and Instruction. There were many gaps in the circle, many unexpected deaths, even in that short period. The wheel seemed to have turned backwards, for ladies were admitted as members of this Congress, contrary to the usual rules of Florence and Berlin. Holland enjoys an exceptional position in the Republic of Letters, and her scholars in every branch of Science hold a high place. The University of Leiden holds a high rank among Universities. Small though the area of the country, and scant the population, imminent as is the danger of the Low Countries becoming a part of the German Empire, which has a desire to possess herself of her German Atlantic ports and her Colonies, by no means would the disappearance of the Dutch from the list of independent kingdoms be more immed than by England. We have not indeed guaranteed the independence of Holland, as we have of Belgium, but we should have a word to say, and a blow to strike, before Antwerp, Rotterdam, Leyden and Utrecht, fell to the position of Hamburg, Lubeck, and Frankfort. On such occasions it was the happy privilege of the Dutch to appear as the friends of all, as they have no national antipathies, and are able to give all a hearty welcome. There is something peculiarly genial in the social character of the Dutch, an entire absence of stiff formality, and yet the taste bearing of high bred gentlemen.

The number of individuals, who took out tickets of membership, amounted to 450, and the number of those, who actually attended, was 219, but it must be recollected that the ladies were included, and the geographical position of Leyden was peculiarly convenient for English and French scholars. The following countries were represented: Germany, Austro-Hungary, Belgium, Denmark, Spain, France, Prussia, Greece, Italy, Portugal, Russia, Servia, Sweden, and Norway, Switzerland, Turkey, Algeria and Tunisia, Egypt, Tripoli, United States of North America, British India, Japan, Persia, Ceylon, China, and the Dutch Colonies in the Indian Archipelago. It will be perceived that for Europe and Asia, the representation has now become complete, and the influence of the Congress is felt generally, as an advancement of Science, and a legitimate expansion of interest in Oriental subjects of all kinds. The warm friendships, which have sprung up amidst representatives of different countries, who, under other circumstances, would never have met, and the subsequent interchange of letters and books, greatly facilitating research, have been the pleasing and profitable results of these brief but pleasant gatherings.

The opening general meeting took place in the Town Hall. The Ministers of the Interior, the Colonies, and of War were present, and the former presided, and made the opening address in the

and appointing the presidents. Consideration has to be paid to the number of persons present in previous years, the number and tastes of the scholars assembled and the peculiar interests of the country, where the assembly is held. There were formed on this occasion five sections but the first was subdivided so, practically there were six separate companies.

A Semitic (I) Modern presided over by M. Schefer (II) Ancient presided over by Dr. Schader. Ninety-one scholars attached themselves to this section.

B Indo Germanic or Aryan presided over by Dr. Roth. Fifty-three scholars attached themselves to this section.

C African (purely Egyptian) presided over by M. Lichleim with seventeen scholars.

D Central Asia and the Extreme Orient under Professor Von der Gabelentz with twenty-five scholars.

E Malayan and Polynesian, presided over by the Abbe Lave with forty-nine scholars.

This last was the specialty of the Netherlands with their extensive colonies in the Indian Archipelago. I now follow the proceedings of the modern portion of the Semitic section.

This branch of Oriental research seems peculiarly liable to be oppressed by cut and dried essays on particular subjects not of general or modern or developing interest, and leading to no discussion. I pass such over without notice. Professor Larl opened up the subject of Arabian music which led to a considerable and interesting discussion essentially depending on the knowledge of the subject. Professor de Goeje read a paper on the subject of the tenets of an Arabian sect which the lamented Professor Dozy was preparing for this Congress but did not live to complete. An interesting and important discussion then took place on the necessity of a complete Dictionary of the Arabic Language. It seems strange but still is true. The great work of Freytag is out of date. Lane has excluded from his lexicon not only the post-classical words but also those which occur rarely for which he contemplated a special Dictionary. The Supplemental Dictionary by Dozy excludes all the words used by Freytag and Lane. There was no sufficient and convenient lexicon available to the student of both the classical and modern forms of the language one of the most important in the world. It appeared that it would be impossible to organize so great an undertaking which would require the co-operation of so many scholars, before the great work of the Translation of Tiberius was got out of the way and disposed of. However, preparation could be made such as definition of the local dialects and of the words occurring in the most ancient poetry. It is to be hoped that the next generation will lay this matter to heart.

In the ancient portion of the Semitic section a startling subject was introduced by Professor Oort of Leyden but did not go farther.

to expect Professor Oppert had remarks and objections to make, but no practical criticisms can be expected upon such a subject, until those who are capable of forming an opinion have the whole paper in print under their eyes.

Professors Oppert then drew attention to the absurd notions, that prevailed in the middle ages among Christianists that the Jews committed murder in the course of their ritual, a notion which, apparently still lingered in some minds, viz. that of Europe. A discussion followed in which several distinguished scholars took part, on the meaning of the words in Semitic inscriptions. Did it mean the Supreme God only? M. Oppert and M. Halévy, the two famous French Jewish scholars, took a large share in the discussion of these questions, both of the Hebrew passages and extremely independent in their conclusions, and comparative in their mode of enforcing them. To both however it was conceded that they were profound and enlightened scholars, and even the fact of their entertaining different views had its value, as every question was made under the eye of a competent and hostile critic. M. Halévy closed the proceedings of the Semitic sections by an elaborate communication on the subject of the decipherment of the Phœnician inscriptions in the Hymn of South Arabia. He considered that these belonged to a form of writing extensively used in that part of Arabia before the birth of Mahomet. They relate to the worship of Idola and have an interest therefore religious as well as philological and throw much light on the pre-Mahometan period, which good Mahometans would make believe to have been a period of entire absence of culture. It is probably true, but that such was not the case.

In evening the Indo-European or Aryan Session. Two whole days a crowded assembly were occupied with the discussion of the origin of the famous cluster of Alphabets known as the Indian Alphabet made up of various variations through it the whole of Newer India, further India and the Indian Archipelago. Mr. Cutt, Honorary Secretary of the Royal Asiatic Society laid the question before the meeting in a brief but complete statement of the previous issue in the English language and distributed copies to his audience that they might more readily follow the thread of a complicated argument. There were those who asserted that the roots and the germ of the Alphabet were unknown in India in fact an invention of that learned and more so people. But the distinguished scholars who agreed so far differed totally in details. There were those who asserted that the Indian Alphabet like all the other Alphabets in the World is derived from the Phœnician Alphabet. It is the distinguished scholars who agreed so far differed beyond all hope of reconciliation as to the channel by which this derivation of the germ or borrowings of the idea took place. There were those who differed from both the preceding companies and main

upon British schools, they should be sternly resisted. M. Lehmann brought forward the subject of Jain literature, which is as yet almost to be explored, and which is, as it were, hunted, till the heavy Sanskrit trunks have got by, but it will occupy future Congresses. The President laid upon the table a memoir upon certain terms used in the *Avesta* prepared by Dastur Jamaspji Minocheherji, Chief Priest of the Parsi community of Bombay, specially for this Congress. It is to the same enlightened member of a most respectable body of Her Majesty's subjects that Dr. F. W. Geldner is indebted for several manuscripts of the *Avesta* sent for collation. It marks an epoch in scholarship generally and the history of a particular community when they enter into the Republic of Letters. All honour to them!

Professor Hübner then proposed that the literary Institutions and Universities of India should be admitted into the Body of the European Science and Research, that publications should be interchanged and freedom of communication established which would be profitable to both. To this the Section after discussion agreed, but as to a proposition of Dr. Leitner, that the academical degrees conferred in India by Universities should be reciprocally acknowledged in Europe they declined to discuss as manifestly that matter rested with the Universities themselves, and was scarcely yet of a practical character.

Professor Leitner of Bombay brought to the notice of the Section a memoir by Pandit Bhagwanlal Indrajit of Bombay on the great Inscription of Udayapur of which photographs had lately been made. The Pandit considered that he had been able to determine the real place of this important document, which belonged to the second century before the Christian era and related to a king of Halunga, who was a Jain and not a Buddhist. Professor Kern remarked that he had independently arrived at the same opinion and had published it in a work which however could not have reached the eye of the Pandit. The unanimity of the Indian and European scholars was of importance.

Dr. Leitner made a communication on the subject of the Profession and Secret Trade of the Argoes, or dialects of the criminal and wandering tribes of Northern India, Kabul and Central Asia and the cryptographic and other secret Characters of the Parsi and Kachhar. The introduction of Greek art into the Buddhist culture of the Langab. The photographs were laid upon the table of Greek Buddhist culture and the Section resolved to realize the great aim of the Society to place these interesting discoveries more at the disposal of scholars by increasing the number of objects sent to London and distributing copies of the photographs to the various Museums.

I now turn to the African or more properly the Egyptian Section as not a word was spoken of Africa proper. M. Hübner

tained, that the Alphabet was derived from the countries lying to the East of India. On one point all agreed, that the Inscriptions of Asoka, in the second century before Christ present the earliest ascertained form of that Alphabet in two variations with regard to the first of which the Northern Asoka, there was a general consensus, that it was derived by a particular channel from the Phœnician with regard to the second the Southern Asoka, there was a hopeless discrepancy of opinion. Some of the most celebrated Scholars took part in the discussion. It is one of those questions, which must stand over for the decision of the next generation.

Professor Bihler, in the name of Professor Max Muller, who was unable to attend the Congress and before the Section photographs of the ancient palm leaf Manuscripts, the description of which had caused such interest at the Berlin Congress. It was with great difficulty, that they had been obtained by a special order of the Emperor of Japan, to whom they belonged. In the memorandum accompanying, the Professor expresses his opinion that the palm leaves came to Japan not later than 500 A.D. from China, where they had been preserved some time previously. They must have been preserved in India some time before they were conveyed to China, so that 500 A.D. is not an unsafe date to be assigned to them. This date is confirmed by the similarity which exists between the Alphabet in which the Chinese Manuscripts are written, and the Alphabets used in the contemporaneous Inscriptions on metal or stone in Nepal. The facts thus proved, and stated are of the highest importance.

Professor Roth the President remarked on the new edition of the *Avesta* which was being prepared by Professor Gellner at Tübingen from the collation of a great many Manuscripts not previously accessible for the European community contrary to their previous custom had placed all their family treasures at the disposal of the critic. This marks a great progress in religious and literary science the value of which can only be appreciated by those who know the jealous, with which Orientalists hold their sacred books.

The question of transliteration into the Roman Character, of Indian Characters, then came up again and was fully discussed without any reasonable hope of any solution. We might as well stop as of European Scholars denouncing in the mode of pronunciation and transcription foreign words and characters. It is in the case of natural languages especially, that they should disagree on such subjects and it is waste of time to suggest any expedients. So long as we know the principles upon which each company of Scholars transliterate, and they keep to them, there may be no practical difficulty arises. If German Scholars should attempt to force their principles

upon British schools, they should be sternly resisted. M. Lehmann brought forward the subject of Jain literature, which is a mine still to be exploited and which is, as it were, shunted till the heavy Sanskrit trains have got by, but it will occupy future Congresses. The President laid upon the table a memoir upon certain terms used in the *Avesta* prepared by Dr. Ir. J. J. Minocherji, Chief Priest of the Parsi community of Bombay, specially for this Congress. It is to the same enlightened member of a most respectable body of Her Majesty's subjects that Dr. Goldner is indebted for several manuscripts of the *Avesta* sent for collation. It marks an epoch in scholarship generally and the history of a particular community, when they enter into the Republic of Letters. All honour to them!

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Dr. Leitner made a communication on the subject of, I. Professional and Secret Trade and the Argots or dialects of the criminal and wandering tribes of Northern India, Kabul and Central Asia and the cryptography and their secret characters of the Panjab and Kashmir. II. The influence of Greek art on the Buddhist sculpture of the Panjab. Photographs were laid upon the table of Greco-Buddhist sculpture and the Section resolved to memorialize the Government of India to place these interesting discoveries more at the disposal of scholars by increasing the number of objects sent to London, and distributing casts or photographs to Foreign Museums.

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of the Leyden Museum drew attention to the fact, that mummies were sometimes found crowned with flowers, and he suggested, that the crown was the symbol of victory in the battle of human life, and was decreed to those of the dead, whose life had been irreproachable, being a crown of recompense and reward, such as was alluded to by St Paul in the Epistle to Timothy. The idea is beautiful, and has the merit of novelty. It was determined in this Section to confine the business to the reading of papers on the second day, and admit of no discussion. The subjects were interesting, but technical, to be fully appreciated only by Egyptologists. One feature of interest was, that two papers were presented by a lady, whose absence on account of illness was regretted, Miss Amelia B Edwards, who has done so much for the work of this Section. The papers were read by a friend, one of them was really of surpassing importance, as it related to the lamentable dispersion, waste, and destruction of Egyptian antiquities by an authorized and reckless plundering of the Arabs. It has been asserted that only one half of Egypt's hidden treasures have come to light, and that a persistent and systematic search would reveal wonders. All this is in the bosom of time. We may anticipate the day, when there will be an Archaeological Survey of Egypt.

I now pass to the fourth Section or Central Asia and the Extreme Orient. Professor Schlegel of Leyden made the astounding proposition that the Dutch language was the best medium for the translation of Chinese works. It would be inconceivable to suppose, that such an assertion could be made, so ridiculous in its national narrowness, if it had not been made. He had, however, another subject, which the Section cordially accepted to recommend, the compiling of an English Chinese and Chinese English Dictionary, on a plan and scale adequate to scientific requirements. Considerable discussion took place as to the method to be followed, but it was determined by the Section, and subsequently ratified by the General Congress, that an address should be made to the British Government to appoint a Commission of experts of all nationalities to carry out this necessary measure.

Professor De Rosny then brought on the tapis the subject of the most ancient Monuments of Japanese literature. He considered, that the eighth century of the Christian era was the remotest date, to which they could be assigned. There was no discussion, as the study of Japanese has not yet been sufficiently developed. His day is coming. De Feiler made a communication on the races and languages in the region of the Hindu Kabi, specially of the Hunza, expressing his hope to be able to make further investigations on his return to India. He remarked on the extraordinary gift of certain intelligent natives so quick as not to say go tribes, and the necessity of employing in such inquiries only men, who had the gift of languages as well as them, and who were at the same time of

patient and sympathetic dispositions. A wish was expressed by the Section, that the works of Dr Laitner on the subject, which had been issued at different periods should be collectively published.

The fifth Section, or Malay and Polynesian, being peculiarly Dutch, was well attended. Professors Pijppel and Vreede read hundred papers on the roots of the Malay and Japanese languages. It was pointed out, that there was an essential difference between a Malay and an Annam root, as the first were *long file* words, and the latter only scientific postulates. The Malayan root could be divided into two classes, the first consisting of words, which imitate natural sound, and the second of sounds accompanying gesture, which may be called involuntary sounds. Both consist of words composed of a consonant followed by a vowel, which was often closed by another consonant. Professor Kern read a paper on the affinity between the Mafur, the best known language of Dutch New Guinea, and the Malayo Polynesian Family of languages, in opposition to the opinions expressed by Dr Frit Muller, Professor Von der Gabelentz, and the President Abel Faure joined in the discussion, which was extremely important. M. Murro read a paper on the Lexical Affinities of Malagasy with the languages of the Malayan Family. The President, Abel Faure, who has himself published books on the Malagasy, remarked, how important Philology was in deciding the origin of a race. As from a geographical point of view it would have been imagined that Madagascar was peopled from Africa. Professor Kern remarked, that the presence of a few Sanskrit words in Malagasy marked, that the date of the Malayan migration to Madagascar was subsequent to the commencement of the Hindu influence in the Indian Archipelago.

M. Humme Professor of the College for the Training of functionaries for service in the Dutch Colonies in the East Indies, read a paper on the Peculiarities of the Javanese language. He asserted, that it was one of the most civilized forms of speech. Such hasty generalizations are often made by men who know one or two languages at the most, and have no means of comparing. If a professor of Mexican or Quechua were to get up and assert the same as regards the English Language which he knew, who can decide? There is one feature in Javanese, which is not in its favour that it has a high form used by men of education and a low form by the people, this fact is rather against the assertion that it is a civilized language, as such a linguistic feature disappears, if it ever existed, in a country which is badly civilized. The lower classes may pronounce words differently, and use different words but cannot be said to have a different language. He tried to deduce from the existence of the two languages the abstract fact, that language can have a great influence over the character and civilization of a people. To this I cannot assent, as we have before us in Africa, Asia, and Oceania, instances of educated

in the highest form being conveyed in languages, which were a quarter of a century previously entirely uncultured vehicles of thought, showing that the lowest type of language, if properly handled, is able to convey the highest ideas, and the highest type of language can do no more. Savage people may make their language, naturally beautiful, appear savage by their abuse of it, in the same way as the pure fount of English unluckily is disgraced by the slang and *colloquialisms* of the roughs. But it appears impossible, that a language can *per se* have any effect upon the people who use it. English and French, great vehicles of thought as they are become degraded beyond belief in the mouths of the West African and West Indian. Professor Hunfalvy of Buda Pesth then made a communication upon the different methods of counting in use in different countries, by fives, or tens, or otherwise. It was exceedingly interesting, but very lengthy and technical. Upon a paper by Mr Lang, on the subject of Oriental Proverbs, the Section recorded a wish, confirmed subsequently by the United Congress, that an effort should be made to collect in one Corpus all the Proverbs scattered in different books and serials in different countries, each one of which should co-ordinate by collecting its own.

This completed the work of the five Sections. Two general meetings of the whole Congress took place before it broke up.

The closing assembly for the purpose of business took place in the Town Hall, but it appeared, that many of the members had taken their departure. One question of importance was discussed - a wish was expressed by the Congress, that the British Museum would lend its Manuscripts to foreign Scholars. It was pointed out to the Congress by those, who knew the state of affairs best, that this, under the constitution of the Museum, was impossible, and, were it possible, it would be neither expedient nor safe. Expediency suggested the notorious recklessness and unbusiness like habits of great Scholars, who deal with borrowed books and Manuscripts mixed up with their own the whole being sold sometimes by auction - add to this the great risks of fire, and other damage, both in the course of the necessary journey, and in the private residences, or rather apartments, of the borrower. For play suggested the feeling of indignation which would be felt by the American or other scholar who had come a long distance to consult a unique Manuscript, and found that it had been exiled to a Continental tour for months. The India Office, the Royal Asiatic Society, and the University Libraries, undertake to run the risk and freely lend their treasures. The priceless treasures of the British Museum must be kept within its own walls. In the Appendix to the Report I remark, that a decided negative was at once properly given by the Trustees to the proposal.

It was then announced, that the next Congress would take place, at Vienna in 1886, and an organizing Committee was appointed.

The laws lent in a few chosen words bade the members farewell, and the Congress ceased to exist. But there was, of course, a banquet, from which the ladies were unghastly excluded, or rather relegated to the galleries, as spectators of the eating, and listeners to the speaking. The Minister of War represented the Government of the Netherlands. The toast of the King and the House of Orange, so closely connected with the independence of the Netherlands, was then proposed and received with applause, not without melancholy forebodings, that the days of that illustrious House were numbered. The health of the Ministry was then received with favour, as every reasonable man should have been rendered to the Congress, and it was announced, that a large collection of Oriental Manuscripts had that day been purchased by the State for the Library of the University, and this was justly accepted as a compliment to, and an expression of sympathy with, the Congress.

We quote from the columns of the *Times* an account of an incident apart from the ordinary programme of the Congress, but worthy of record. It had occurred to many visitors, that some return was due to the people of Holland for their kindness, and it was arranged that a subscription should be made for the sufferers in Java and Sumatra from the late earthquake. Accordingly the President, after the Minister of War had concluded his thanks for the second toast, gave the opportunity of speaking to Mr. Cust, Honorary Secretary to the Royal Asiatic Society, and delegate of that and several other learned Societies. He rose and briefly but clearly expressed the wishes of the assembled strangers. "Grateful for the hospitality received they wished to make some return. How could that be done? There were two subjects, strictly International, independent of Religion, nationality or politics. First, Science, which had brought them together. Secondly, Intercourse, and Pity for sufferers, which should accompany them on parting. Very of an anguish had come from the Islands of Java and Sumatra. Let them help them, and evidence their gratitude to the people of Holland by helping to alleviate the sufferings of the subjects of the King of Holland in the Indian Archipelago." The proposal was cordially approved, and acted upon at once. A troop of little girls with buckets fied down the narrow divisions of the hall, and in a few moments upwards of one thousand gulden were collected.

Many other toasts were proposed in French, German, Dutch, Latin, and even the Sanskrit languages. It was clear, that the Congress had arrived at a stage of incohesion, very like that of the House of Commons in the month of August. Quiet Professors were seen pairing off with their wives and children from the galleries, and finding their way into the cool street, while the festivity raged hot and furious within. Several orators were

on their legs at the same time, telling us, themselves of the spectacle, which they had enjoyed. Paul & Henry's visit earned him his brother-in-law Raul & Chulista were seen amidst a crowd of guests in Sweden, Gufarati and English, or in a compound of all three. Lively & cheerful and delirious and excited, and the compiler of this account started early next morning on a long excursion across the Black to the Caspian Sea, an account of which journey is given in Chapter XL of the volume.

But there was a third Congress, which is deserving of notice, the splendor and grandeur of which eclipsed the modest nature of the Oriental Scholastic. I allude to the Third Geographical Congress, which took place on the 16th of September, 1881, and the following ones at Vienna. These only occur after an interval of five years: the first took place at Antwerp in 1871, the second at Paris in 1876, and it was hoped that the fourth would some day take place in London. The compiler of this narrative had the difficult task imposed upon him of being in two places at once and it places him out as Berlin and Venice, and it was only by travelling at night and leaving the last day of the Berlin Congress, and the first of the Venice Congress, that he was able to take part in both. The Geographical Congress at Paris in 1876 had not been without practical results. I. A decided impulse was given to the cutting of the Panama Canal. II. Several new Geographical Societies had been formed in different countries. III. Several explorations by land and sea had been set on foot. IV. An ally had been started among European nations as to who should get first to the North Pole and to the Centre of Africa.

Everything in the Geographical Congress was on a much grander scale: there were no less than fourteen hundred and forty-seven members enrolled, and of these eleven hundred and thirteen were present. The countries represented were in the alphabetical order of the Italian language, the Argentine Republic, Austria-Hungary, Belgium, The Brazils, Canada, Chili, Colombia, Egypt, France, Germany, Japan, Greece, England, Italy, Mexico, the Netherlands, Portugal, Roumania, Russia, Spain, The United States, Switzerland, Venezuela. All these countries sent delegates and many great cities sent representatives also, and numberless learned Societies, for the subject of Geography touches upon every branch of Human Knowledge. Nor was the place of meeting unworthy of the great gathering of men of note from every part of the World. The Queen of the Adriatic never looked more bright and beautiful, and the weather was transcendantly lovely. New life was given to many half-deserted palaces, and a great strain was placed upon the powers of accommodation to receive so vast a crowd, for with the members, who

were of both sexes, came relatives and friends, and the prospect of a gala day on the Canal brought a quota of mere sight-seers. The King and the Prince of Naples and all the Ministry, and all that was distinguished and illustrious in Italy, were there. A great exhibition of geographical subjects had been collected and thrown open several days previously. The Doge's Palace was the place of the general reunions, while in the adjoining palace rooms were set apart for the Sections.

The President of the Congress was the Duke of Genoa, cousin of the King and brother of the Queen, but as a fact, he did not return from a voyage round the World until the very last day of the Congress and his place was worthily occupied by the President of the Managing Committee, Don Onorato Guiseppe Prince of Trino, who has since succeeded his father as Duke of Serrmoneta. The Presidents of all the Geographical Societies in foreign countries were Vice Presidents, and these, added to the Representative Delegates of all countries, formed the Committee of Management and most efficiently they discharged their duties. More than a year had been occupied in preparations and nothing was left unprovided for. Other Congresses may equal possibly, but none can ever possibly surpass the splendour of this. Where else will be found such a city as Venice, such a climate as the Italian, a Sovereign ready to take a personal part and be present all the time, as King Humberto, such a Congress room as the Sala de Pregala of the Doge's Palace such illuminations as those of the Grand Canal, so courteous and pleasing a people as the Italian?

Geography as taught in schools, is not unpopular and in after-life its study is one of universal and general interest. It is *par excellence* the subject, which attracts ladies and that numerous class of the community, who seek to make themselves (but often seek in vain) well informed. But Geography, as it was presented to a Scientific Congress puts on a formidable Gorgon like appearance elevates itself far beyond the interest, and even the comprehension, of any but the initiated. The subject was divided into eight Sections.

Section I Mathematical Geography Geodesy, and Topography

Section II Marine Geography and Hydrography

Section III Physical Geography, Meteorology, Geology, Botany, Zoology

Section IV Anthropology Ethnology, Philology

Section V Historical Geography

Section VI Economic Geography, Emigration, Commerce and Statistics

Section VII Geographical Instruction

Section VIII Expeditions of Discovery

If ever eleven hundred men were assembled to talk and argue *de omnibus rebus, et quibusdam aliis* it was on this occasion, and it

was difficult to see what subjects could not, in some way or other, be forcibly introduced, except those that related to Religion, which were rigidly excluded.

With a view of giving a fearful reality to the work, a long series of questions had been, many months before, circulated upon very abstruse subjects, to which answers were sent in, and the Congress ended by drawing up a series of recommendations of things, which ought to be done. We can only be thankful, that the Committee of Management did not possess sovereign power, for they clearly had all the attributes of merciless task-masters, and relentless slave-drivers, in the cause of Science. It cannot be said, that the subjects discussed in the Sections were in any way attractive to the general public, on the other hand, the general gathering of the whole Congress was exceedingly interesting. The great hall in the Doge's Palace, called *La Sala del Maggior Consiglio*, was declared by the architect to be unsafe, if its floor were occupied by the vast number, which its dimensions would admit. The smaller hall would only hold about seven hundred, and many were therefore necessarily excluded on the occasion of the first solemn opening by the King a person.

The Comte de Lesseps, of the Suez Canal, who represented the second Congress at Paris, opened the proceedings, and made over the authority, previously vested in the French Committee, to the Italian. The Prince of Trino read his inaugural address, and the Minister of Public Instruction then declared the Congress open. The Duke of Venice then addressed the meeting in terms of hearty welcome. He bore the wondrous names of Dante Alighieri. His speech was as beautiful and poetic as his name. There is a sweet melody in the sound of the Italian language, and orators on public occasions in Italy allow themselves a flow of poetic imagery, which would be intolerable in Northern climes. He alluded to Marco Polo, the father of all travellers, and drew attention to the vast progress of Geographical discovery since that time, and unto the days of Christopher Columbus, when what was really true seemed to the World to be folly.

"From the desert solitudes of ice, from the fearful African forests, made more fearful by the cries of wild beasts and the shrieks of savage men, from the ends of the World, a hundred voices are heard this day. They are the voices of the Warter Explorer, who fell in this great Odyssey, and it is the glory of Italy, that amidst all the voices are heard the voices of some of her own sons."

"After saluting those who are present, let me be permitted to salute those also, who are absent—absent upon the Ocean, or in some inhospitable country, who are searching their way through some perilous enterprise, or trying to compel the Virgin at the North Pole to disclose some portion of her icy mantle."

At the conclusion of the formal proceedings, certain personages were presented to the King, but, as is usually the case, the great Travellers who had done the work of exploring the real men of science, who had brought the science to its high level of practical efficiency, were allowed into the hall by courtesy, sycophants men in blue and gold coats who had contributed nothing to the extension of knowledge, and who to save their lives could not have answered one of the questions proposed.

I will notice one or two of these subjects which were discussed.

The Italians, Mantova and Misari, had just completed their tour across Africa from the Cape to the height of Biafra, and the ill-starred Mantova had arrived in England only to die. They had, in fact, discovered nothing for they went over ground traversed by others but the young Misari was listened to with pleasure, as he related briefly the outline of his journey.

Lesser told the Congress about the progress of the Panama Canal, and announced that by the time of the next Congress (1886) it would be open to traffic which it certainly was not. These were hollow words, yet the man, who has succeeded in physically dividing the Western Hemisphere for the sake of uniting more closely the inhabitants, may probably live to see his second great enterprise of dividing the Western Hemisphere, accomplished. General Farr followed suit and told the Congress about his scheme to cut the Isthmus of Corinth which was mere child's play. The much vaunted Trans-Siberian Railway was alluded to as something not within practical consideration. Much was said in the scientific sections of establishing one Meridian from which all distances of longitude could be uniformly counted. There is no doubt, that the Meridian of Greenwich will in the end, triumph, but nothing will convince a Frenchman, that Paris is not the centre of the World. Another question was as to the establishing a uniform zero of leveling. A discussion on this point also must be left to the future. Another question was the expediency of having Societies of Commercial Geography. As is well known the Royal Geographical Society of Great Britain exclude from its consideration all matters connected with Commerce, Emigration and Religion. There is, however no reason why separate societies should not be formed for the former subjects and no doubt that they will be of great utility.

* Allusion was made in one of the General Meetings to the assassination of President Garfield the news of whose death arrived, while the Congress was sitting. A vote of thanks was passed to Leopold II King of the Belgians, for the enterprising munificence and far-sightedness with which he had set on foot the International Association in Equatorial Africa, which, in the present year 1884, has risen to the dignity of an independent State, guaranteed by the Great Powers of Europe and the United States. It was a noble

idea to convert the basin of the River Kongo into a Free State open to the Commerce and religious Missions of all nations. Well might King Leopold be saluted with the title of "Africanus."

Venice is at all times and seasons beautiful, but on this occasion hospitality and loyalty added to its charms. The illumination of the city at night was perfect, 110,000 small lamps showed every architectural feature of the buildings in the Piazza di San Marco. The Church of St. Mark was illuminated by 12 reflectors, with electric lamps secured to the three Venetian maps in front. It is impossible to describe the surging crowd of 60,000 or 70,000 persons in the Piazza and Piazza, every window was filled with occupants looking at the scene. San Giorgio Maggiore, on the other side of the Canal, was most beautifully and artistically illuminated. The various bridges on approach to the square were guarded by soldiers who had orders to allow the people to pass in one direction only so great was the crush. The crowd however was most orderly and the King and Queen frequently during the evening came to the windows of the Palace and graciously acknowledged the cheers and shouts of "Viva" which were made. It took 200 men, I understand to light the lamps. For 47 years no such great illumination has taken place in Venice, and the one then (on the occasion of the visit of the Emperor of Austria) could not bear comparison as numerous electric lights were displayed on this occasion.

none could follow the discussions, and two years elapsed before the report appeared, by which time all interest had died out, and in this busy age other matters had become uppermost in the minds of men. The barest skeleton-report of each day's proceeding was indeed given, sufficient to make one regret, that it was hopeless to know more. In England or the United States, a full account of the work of each Section would have appeared in the evening-papers. Other and sorer things were said, but I will not repeat them. This Congress will be remembered for its utter want of order, for its perfect mismanagement. It is not a pleasant truth to tell, when all the Authorities, both of the Meeting and of the City, did their best; but it should be told for future warning. *C'est la confusion organisée* (organised disorganisation!), remarked a caustic Frenchman. The time for the meeting of the Juries was so fixed, as to clash with the meeting of the Sections. The very fact, that an Exhibition was held at the same time as the Congress, was injurious to the Congress as a deliberative body. There was no general meeting-place, or rather there were three; consequently, the Piazza was the sole rendezvous. There was no duly list of names and directions; the former were printed so as to be unintelligible. Hours of meeting were arbitrarily changed at the last moment; time was wilfully wasted in spouting long-winded nonsense. Not a few of the delegates fled, as soon as possible, from the *peine forte et dure*. In the midst of the meetings and the Serenada on the Canal, there were excursions to neighbouring cities, unveiling of statues, visits to manufacturers of beads: one thing was markedly absent except to a select few, banquets and entertainments. Perhaps the number was too great for even a Lord Mayor to grapple with.

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to the subject, who is not familiar with all. Professors fall into the error of discussing subjects which are too technical and scholastic. The great Scholars sometimes allow themselves to enter a world of too uncontrolled speculation and of rash and hazardous theories. Between this Scylla and Charybdis the arena of knowledge is always extending, and owing to the community of thoughts and personal friendships, which are the result of these Congresses, there is a great economy of labour and solidarity of investigation.

At the sixth Congress held in 1883, at Leyden, it was determined that the next Congress should be at Vienna in 1886. As the time approached, a Committee of Organization was formed at the latter city, consisting of six representative Scholars of different branches of Science presided over by Baron Alfred von Hammer, favourably known as an Oriental Scholar and a distinguished member of the Austrian Consular Service. His Imperial and Royal Highness, Archduke Ludwig, agreed to be Patron. The University of Vienna placed their grand new buildings at the disposal of the Congress. Circulars were issued notifying the dates and conditions of membership, which included ladies. The Austrian railways allowed reduction of fares and by Sunday the 26th of September the members had assembled.

Experience obtained in previous Congresses enabled the Vienna Committee to provide against all difficulties. The advance of cholera from the direction of Budapesth and the proceedings of the Russian Consul General in Bulgaria, seemed to place the Congress in jeopardy but everything came off betwixt September 27th and October 1st with the greatest success, and every one left

the Old Testament, was set forth, and illustrated by numerous examples including the Song of Deborah, and the Lament upon Saul and Jonathan. It was argued that the instances quoted were examples of syllabic and accidental as distinct from quantitative measures, and the author found in the metrical form of the early popular poetry of other nations, and in the fact that the old Hebrew lyrics, like those of many other ancient people, were written for metrical and voice accompaniment, intercalent grounds for the supposition, that the poetry of the Bible is not a statute of measured rhythm. Five Scholars took part in the discussion, and the proposition was by no means received with general acceptance. Professor Bickell of Innsbruck read a paper on the corrections to the old Syriac versions of *Kahla* and *Dammaz*, sent to him by a Syrian Bishop, the result of the comparison of the printed work with a unique old MS. in the monastery of Maron, which was made in the sixth century A.D. from the nearly contemporary Pahlavi Translation of the Sanskrit original. This same Pahlavi Text had been translated into Arabic, and thence into the language of the West, giving birth to that vast literature of fables and Beast-stories, which still charm children and interest scholars. In the Syriac text the Buddhistic origin of the stories is still very conspicuous. This communication belongs to one of the most interesting fields of modern research which crops up in every language and country and at every period. Professor Chwolson of St. Petersburg referred to a great collection of Syriac Tomb Inscriptions, which had lately been found in the Russian Central Asia Province of Samarcand, West from the Chinese frontier of *Kahla*, and North of the Russian Province of Turghana. The two graveyards belonged to the Nestorian Christians. Twenty-two of these Inscriptions had been published a short time before in the *Memoirs of the Academy of St. Petersburg* having been copied from the original tombstones or from photographs, or hand-copies: they were of importance both from Historical, Palaeographical and Linguistic points of view. The dates were from 825 to 1340 A.D., and a Pahlavi name appears in one, dated 825, whence it is clear, that the assertions of the Nestorian Missionaries that they had converted the East-Turkic tribes as far back as the eighth century A.D. corresponds to the truth. Great interest has been taken in Russia about this discovery and several learned Societies have undertaken to make further explorations and publish the results. Orders have been given to collect these stones in one central place, and Semitic Epigraphy will find itself enriched by many hundred important and historic Inscriptions.

The next rest speakers treated on scholastic subjects. Professor Ellis of Aberystwith in Wales discussed the well worn subject of Yusuf and Zuleikha under which name Lotiphar's wife is known in Asia, by the great Persian poet Firdusi, the wonder being how the

was treated as Semitic. Professor Grunert of Prague read a paper on Arabic alliteration. Dr Heim of Vienna followed with an Essay on the Financial Policy of Omar II, which he might with advantage have reserved for his class room. Professor Hommel of Munich introduced the well-worn legend of Barlaam and Josaphat in its Arabic form. I have no notes of what new light he threw on the strange story of the historic character of the great Buddha, passing by easy stages of legend into the position of a saint of the Roman Catholic Calendar. Hilmi Effendi Ahmad, an official of the Egyptian Court of Appeal, and one of the Delegates of H H the Khedive, read a paper in Arabic on the modern popular dialect of Egypt. This was a notable fact, and I shall remark upon it further on. Professor Karabach of the Vienna Museum, specially in charge of the celebrated Papyri lately brought from Egypt by Archduke Rainer, the Patron of the Congress, communicated some highly interesting results of his examination of the Arabic portion of these Papyri. One of the most interesting objects in Vienna is the wonderful collection lately found in the Papyrus. The President of the Congress, Baron von Kromer, then read a paper on the Budget of the Annual Revenue of the Caliph Harun el Rashid, based on lately discovered documents. I must confess, that this style of communication is more curious than profitable. Mihomet Rashid Effendi, Inspector and Translator in the Office of the Minister of Public Instruction in Egypt, and one of the delegates of H H the Khedive, read a paper in Arabic on the Progress of Education in Egypt from the time of the Arabic Conquest to the present time. When this is printed, it will be an interesting study. Professor Guddi of Rome read a communication upon Arabic Lexicography, a question which has cropped up at most of the Congresses, but to which no solution has been found. There were not many Italians at the Congress, and the presence of Professor Guddi was therefore the more welcomed. Professor Teza of Pisa was indeed present, but did not take any part in the debates. The absence of Amari, Ascoli, and Gubernatis was to be regretted.

Dr C. Snouck Hurgronje of Leyden introduced his *Mikham che Sprichwörter und Redensarten* (Mekka Proverbs and Sayings), published by the Royal Dutch Indian Institute. Dr Hurgronje directed attention to the prominent place, which proverbs and sayings occupy in old and modern Arabic speech, and to the fact, that there is hardly any contribution to the knowledge of manners, customs, laws and dialect of a country inhabited by Arabs to be compared with a collection of the proverbs and sayings current among them. Such a collection needing, of course, to be accompanied by an extensive commentary. From Burckhardt down to Landberg, many of the best Orientalists have given us collections of the kind, and they have complained of the neglect of such studies by the natives themselves. It so happened that the speaker, during his journey

home from Arabia, came across a young native Scholar of Egypt, now Arabic tutor to the sons of the Khedive, who were studying in Switzerland. This young man was, by his careful investigations, able to put a collection of 1500 proverbs and sayings at the disposal of Dr Snouck Hurgronje, who is now in possession of this valuable collection, which he intends to publish with a commentary as soon as possible. During his residence of one whole year in the Hijaz Dr S. Hurgronje heard probably some 1,000 proverbs and sayings of the modern Arabs but the Babel-like confusion of languages, caused by the gathering of Pilgrims from all Mahometan countries, makes it almost impossible to decide in every case, if such a saying was heard only from Syrians, and such a one from Egyptians. A collection, without such distinctions, would have no value. It is, however, easy for one, who has lived for six months at Mekka (as Dr S. Hurgronje), to learn to distinguish between what is actually Native, and what is foreign in the manners, customs, and speech of those, whom he encountered. Mekka, notwithstanding centuries of foreign influences has preserved its own peculiar character. This result is chiefly due to the conservative Sheriff families, who, from the first centuries of Islam down to our times, play a prominent part in the history of the Hijaz. Thus it is possible to collect Mekka proverbs and sayings, which reflect local thought, life, and language. The speaker stated, that his work would be in two volumes, the first containing the history of the Sheriffs of Mekka down to our times, the second a description of the social and domestic life of the present day, and of the numerous colonies of foreigners at Mekka. He regretted not to have been able to complete the first volume in time to present a copy to the Congress but he meanwhile published and presented a volume of Arabic proverbs and sayings in the vulgar tongue, collected by himself, and not to be found in any other collection.

Jakub Aitah Pasha, Under Secretary of State to the Minister of Public Instruction in Egypt, Chief of the Delegates to the Congress of H. H. the Khedive, presented to the Congress a Notice of the Proceedings of the Egyptian Institute since its foundation prepared by Vidal Bey, Secretary-General of the Institute, in the French language, and accompanied his present with a few remarks in the French language. He was followed by Sheikh Hamza Idhalla, First Inspector of Instruction in Arabic in the Office of the Minister of Public Instruction in Egypt, who read a communication in the Arabic language on the great influence which the Arabic language had brought to bear on general civilization. This was a remarkable subject for an Arab to handle. I have thus passed under review all the work of the Section of Modern Semitic.

In the Section of Ancient Semitic, sixteen communications were made, but five of them were not read or discussed, but will appear in the published Proceedings. Under a fanciful or inaccurate name

of Prolegomena, which might mean anything, Professor Bezold of Munich read a really interesting paper on the steps, that should be taken to compile a good Grammar of the Assyro-Babylonian language. Some Scholars of eminence took part in the discussion. Dr Feigl of Vienna read a scholastic paper on the 'Determination' in Semitic languages. Dr Ginsburg, the well known Talmudic Scholar of London, read a paper on a newly discovered fragment of the Jerusalem Targum of Isaiah. It was known in the Middle Ages, that a Jerusalem Chaldee paraphrase of the Prophets existed, as well as of the Pentateuch, but hitherto no portion of this Chaldee version has come to light. From the discovery of a leaf of this Targum by Dr Ginsburg, it is now established beyond doubt, that such a version really existed. Dr D H Muller of Vienna, gave the history of the sound of the letter "S," and followed its development from the most ancient to modern times. He showed what importance the exact description of this sound has had for linguistic research. A whole series of phonetic physiological and graphical problems and enigmas are thereby explained in the simplest manner. On this important, though seemingly minute question, Professors Noldeke Bickell Karon and Oppert spoke at length.

Mr S A Smith of Louisville, Kentucky, U S A who had spent two and a half years in Europe in the study of Cuneiform Texts gave some of the results of his six months' work in the British Museum, copying and collating the badly published and entirely unpublished texts of the Assyrian King Assurbanipal. After giving some remarks about the material, which this collection gave for the study of the Assyriologist many difficult words were either explained for the first time, or new interpretations proposed for what seemed to be errors. Some new texts were given. One contained apparently the diagnosis of some fatal disease from which some personage of note seems to have died. Another contains the delivery of a certain number of horses upon a certain day. A third gives the account of the history of a General. Mr Smith announced the publication of a new book on the Texts of Assurbanipal. The Rev J N Strassmaier S J, of Belgium, made a short communication on the numerous Inscriptions of King Nabonidus which are in the British Museum. He has presented more than 400 copies of these judicial and commercial Inscriptions, and has shown the great importance of a complete collation of the 60 Inscriptions, as they illustrate the history and the social and commercial state of Babylonia in the time, when the Prophet Daniel lived in Babylon before the capture of Babylon by the Persians. Professor J Oppert recommended highly the necessity of the publication of a complete collection of these important Inscriptions and the Section agreed to the recommendation. Professor Noldeke of Strassburg and Professor D Muller of Vienna jointly proposed the resolution, that the Sections recommend, that

a critical edition of the Talmud in one or two volumes be published and that the tractate Berachot by Dr Friedmann be published in the acts of the Congress. It was agreed to Professor D. Müller of Vienna and Professor Patkanoff of St Petersburg, recommended, that the Russian Government be memorialized to collect copies of, and publish the Christian Inscriptions, which have been found in the Province of Trans-Caucasia, and to support by a contribution the scientific labours of those, who are occupied with the inscriptions at Vaa, in Turkish Armenia. It was agreed to.

Professor Oppert of Paris made a communication on the judicial texts of Chaldaea and Assyria, from the remotest times down to the most recent. These difficult texts, said Dr Oppert, had already been studied by several scholars who nevertheless had failed of success for the reason that a knowledge of the law is an indispensable requisite on the part of the translator. He proceeded to treat of some of the most ancient texts of contracts and judgments, dating from 2500 B.C., and especially of those dated from the reigns of Eriska (the biblical Archa) and Hammurabi. Having given an historical sketch of the development of law, he put before the assembled members a highly interesting translation of a judgment, whereby the heir of a deceased man, who had illegally detained a sum of money consigned to his trust was condemned to reimburse the same. The date of this sentence was 538 B.C.

Another address of great practical value for educational purposes was delivered, first in English and then in German by the Rev. W. H. Hoelder, Chaplain to the British Embassy in Vienna. He exhibited and explained his Bible chronological chart from the death of Solomon to the close of Old Testament history, upon which he has been working for sixteen years and in which he has incorporated all the latest researches of Assyriologists and other scientific men, especially the former unknown Kings of Babylon, Nineveh and Egypt. This chart shows by a very simple and graphic method that the record of the Hebrew sacred historians is confirmed and illustrated by the most recently discovered hieroglyphs and clay inscriptions of the Kings of Assyria, Babylon, Egypt and Persia. The history of Greece and Rome is also included. He also drew attention to the very old Babylonian Sumerian inscriptions on sun-dried bricks which he exhibited, which are in the oldest Cuneiform characters known, and were engraved by command of King Sargica, one of the oldest Chaldean kings about 3200 years B.C. half in Hebrew and half in Greek, in which the name Hal is engraved. This name occurs several times in the Bible (1) Gen xxxvi 35. (2) Gen i 46 a king who reigned in Edom, in his capital Avith. It was he, who defeated the Moabites in the field of Moab. (3) 1 Chron i 50 51, 52. (4) Her last king of Edom. He is the last enumerated in the early

genealogies Professor Haumel of Munich who has made the old Sumerian Inscriptions his own special study, then pointed out the great importance of one of these old bricks, because in it is mentioned for the first time Ghinnia hi, which is the original name of the later Nimreh. He promised to prepare a short paper on these Gudia Inscriptions for the Proceedings of the Congress.

In the Asian or Indo-European Section there was a great gathering of scholars and thirty two communications had been registered but nine of these were laid before the Section without being read and will be printed in the Proceedings. Mr. Randall of the British Museum read a paper on a Manuscript and an Inscription discovered by him during his late tour in India in a Character not hitherto noticed. The Manuscript was a fragment of a rare work on Grammar used by the Buddhists and bought in Nepal. The Inscription was in the Culcutta Museum. Nothing was known about it, the Alphabet was possibly one of those alluded to in works of the Buddhists. Dr. J. Hlinuz of Vienna read a contribution to the subject of Armenian Dialectology as follows: Phonology of the Polish Armenian dialect of Kutj, in Galicia. The Polish Armenians reside in Eastern Galicia the Bukowina and Bessarabia where they have been living since the thirteenth century. At the time when they traded with the East, they spoke Armenian. At the present day Armenian is spoken in Austria only in the towns Kutj and Szerzawa. Elsewhere they speak Polish and Ruthenian, the upper classes also French and German. In their Catholic churches mass is said in old Armenian but the sermons and prayers are delivered in Polish. The Armenians who reside in Kutj are poor and uneducated, they are engaged in Commerce, and still use Armenian as their language of business. They are unacquainted with the Armenian Characters and literature therefore their dialect is not influenced by the literary language. The Polish Armenian dialect of Kutj belongs to the Western Armenian branch as is proved first by the old Armenian tones *p t e* having become the media *b d g*, (2) by the old Armenian media having become tenues, (3) the locative being formed by the preposition *ni* with the Dative, (4) by the Present and Imperfect tenses having a prefix *gi* (*gu gu g*).

Dr. Bindersar Professor of the Dekkan College Poona in West-India read a paper on the principal results of his last two years' studies in Sanskrit Manuscripts and literature with particular reference to the Samskrita and the Pancharatra systems. At another meeting of the Section he recited a poem written in the Sanskrit language on the occasion of the Congress. This poem was printed as an appendix to the Daily Progress Report. Dr. Bühler took part in the discussion. The correctness and excellence of the action of the Indian Professor's English, and the scholarly

way, in which he held his own amid the greatest European savants were a gratification to all, who watch with interest the intellectual progress of the Indian people. The Section passed a vote of thanks to the Political Agent of Kathiawar and the Bombay Government for sending to the Congress so efficient a delegate as the Pandit Dr Glaser of Trivandrum and a notice of the old Indian descriptions of foreign stones. Mr Grierson a delegate from the Government of India, read a most important paper on the medieval Vernacular literature of Northern India, of the nature of which he gave a brief resume from 1200 to 1600 A.D. He dealt specially with the poets Mirk Muhammad author of the *Iadnawāt*, Sur Dās and Tulsi Dās. With regard to Sur Dās he was enabled to prove, that the current accounts were legendary and to give, for the first time the poet's autobiography. The influence of Tulsi Dās over the daily life of the masses of India was very great, he had saved India from the Tantric obscenities of Sivaism. A complete list of his works, and a description of his style, was then given. The modern editions were very corrupt, and a critical edition was most desirable. Photographs were exhibited of Tulsi Dās's autographs. Mr Grierson had on the previous Monday's session proposed a general and detailed survey of the various dialects spoken in North India and a resolution was proposed by Professor Bühler of Vienna and seconded by Professor Weber of Berlin, urging on the Government of British India the propriety of commencing this most important work. It so happened that in India at this moment, many specialists will be found who would give voluntary assistance. The Officials, employed by Government to search for Sanskrit Manuscripts exactly at the same time, so rich for the equally important works in the medieval Vernaculars. The resolution was signed by all the scholars present in the following terms. Read a note by Messrs Grierson and Hoernle supported by Messrs Barth Benlil, Cowell Cust, Max Müller, Sir Monier Monier Williams, Messrs Léon Sarrce and Senart, proposing a deliberate systematic survey of the languages of India, nearer and further not only as they exist at the present time but as far back as MSS can take us. Proposed by Dr G. Bühler, seconded by Prof. Dr A. Weber and carried by acclamation. That this Section strongly urge upon the Government of India that the present is a suitable time for the commencement of this most important work as just now there happens to be in India a number of scholars who have made the Vernaculars of that country their special study. The search for Vernacular MSS could be conveniently united with that of Sanskrit MSS now being conducted by Officers of Government, who might be requested to spend a fixed proportion of their funds on Vernacular MSS. The survey of the Vernaculars as they exist at present could be carried out by the subordinate officers of the Education De-

"partments with the least possible expenditure of trouble and money
 "they should be in each Province, under the supervision of one
 "or more skilled specialists, who would no doubt, in many cases,
 "give their services voluntarily." This subject is one which will
 interest all who are the well-wishers of the people of India at heart,
 and no one is more fitted than Mr. Griston so far as is known
 for his labours on these subjects to conduct the survey. The
 rank of the Officials of Government, both English and Native,
 of the patrons of the people must often be the cause of cruel
 injustice, and in the case of local disturbances, or grave political
 crises, for a few words spoken to the leading people will often settle
 a difficulty.

Dr. A. E. Rudolph H. read a delegate from the Government of
 India, then exhibited in ancient book lately found in the Punjab,
 known as the Bikhali Manuscript which he has been the first to
 decipher. The contents of the paper are too technical for a
 detailed account to be given here. It will suffice to state, that
 Dr. H. showed that the Manuscript written on birch bark,
 probably dates from the 8th or 9th century A.D., and that it is
 one of the oldest Hindu Manuscripts known to exist. It contains
 a work on Arithmetic written in the so-called Gurmukhi script the
 literary form of the ancient North Western Prakrit exhibiting
 a strange mixture of Sanskrit and Pali forms. The work itself
 is much older than the Manuscript in which it has been preserved.
 On various grounds it is probable that it is the product of
 a member of the Buddhist or Jain community dating from the
 fourth century of our era. It is therefore, the earliest known work
 on Arithmetic. It will shortly be published jointly at the expense
 of the Punjab Government. It was found in Leshwar.

Professor Hunfily of Budapest read an important communication
 on the origin of the Romanian language spoken in the
 two Danubian Provinces of Bessarabia and Wallachia. Their
 language is no doubt a neo-Latin language, but with foreign
 influences. Professor Hasler of Bukarest read a paper on the
 Aryan elements in this language, the result of long political
 domination but other contemporaneous influences have been at work
 to produce such phenomena as the postposition of the article to
 the nominative, e.g. "le ventral" to correspond to the Italian form
 il ventre.

Professor Jacobi of Kurl read a paper on the subject of the Jain
 religion and the worship of Krihni, subjects too large to be
 discussed in the few minutes allowed to each topic at a Congress.
 Professor Leumann of Strasbourg made remarks upon a Jain Text
 "Angirya" which had been exhibited by Professor Bhambhani.
 Professor Ernst Kuln of Munich read a paper on the language
 spoken on the slopes of the Hindu Kush range, in the countries of
 Badkshan, Chitral, Kafiristan, and Laghman, and a mixed Arya

ments to show, that these languages, including the Kishnuri and the Romani of the Gipsies should be considered a special branch of the Indian family of Asian languages. He exhibited a lithographed form of a comparative table of a certain number of words. The material had been supplied from collections made by Colonel Tanner of the Survey, during the 1st Afghan war. They had been forwarded to Dr Robert Cust who entrusted them to the late Dr Trumpp as the most competent person to deal with them, at the lamented death of that distinguished scholar the papers were sent back again to Dr Cust by his widow, and were transmitted to Professor Kuhn, who has now made use of them. Mr Charles Leland, the well known American Romanist Scholar, stated that after having declared fifteen years ago his belief in "the identity of the Gipsy language with that of the well known migratory tribe in India, the Dom he had since been informed that there actually existed in the Panjab a wandering tribe who were themselves Dom and spoke Romani. It so happened that in this section, and listening to Mr Leland's remarks there were four members of the Indian Civil Service all employed in North India. All but one in the Panjab, and all deeply interested in such subjects. Mr Griener, Captain Temple, Mr Macauliffe and Dr Robert Cust. The Panjab has been surveyed and a careful Census has been made. Long treatises written upon the Castes and Tribes by competent Officers. Migrations and predatory tribes there are, who are well looked after. There is no doubt that there exist Argic or Slang languages or Thieves languages all artificial forms of speech but no confirmation could be given to Mr Leland's inference of the currency to this day of the Romani language as a recognized vernacular.

Professor Leguana of Rome and Professor Roth of Tubingen made contributions to the well worn subject of the Veda. If these Congresses were to last for another century there will always be found a Scholar ready to pick a plum from that venerable tree, just as a Professor of an English University until the end of time will delight in spinning a little yarn about some point in the Greek plays. It is the hereditary infirmity of the class to do so. I met a very spirited Papageorgiou, of the Greek Educational Department in the Isle of Corfu but by origin a member of that remarkable Colony of Wallachians settled south of the Danube, and known as the Kutzo-Wallachians, transmitted a paper on the peculiar dialect of the Romanian language which is spoken by his people, but for some reason or other he commissioned Professor Madden to write draw it, which is to be regretted.

Dr M. A. Stein, of Budapesth (Hungary) delivered a lecture in English about the Paropamisus or Hindu Kush in ancient Geography. Guided by the old Greek form of the name *Ἀραμανός* given by Aristotle, he recognizes the Paropamisus in the mountain, Upairi garna of an interesting passage in the Avesta. The name

literally means "higher than the eagles fly," and is proved to apply to the Hindu Kush by the curious legend lingering still at the present day round that famous range. The Chinese pilgrim Hiuen Tsiang was told that birds could not fly over it but go a foot across the height and fly downwards. The same piece of folklore was recorded by Marco Polo, the Emperor Baber, and more recently by Alex. Burnes and Dr Stein drew thence conclusions in favour of the Brethrian origin of the bulk of the Zoroastrian writings. Prof. Fred. Müller of Vienna explained so to passages in the Avesta. Captain Temple of the Indian Army editor of the Indian Antiquary and Indian Notes and Queries made a communication on the subject of his edition of Indian Proverbs collected by the late Mr Tallon and also on the subject of a book called *Hir Langha* by Wais Shah the value of which lay in the fact that it was a specimen of the pure Panjabi language.

I read for Biller presented to the Section the third volume of the "*Corpus Inscriptionum Indicarum*" edited by Mr Fleet and this led to an important discussion. Captain Temple brought to notice that the Government of India had abolished the post of Epigraphist of India, which was deeply to be regretted as if the History of India was ever to be written it must be gathered from the Inscriptions it appeared to him most desirable that a representation should be made to the Government of India with a view of reviving the appointment. Captain Temple remarked further, that the eminent services of Mr Fleet, the late Epigraphist were well known to all. A resolution was proposed by Dr Kellhorn seconded by Mr Randall and unanimously adopted by the Section that a strong representation be made to the Right Honourable the Secretary of State for India as to the importance to students of Indian history and philology of such an Office as that of the Epigraphist to the Government of India and that it earnestly hopes for its speedy revival and that if the post were revived the excellent results obtained and the high merits displayed by Mr Fleet while holding the post will not be overlooked. The importance of the Office was not overrated, and any delay would be fatal. Metal tablets might be heedlessly destroyed for the sake of their metal or sold to some travellers as a curio and lost sight of or the locality where it was found forgotten.

Mr Macauliffe of the Civil Service in the Panjab presented a lithographed copy of a recently discovered Janam Sakhi or life of Baba Nanak the founder of the Sikh religion. When the Government of India, at the request of the Government of the Panjab, and at the suggestion of Dr Robert Cutt then Commissioner of Amritsar, commissioned the late Dr Ernest Trümpf of Munich to translate the Granth or Sacred Book of the Sikhs he in the course of his researches found in the library of the India Office a MS copy of the Life of Nanak and translated it. The Sikhs, when

they heard of it, asked for a copy of the MS., and their wish being complied with, other works of a similar import were discovered. One complete and correct copy was made up from the different MS., and lithographed with English punctuation and the separation of the propositions from the poetical. The ordinary Janam-bokhi in use by the Sikhs, are in no way trustworthy, they are loaded with puerilities and mythological details. The copy now lithographed is free from such blemishes, and is the safest account of the life of the simple-minded and earnest founder of the Sikh Religion. At the close Mr. Macauliffe remarked upon the facility with which religious preachers in the East were deceived by their followers. Sixty years after his decease Virak was deified to be God by his enthusiastic followers. The late Hashab Chunder is now deified, and the late D. vanand Saraswati was declared by a mass of disciples to be even during his lifetime an incarnation of the Creator. Dr. Trumpp was the first, who understood the Sikh Religion, and traced it to its religious foundation. But his work can only be considered a preliminary. His Translation is incomplete and not accurate. Mr. Macauliffe hoped to be able himself not to make a new translation but to give the lives of each Sikh Guru with Translations of characteristic passages from their writings and thus contribute a curious and not unimportant chapter to the history of Universal Religion and of the development of the emotional element in the human mind.

distinguished services in connection with the cultivation of certain field produce destined for purposes of sorcery for the divine bull. The evidence adduced by M. Beauregard cannot perhaps be said to have proved his contention but he has opened up an interesting inquiry, which may lead to further discussion. The concluding paper read by Dr. Augustus Eichenlohr, Professor of Egyptology at Heidelberg, was headed *Ueber eine Reihe Egyptischer Papyrusrollen welche von der Beraubung von Königsgräbern handeln*. The subject of ancient tomb robberies in Egypt is in itself of extreme importance, and Professor Eichenlohr's discourse was listened to with profound attention. This eminent Egyptologist began by describing a fragment of Papyrus at Vienna, containing a register of various rolls of Papyrus contained in two jars. These MSS. are of two kinds, legal and historical, the former being judicial documents concerning the violation and robbery of royal tombs and the latter forming part of the annals of the reign of Ra User Ma Mer Amen. The contents of these two jars were found in 1883, and are the same which were, for the greater part, purchased by Mr. A. Harris. Some of the Papyrus while yet in Mr. Harris's possession, were damaged by an explosion of gunpowder in Alexandria previous to 1872, when they passed into the possession of the British Museum. The remainder of the bull was dispersed and has been traced by Dr. Eichenlohr, two of the Papyrus being now in the Museum of the Liverpool Free Library and some others as the Valde Papyrus and the Papyrus of Mrs. de Burgh having been sold in 1856 to the British Museum. Dr. Eichenlohr spoke at some length on the contents of these various documents which were for the most part written during the last years of the reign of Ramesses III (Ramses IX) and during the two first years of that of Ramesses IV. One appears therein with the title of *Nem Me-ri-tao* the Ren-wer of Birth. Dr. Eichenlohr especially drew the attention of the audience to one of the judicial Papyrus before mentioned, namely, a long register of 183 proprietors of houses in Western Thebes, beginning with the house of Ra-nama (Dati I), where'sy is recorded in the Temple of Karnak.

Dr. G. Lieblin, Professor of Egyptology at Christiania, Norway, followed with a communication upon the interpretation to be given to the word *Neger* or *Neter*, a term hitherto regarded as signifying Negro. Dr. Lieblin, however, recognizes in this word not only an ethnological but a titular meaning identical with that of *Negus*, the royal title of Ethiopian Sovereigns. Dr. W. Helwig of Leyden then read a paper on ancient Egypt, illustrated by a large selection of photographs of objects in the Leyden Museum. Among these may be especially noted a sarcophagus in alabaster, made for one Khem Neter, in the likeness of a woodpecker of the name of the deceased figure, an alabaster seal of a freed man named Ab-en-nub, and a stone group of two Tatars and his wife, a group

of the famous princess Meretsekh, accompanied by her secretary Khennu, four statues executed in the highest style of Egyptian art and of the finest period; and lastly a table of offerings of one Tuf tea. All these monuments are characterized by an extraordinary degree of realism, grafted upon the truest conception of art, and executed with a mastery of material, which enabled the sculptors to treat stone with as much freedom, as if it had been clay. These portraits are strictly portraits, though idealized. The persons of whom they represent neither laugh, nor weep, nor are serious. They are simply calm. It was thus, that the Egyptians conceived the sacred figure called the *An* or double. And it was through their veneration for the *An*, that this people arrived at such a perfection of realism in the arts of *bas-relief* and statuary, as is elsewhere unknown at that early period of the World's history. There was a faithful and devout worship of ancestors, of which worship the tomb was the sanctuary. As it was from the tomb of this period, that Egyptian architecture subsequently emerged to originate the Doric style in the grottoes of Beni Hassan, and to pave the way for the glories of the arts of Greece.

Mr Cope Whitehouse (U.S.A.) next occupied the platform and delivered in German an extemporaneous abridgment of his paper on the Blessing of Jacob, which he read last year *in extenso* before the Society of Biblical Archaeology in London.

Miss Anetta B. Edwards read a paper on the Dispersal of Antiquities consequent upon the Recent Discovery of certain Ancient Egyptian Cemeteries in Upper Egypt. In this Miss Edwards drew attention to the increased and increasing number of Egyptian antiquities, which now find their way to Europe and America, and are lost sight of in private collections. Antiquities which might in all probability restore many a lost page of Egyptian history, and which are as sealed books to their present possessors. Miss Edwards adduced some startling instances of important royal Papyrus Canopic vases, stelae, and the like which are at the present time lying *per se* in English country houses and obscure provincial Museums and urged upon the Congress the necessity of concerting some scheme of international correspondence whereby private collections might be reported upon, and a register kept of their contents. Miss Edwards concluded by giving Translations of two funeral stelae of the XVIIIth and XIXth dynasties respectively, now in the Museum of Bath, and not previously deciphered. M. Gurnet next presented a paper on Egyptian Chromatology by M. Lefebvre, which to the great regret of those present was not read. Professor Dumichen read a paper entitled *Ägyptische und semitische neuesten Schriften* illustrated with Texts, of which, for want of the necessary data, we are unfortunately unable to give an abstract. The next paper, *Ägyptische phonetische Hieroglyphen in Ägypten*, was read by Professor Lieblein. This distinguished *arabist* has succeeded in identifying

the traces of an ancient Phœnician Colony settled in the neighbourhood of Chemmis (Panopolis), the modern Elkhmeim. The place of their settlement was called Pa Bennu, the land of the Phœnicians, where, in a later age, Pachomius founded a monastery, and his sister founded a convent.

Dr Krall delivered a discourse, entitled *Ueber Psonthomphaneeh, der ägyptischen Namen Josephs*. He pointed out, that this name is not Joseph's title but his Egyptian name. Joseph, it will be remembered, received an Egyptian wife from Pharaoh, namely, the daughter of the high priest, Potiphar, consequently, Joseph became a naturalized Egyptian, and hence his Egyptian name. It is well known, that many foreigners in Egypt had double names, of which the Egyptian name is sometimes only the translation of the original name, whether Semitic or Greek. We must therefore, said Dr Krall, first carefully examine the laws of transcription, and, secondly, find out whether words containing the supposed form occur in other contemporary inscriptions. Dr Krall then pointed out that names beginning with *l* or *l* and ending with *esuk* which means "he who lives," and of which the middle syllable consists of the name of some god, as, for instance, Horus, are frequently found about the time of the Ptolemies and later. The middle syllable of this word would therefore contain the name of a deity, and, if we search the Egyptian Pantheon we find only Month, the god of war, whose name would accord with the middle syllable of Joseph's Egyptian name. We must, therefore, conclude, that in Hebrew the *p* and *l* were interchanged in the pronunciation of Joseph's long Egyptian name especially as these two sounds are related to each other. The name ought therefore to be transcribed, following the laws of transcription which have been observed in the Demotic-Greek Papyri, *Ti month of onyeh* or, which means, "Ti (perhaps the servant of) Month, who lives." He pointed out the fact, that as among Semitic peoples the sacred age is 120 years so among the Egyptians the sacred age was 110 years, the pious Egyptian always prays to Osiris, that he might live to the age of 110, and it is to be noted that Joseph, the naturalized Egyptian, is recorded in the Bible as having died at the age of 110 years.

All the papers entered for this Section having now been read, M Naville gave a most interesting and instructive *résumé* account of the origin, progress and completion of his critical edition of the *Todtenbuch* or Book of the Dead, from the moment when that great task was confided to him by the members of the Oriental Congress of 1874, down to the issue of the concluding volume, of which the first copy was laid upon the table. M Naville described the method, upon which he had worked, the difficulties he had to overcome, and the reason, why he limited his field of research to Papyri not later than the period of the XIXth Dynasty. No one life, he said, would be long enough to complete such a work, it

extended to documents of more recent date. Among other novel and interesting conclusions derived from his long and intimate study of this most ancient religious book, M. Daville has arrived at the fact, that the trials and turns of the under-world, as described in the Book of the Dead were not supposed to await all souls in their passage from life to eternity. Some souls must encounter certain perils, other souls might encounter other perils, and some might altogether escape the snares of Hades. The Book of the Dead is, therefore, a book of Texts, placed, so to say, in the hands of every dead Egyptian for his protection and guidance in case of need, but it is strictly provincial. All these prayers and Texts are also understood to be spoken by the deceased himself, in case he finds himself beset by those especial perils. The Book is, therefore, in no sense a Ritual.

Dr. Meyer moved another resolution, to the effect that the Egypto-African Section should, through the proper channels, prefer a request to the Archduke Rainer, that he would be pleased to specially forward the publication of that portion of his great collection of Egypt which is written in the so-called Hieroglyphic language (Ethiopian Demotic), in order that by this time the eighth Oriental Congress shall meet these documents may be placed at the disposal of Scholars. This Hieroglyphic script is as yet undeciphered and untranslated, and it is of the first importance for the sake of the monuments to be reproduced, either in autotype or lithography, in order that their contents may be interpreted. This resolution was carried unanimously and Dr. Krall of Vienna, who with Dr. Karabick, Dr. Wiesely and other eminent specialists, is engaged upon the arrangement, collating and deciphering of the Archduke Rainer's Egypt assured the members of this Section, that their request would receive the hearty support of his colleagues, and should be laid in due course before His Imperial Highness.

At the instance of M. Daville, M. Beauregard and M. Guinet, a resolution was next proposed having for its object the furtherance of the views advocated by Miss Amelia B. Edwards in her paper read at the first sitting of this Section. M. Daville was of opinion, that the object which Miss Edwards had in view, namely, the identification and registration of historical antiquities in private collections and provincial Museums in Europe and America, would be best attained by the wide dissemination of Miss Edwards' paper. M. Beauregard then remarked that if that paper appeared only in the Transactions of the Congress, it would necessarily be read by only a limited number of persons, whereas, on M. Guinet with characteristic generosity and courtesy, proposed to publish a French Translation of the same in his *Annuaire* and to print a considerable number of copies in a pamphlet form, for the purpose of circulating the paper as widely as possible. Miss Edwards accepted the

proposal with gratitude, and undertook to translate her paper into French. M. Guimet urged each member of the Section to aid in distributing the paper, and the resolution was unanimously voted. Mr. Cope Whitehouse read a paper on the topography of the Pyramids. One paper was presented, but not read, and will appear in the Proceedings.

In the Central Asiatic and Extreme Orient Section there was very little business. Seven papers were sent in, but three of these were not read, and will appear in the Proceedings. M. Feer, of the National Library of Paris, read a paper on the origin of the name of Tibet and the proper mode of spelling it. His paper was, perhaps, rather longer than the merits of the subject justified, but in the discussion which ensued, Ichen, Ki Toing, Secretary of the Chinese Legation at Paris, stepped forward to explain by what name, and in what form of the written character, Tibet was known in China. He was in his ordinary Chinese dress, but he spoke in French worthy of an accomplished Parisian, handled the chalk pencil on the black board like a professor, and gave another wonderful instance of the admirable capacity of the great Asiatic races of India, China, and Japan under European training. Such men hold their own in this generation, but a quarter of a century hence, by their innate superiority and consciousness of strength, they will far surpass the ordinary European. If the best of studies is the study of man, living man, perhaps the spectacle of the Hindu and Chinese, in the halls of their countries and the black and yellow colours of their respective races calmly and without trepidation fighting the Europeans with their own weapons was better than an old manuscript of a forgotten religion and an old mummy of an extinct race. The same remark applies to the Arab Schoolmasters and other Officials from Egypt who took part in the Congress. The European may please to look down upon the Asiatic and African, but they return the compliment with interest. It was a sight to see the fierce contempt with which the pigtailed Chinese looked down on the assembled Scholars of Europe, who dared to dabble with his Hieroglyphs. The Hindu read his paper with an impassive air, without the least sign of that self-consciousness which distinguishes a European.

Professor Hamon of Paris (Hunary) read a paper on the fundamental principles of the comparison of the languages of the Arian, Semitic, and Altaic families. The very idea of such a subject takes away the breath, to work it out would occupy a volume. It was wholly unsuited for the short time allowed to each speaker at a Congress. Professor Tarnier de Lacourperie presented to the Congress his pamphlets on the Cradle of the Shan Rice in the Old Numeral of China, and on the Beginnings of Writing in Tibet and has exhibited three large maps of an Alphabetic writing used in S. W. China, some specimens of the writing of the day.

in the same region, three MSS. from Formosa dated in the last century, of which the writing and the language are now forgotten, and he explained his decipherment of the Easter Island Inscriptions, written with a Character derived from Southern India. He exhibited also the first 40 sheets of his large work on the Chinese Coins in the British Museum. He then read a paper on the languages of China before the Chinese, wherein he showed that, previous to the gradual occupation of the country by the Chinese, who originally had come from the North-West, China was inhabited by several races, one of Nigrito among others. Their languages, represented by some thirty Vocabularies extracted chiefly from Chinese sources of various dates, and by some ten more still spoken by broken tribes, belonged to the Mon-Austral, Shan-Siam, Karen, and Tibeto-Burman Groups, and some of them are hybrids. The chief works, besides the historical annals, from which ancient information has been derived, are the *Shi-yu*, a Dictionary of the fifth century B.C., and the *Lang-ya*, a comparative Vocabulary of dialects of the first century B.C. Prof. G. von der Gabelentz, Tebeng-Ki-Toong, and Professor Cordier make remarks.

make his bow, and they spoke all the four languages with fluency. On the third day there was an afternoon reception in the new and magnificent Town Hall, both of ladies and gentlemen, by the Burgomaster of Vienna, accompanied with music and speeches, on the fourth day there was a grand dinner, at which all the members of the Congress without exception were entertained in the grand hall of the Chief Hotel, and a magnificent banquet it was. Speeches and glorifications and compliments followed in three of the languages of the Congress. The Germans were fearfully diffuse, the Frenchmen, as usual, neat and pointed. Two speeches made a sensation, and I gave them. It must be remembered, that the apprehension of war occupied the thoughts of all. General Kaulbars was hectoring in Bulgaria. Neither the Austrian nor the British Government had spoken out on the Bulgarian question, though they did so very soon after. Mutterings were heard in Hungary, and the Magyars were determined not to give way to Russia in the Balkan Provinces without a struggle. Dr Robert Cast proposed the health of the City of Vienna in the following laconic speech, which brought down shouts of applause, all the Hungarians and liberal Austrians came across to tip glasses with the speaker, and the censor of the Austrian Press forbade it being published in the Vienna papers, though it appeared in the Daily Telegraph. Mr President and Members of the Congress. I "beg to propose the toast 'The prosperity of the renowned City "of Vienna famous in History from the time of the Crusades, "famous for its Universities and Hospitals famous for its learned "men and beautiful women.' We do not in the West of Europe "forget that two hundred years ago Vienna was the bulwark "of Christendom and civilization against the Turks, and we doubt "not in this and the generations that are to come, it will again be "the bulwark against a more powerful and dangerous foe and "the hearts of Englishmen will be with their ancient ally." When the Burgomaster had replied the President remarked to the proposer of the toast, that his words were few, but they meant a good deal. It so happened, that that very night the Austrian Ministers made a communication in the very same sense to the Hungarian Delegates. It seemed as if there was an electrical current of stern defiance at the Russian encroachments of Bulgaria, which were emphasized a few days later by Lord Salisbury, the British Prime Minister.

The next speech was interesting in another direction. Tcheng Ki Toun, the young Chinese, spoke or rather read from manuscript, with a loud and clear voice, the following words in French. "Gentlemen, it is the first time that the Chinese Government has "taken a direct part in a Congress of Orientalists, and I am happy "to be the first Chinese delegate. Allow me to say, that my "objects in publishing the works, with which some of you are

CHAPTER XIX

ATHENS AND ROME SYRACUSE AND CARTHAGE

WHAT a wealth of recollections is suggested by the mention of the names of these four great cities! To many, who know all about their history they appear to have only a visionary existence, yet they have also a very real side, and in a tour of four months it is possible to visit them all, as I have done. The two latter have left but slight footprints on the sands of time, but it will be admitted, that all generations of men to the end of time will be under obligations to those remarkable people, who made Athens and Rome illustrious. The old type of classical instructor, whether at school or college, and the Sunday school teacher, had as much idea of the ancient cities of the World regarding which they prose so wisely, as of the Cloud City of Aristophanes or the Utopia of More. But now a dais an adventurous college tutor, or a young curate, comes back fresh from the locality, and throws light into dark places by luminous descriptions, or disolving views. Railways have annihilated distance, and an excursion, which used to be the top & of a traveller's life becomes merely the incident of some autumn holiday. Thus has it happened to me, and will happen to many others. I seek to increase the number.

From London to Brindisi the route is well known. It so happened, that a steamer was starting for India, and I went on board for the sake of refreshing my memory, and giving vent to a feeling of thankfulness, that at least that portion of life's heavy task was done, and I pitied more particularly a merchant, advanced in life, whom the necessities of existence drove out again in his old age. In the dawn of life India is a palace of delight in middle life it is the arena of noble and exalting work but it is not a peaceful refuge for declining faculties and weakened powers. I was glad, that I was at liberty to go on board an Italian steamer that cut a silvery line across the quiet sea in a voyage of two days round the Peloponnesus, and enabled me at the close of the second day to see the lights of Athens glistening over the lower ground of the harbour of the Piræus. It is still a harbour of importance, though the neighbouring Phalerum has sunk to the rank of a bathing place. The boatman, who conveyed me ashore, answered to the name of Socrates.

A railway connects the Port with the city of Athens. A comfortable hotel received me but I must confess if it during the thirty years which I had passed since my last visit no city had less advantage. It is a city, and the capital of a country which has no future, and must be contented with its glorious past. The great Empires of Austria and Russia in their downward progress to the Mediterranean which is a necessity of their existence place an insuperable limit to the territorial expansion of Greece.

Yet to the remnants of thy splendour past
Shall pilgrims pause to bemoan and bemoan
Lament all the woe which the Ionian blast
Has brought to the cradle of the land of song
Long shall the name and in a mortal tongue
Live with thy fame the glory of many a shore
Boast of the Aged lesson of the Young
Which sages venerate and bards adore
As Pallas and the Muses hail their awful lore

It is in vain that the modern Greek who is in reality only an Albanian has attempted to revive the old language and owing to the circumstance that the Greek language did not like the Latin lie in the act of giving birth to a number of new Greek languages we are startled at hearing persons things and places called by time honoured words. This a street is an *oikos* the money in our purse is a *drachma* a carriage is an *autos* and a railway station is a *stasion*. It is only from the ruins of the ancient buildings that an idea can be conceived of the former greatness. Athens had gradually sunk into a small town and thus the remains of antiquity had not been worked up into modern dwellings and a laudable effort has been made to conserve all that has escaped the ravages of Time. Among these the Parthenon by its position and extent stands conspicuous both in Greece and the World. The visitor ascends the Sacred Hill and enters by a side door almost two thirds up the flight of stone steps and can look down at the old closed entrance and up to the Propylæum and through the great entrance into the precinct. I catch a glimpse of the great temple itself. Perhaps no such magnificent pile of buildings ever existed elsewhere in so small a space. The material is exquisite the style of architecture simple yet grand and so generally esteemed as a fit model to modern buildings in every country in Europe and America that the forms appear quite familiar and strike the spectator less by their novelty than by their perfectness. The most conspicuous ruins are those of the Parthenon to the South East is Hecatomitus to the North East Pentelikus to the North West Parnes and Ilitieron with the pass of Ilitieron leading into Boeotia and the pass of Daphne leading to Eleusis along the Sacred Way. Thither the tribes came up in solemn procession on the day of the Panathenæic festival. Monuments are now being disinterred on either side of the departed

citizens, many of them of the most touching character, calling upon the passer by to stop and read, and take heed to his ways. Beyond Pentelikus is the road to Marathon and Thessaly. From the top the whole of Attica can be surveyed, and then it is, how in so small a space such wonderful efforts of genius were accomplished. From the walls of the Parthenon I looked down on the Akademos, and the village of Kolonos, the dry beds of the Ilissos and Kephissos, the hill of Lycabettus, the Museum, the hill of Areas, and of the Pnyx. Each object and ruin of interest in ancient Athens, intermixed with the building of the modern city, can be distinguished. The Temple of Theseus, the grand Columns of the Olympian Temple, the Lantern of Demosthenes, the Theatre of Dionysius, and the prison of Socrates. It seems to any one, who is familiar with the history of Athens, that he has seen all these things before, as they have lived to him in the pages of the immortal writers, which have given this city such a proud pre-eminence.

But looking seawards the interest is intensified. Below me lie the three harbours and the tract traversed by the long walls, and beyond the blue Aegean, and the Islands of Salamis and Egina and in a further distance the romantic hills of Argolis and Corinth. Close to the Propylæum or entrance is the small Temple of Wingless Victory, which has been carefully restored, the Parthenon itself has passed through the stages of being a Heathen Temple, a Christian Church, and a Mahomedan fortress, and the Erechtheion has undergone the same fate, with its well known portico of the Caryatids. The whole open space within the precincts had once been covered with shrines and monuments to deserving citizens. Pausanias, who visited Athens in the second century after Christ, describes them, and the remains of many exist to the present day. The old roadway can be traced, but so steep is the gradient, that wheeled vehicles must have been pulled up the slopes on each side of the great flight of stairs, up which the shouting populace ascended on the occasion of the annual Panathenæic festival.

But of the statues of the goddess Minerva not a fragment remains. They were three in number. I. The colossal statue, which stood seventy feet high on its pedestal in front of the Temple, towering above the walls, so that the gold helmet and spear of the deity were seen far at sea shining in the sun. This was constructed of the spears of Marathon. II. The Chryseë Elefantine statue in the temple, forty feet high and the work of Phidias. III. The wooden statue of olive, which, like so many statues of the Virgin Mary, was reported to have fallen from heaven. This was the most sacred, and to this the People was carried on the day of the annual festival, but the like fate has met them all, destruction, but not oblivion. After all, it is the view from the ramparts which is worth going all the way to Athens to see. The hills, the everlasting hills, stand like sentries

people religious toleration, and on my second visit I found no room for hope. There are no manufactures and but scanty Commerce. The prolific Press aspires to the pure Greek style of the past, and shuns the dialect of the people. There are pretentious palaces of marble, lining roads rather than streets which suffocate with dust, and nauseate with stenches. During the last thirty years there has been extraordinary improvement in the cities of Europe of third and fourth rank. In Athens there is none. Miusus and Cephissus are both dried up, and there is an absence of good water. It is only the glory of the past and the noble ruins, that attract the stranger to Athens. Attica and Greece and their number is small.

The same line of steamers conveys the traveller round the Morea back to Brindisi unless he prefers to vary the route by crossing the Isthmus of Corinth and taking a steamer direct to Corfu. It is doubtful whether he would save much time, and he would certainly add to the discomfort and complication of the journey. I met Colonel Furr at Venice who is sanguine as to the success of the Canal through the Isthmus of Corinth but it is doubtful, whether the speculation will be profitable. From Brindisi the railway runs without interruption to Rome, traversing the same line of country, and passing through some of the places mentioned by Horace in his famous "Iter Brundisium" in the company of Mæcenæ notably Beneventum.

The Eternal City differs much in its circumstances from Athens. It has never ceased to be the seat of Empire either temporal or spiritual. The materials of the old buildings have been worked up into modern houses. Temples have been converted into churches, depressions have been filled up, elevations have been levelled down. In the long successive centuries of civilization, the Rulers for the time being did what they liked with the remnants of antiquity and nothing but the course of the Tiber, and the faint outline of the Seven Hills remain unchanged of old Rome. The walls of Aurelian still inclose the city which however at the beginning of the century shrunk into a smaller space and left a large tract to be occupied by gardens within the walls and even now there is nothing of the character of a suburb to Rome. It will be long still ere the space within the walls is filled up and those venerable remains of the later Empire occasionally repaired, with their

A most delightful excursion is that to Pentelikus. A carriage drive is available as far as the monastery at the foot of the mountain, where donkeys are supplied, which convey the traveller by a long, tedious but gradual ascent to the summit. The road lies by the marble quarries still worked to supply the material for sculpture. After all, it is the quality and cheapness of the material, that has so much to do with the success of the statues. From the edge of the summit a wonderful panorama is opened out beneath in the Luripus like a silver thread and the Island of Lubra. On this side of the water, just below us, is Marathon beyond are the hills of Thessaly, and to the West are the hills of Boeotia through the valleys winds the road, which will soon be superseded by a railway from Athens to Volo. To the East is the open sea, and the distant islands of the Cyclades, notably Andros. South lies the whole of Attica, and Athens can only dimly be discerned. As to brigands, of which so much is written I met none, though I was alone with a lady and a Greek Professor. I chaffed a goat herd, whom I met, through my interpreter, and asked him whether he was a brigand. Thirty years ago I rode alone over to Marathon through the Pass and met no one. There was an alarm for a short time on account of the death of two Englishmen but it has passed away, and the cause is not likely to recur. Another excursion is along the Sacred Way to Eleusis. Passing Akademos and Kolonos by a gentle rise, the road winds through the Pass of Diphia, and descends into a landlocked bay and it is the island of Salamis that converts this bay into a lake. Arthemion and Migara are pointed out. The actual Temple of Demeter has not yet been excavated, for progress moves slowly in Athens and yet it does move but a whole village will have to be cleared away.

In the city of Athens Museums and Schools are springing up as rich citizens, who make their fortunes in other countries, dedicate a portion to their country. No treasures of art, that are found can leave the Kingdom, and as time goes on the Museum will be rich. Already splendid statues have been brought in from the islands, but what interested me most was the Phrya stone and the famous Inscription of Pistratus, quoted by Thucydides but found only in the last few years. The little statuettes which are dug up in such numbers at Tanagra, in the sepulchres are marvels of beauty. The Greeks are a nice, amiable people, but I fear that there is no future to their nationality. Their life is weighed down by the grandeur of the past history, and even if (which is doubtful) they were the descendants of the great nations of the past and not merely later immigrants of a lower view into the sacred soil. Education has been attended to, both Athens and girls. I remember thirty years ago hoping in the abundance of schools, but at last scarcely taught the

people religious toleration, and on my second visit I found no room for hope. There are no manufactures, and but scanty Commerce. The public Press requires to the pure Greek style of the past, and shuns the dialect of the people. There are pretentious palaces of marble, lining roads, rather than streets, which suffocate with dust, and nauseate with stenches. During the last thirty years there has been extraordinary improvement in the cities of Europe, of third and fourth rank. In Athens there is none. Illness and Cephus are both dried up, and there is an absence of good water. It is only the glory of the past, and the noble ruins, that attract the stranger to Athens, Attica and Greece, and their number is small.

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great drain of the Kings has outlived Republics Empires Religions, and Theocracies. It carries off the surface water as well as city drainage, and I came suddenly on a party of women washing their household linen in the canal that brings down the surface drainage of the Forum and looks very discoloured and uninviting. Byron's well known description of the Palatine Hill will not apply now. In the beginning of the last century extensive excavations were made by the Duke of Parma and a rich harvest of sculpture was the reward. The hill was occupied by a church, a convent, two villa gardens and some vineyards. In 1861 Napoleon III purchased of the King of Naples the great villa garden of the Farnese family, which occupied the crown of the hill and under the superintendence of Camillo Rosa conducted systematic excavations. The King of Italy purchased the interests of Napoleon, but continued the same superintendence and the works have progressed slowly owing to the want of funds. Unluckily the Villa Spada which occupies part of the crest of the hill lately passed into the hands of a convent of nuns, and all admission within their walls is impossible. Over the rest of the hill there is access to the public, who are admitted upon payment at the gate opening upon the Forum, and supplied with an intelligent guide, but even then the ordinary traveller unacquainted with the language of the guide and not familiar with the history of Rome, must feel dreadfully at sea and carry away only a confused idea of the wonderful ruins, which speak for all time to the intelligent and instructed visitor.

Where History commences and tradition ceases must depend upon the opinion formed of the credibility or credulity of the Historian. It may be accepted as a fact that the Romans of the time of Augustus believed that Romulus and Remus were found in a cave on the North West angle of the hill, called the Lupercal, which Augustus in his famous Ancyran Inscription takes credit to himself for having restored and where the famous bronze wolf of the Capitol is presumed to have been discovered. But Virgil in his *Virgil* allusion conveys us back to a much more distant traditional period and he must be credited with embodying and interpreting the traditions of his period. He describes *Æneas* as sailing up the Tiber from Ostia to the foot of the Palatine hill, where he was kindly received by *Evander* an Atridæan colonist who had then only lately settled in that neighbourhood but who testified to a visit paid in his time by *Hercules* on his return from Spain. He attacked and slew the robber *Cacus* who had his dwelling in a cave in this hill. *Evander* notices further that the hill was occupied previous to his arrival by savage races devoid of culture. Whatever historical value may be attached to these traditions they were retained in the history of the Roman people. The *Arx Maxima* testified of *Hercules* the cave of *Cacus* is still shown the path up the hill side from the *Velabrum* must have been that, which Virgil described,

Countless volumes have been written on every branch of the subject. Much has been said about fever yet still Rome stands pre eminent among the cities of the world as the one, which can be visited over and over again and which never tires, however long the residence. I visited it forty two years ago on my road to India, and have been there repeatedly since, and I trust that my last visit is not paid yet. The remarks that I now make allude to the later excavations, which are being made in the ruins of the old Rome of the Empire which appear to be an inexhaustible quarry of statues and marble columns many of them the spoils of still more ancient cities, which fell under the unsparring grasp of the Romans.

Rome has still its wonderful climate and unrivalled sunsets, of which in the Northern climates of Europe no conception can be formed its galleries overflowing with the wealth of Italian art its courteous and gentle inhabitants. Day by day some new excursion, some choice employment well could I exclaim,

Che fatto amo la tua?

L'aria di cielo, di terra e tempo, ed i suoi

Standing on the lofty tower of the Capitol I have the whole of the city at my feet. Looking Southward I can survey ancient Rome looking Northward Medæval or Papal Rome meets my eye far to the East lie, upon the Esquiline hill the Modern Rome or Capital of Italy clustering round the railway terminus in the Basilica of Santa Maria Maggiore. My interest at present is restricted to five particular portions of the area of Rome, which have been the scene of successful excavations.

I The Palatine Hill II The Forum III The Baths of Titus and the Coliseum IV The Baths of Caracalla V The Islands of the River Tiber within the city.

It will be more convenient to follow them in their historical order. There are few or in fact none in the World which have maintained a continuous life and interest of more than two thousand years and can justly claim the name of Eternal. A few life as the capital of free Italy, has now been secured to it but its position as a modern Capital has been purchased at a considerable sacrifice of its old and peculiar charm. Old Rome exists no more. The Palatine Hill is one of the seven famous hills the name of which I record for the sake of propriety. It has the Capitolium Hill to the North the Aventine on the West the Cælian on the South. These four are actual hills surrounded by valleys the Esquiline, Quirinal, and Viminal are promontories of the elevated plain lying to the East and not round hills. The River Tiber flows under the Aventine Palatine and Capitoline hills in its time remote the departure of the Tullians, which were afterwards collected in the Cloaca Maxima, in a way new to this day thus the

the great fire of Rome, and upon the ashes and ruins rose the Golden House of Nero, spreading beyond the limits of the Palatine across the valley, that lies between that hill and the Esquiline, occupying all the space now covered by the Flavian Amphitheatre, and extending up the sides of the Esquiline over the ground occupied by the baths of Titus and Trajan. With the tyrant, who was murdered somewhere in the palace, fell the Golden House, and the residence of the Cæsars was again restricted to the Palatine Baths, Amphitheatre, and triumphal Arch, which pleased the people, occupied the abandoned area, but Domitian erected his great public apartments on the rest of the Palatine, upon a platform built upon vast subterranean passages. In fact he filled up the indentation, or *intermontium*, which had originally divided the two summits of the Palatine, on the Northern one had been the City of Romulus and on the more Southern the Temple of Apollo. These are known as the *Forum*, as distinguished from the *Julian Palaces*. If Trajan, Adrian, and the Antonines added to these buildings, we have no distinct record of their particular works, for bricks found with their marks may indicate only repairs, and not new structures. Still, it is interesting to think that, amid these ruins, some portion of the lives of this grand succession of monarchs must have been passed, some portions of the noble sentiments, which mankind will not willingly allow to be forgotten, must have been written.

Septimius Severus built a magnificent pile of buildings on the West side of the hill called the *Septizonium*, beyond the Palace of Augustus towards the South, pulled down by Sixtus V. to supply materials for St Peter's. On that side of the hill are extensive remains of the Stadium, and one lofty ruin is described as the *Iulvian*, whence the Emperor, seated within the precincts of his own palace, could survey the games in the great Circus below. At this point also can be seen the remains of the great Claudian Aqueduct, which brought water from the Sabine hill by a succession of arches crossing the Cælian hill, reflecting great credit on the engineering skill of that period. The sudden desolation, which overwhelmed Rome, is in great part due to the destruction of the aqueducts by the invaders. By the restoration of the *Aqua Marcia* and other aqueducts, which bring down water from the *Anio* of Tivoli, Rome at this moment stands at the head of all modern cities for the abundance and beauty of its fountains.

The pleasure of the visitor must depend upon his classic enthusiasm and his power of clothing these dead bones with life. No creature can have time to explain to the un-instructed cockney, who has accompanied a Tourist party, the sequence of the great events of Rome, even if he knew it, which is to be doubted. There are certain conventional details, with which all guides delight to take a rise out of their party. They terrify the ladies by pointing out a tank, in which offending slaves were thrown to feed the fish,

as having had been trod by Evander and Æneas. On the hill was the cottage of Faustulus, the Temple of Vesta and Mars, the receptacle of the Palladium and Ancilia. Here also Romulus built the walls of his Roma Quadrata, and the Temple of Jupiter Sator. The gates and roads can still be fairly traced, in spite of the levelling up and levelling down, the building and destroying of centuries of years and generations of men. The homes of some of the chief citizens, Cicero, Hortensius, Cato and Cælius, were situated on this hill, and when the period of Imperial Rome commenced, Emperor after Emperor from Augustus to Heliogabalus covered it with palaces, so-called from the name of the hill, and other splendid monuments the ruins of which I now propose to pass under review. Great confusion will arise in the mind, unless we remember that for several centuries this hill was the seat of Imperial splendour and caprice. When Constantine abandoned Rome, the palaces gradually fell into ruins. They were plundered by the invaders of Rome, and their materials utilized for the erection of mediæval palaces and strongholds of the Roman nobles.

Between Romulus and Augustus there is the reputed interval of about seven hundred years. Between Augustus and Heliogabalus, the last recognized builder of portions of the great series of palaces, there exists the known interval of two hundred years. As there is good reason to assign the walls of the Roma Quadrata to Romulus, we have in this narrow area of $1\frac{1}{2}$ miles circumference, the work of nine hundred years, and twenty-seven generations of man. Much as I could wish to pass the remains of each age under review historically, I find that it is impossible. The visitor must enter into the sacred inclosure by the regular entrance, and make the regular round, passing sometimes by a single step over a wide chasm of centuries. Augustus was born upon this hill, and on this hill he died. Tiberius was also born upon this hill in the house of his father Tiberius Claudius Nero, which exists to this day. Augustus erected the Temple of Apollo in memory of the battle of Actium on the crest of the hill, now occupied by the convent of Santa Maria, and somewhere on and under the ridge was his own residence, looking westward over the Circus Maximus to the Aventine. What an interest attaches to this house, in which the liberties of Rome were un-
happily destroyed under the veil of empty legalisms and personal rule! Within these walls young Marcellus must have lived, the hope of Rome, and Virgil must have recited to the weeping mother his famous lines, which will never die. The Emperor Tiberius was born in the palace, and Caligula had a residence a step in magnificence as well as in crime. His palace was on the summit of the old Roma Quadrata, with a front to the Capitoline Hill. Caligula followed with grand ambitions, covering the whole North-eastern corner, overhanging the Forum with a bridge stretching over it, and connecting the Capitoline Hill with the Palatine. The following

of the insults and sneers, to which a Christian soldier was exposed in these heathen barracks. Turning back to the level, the pathway lies under the ruins of the house of Augustus, on the height of the Villa Spada, where also stood the Temple of Apollo. On the last slope of the hills is the Stadium unmistakably marked out, and the lofty ruins of Septimius Severus, thence the road has to be retraced, and mounting again to the crest, I find myself in ruins called the Academy and Library of Augustus. Passing onwards towards the East, the arc of Flavian public apartments can be traced by their ground plan and excavated bases of walls and columns; underneath are the remains of a house of the later Republican period and long subterranean passages, and in these the Emperors Caligula and Pertinax were assassinated, and many other deeds of violence committed by the Emperors and the Praetorians. On the right is the Medieval Convent of Bonaventura, which may probably soon be cleared away, for scant consideration is now shown to monasteries, and, a little further, on the brow of the hill overhauling the Arches of Titus and Constantine, is the Church of St. Sebastian and the Barberini Vineyard, with the traditional spot of the martyrdom of that saint by the arrow of the Imperial archers. Bending back to the North, I find myself on the site of the third gate of the Palatine the Porta Mugonia and now the Temple of Jupiter Stator, in which Cicero delivered his first oration against Catiline; here also was the reputed house of Numa Ancus Marcius, and Tarquin, and the circuit is complete, for the Road of Victory is again beneath my feet, and the entrance gate leading into the Forum has been found. A certainty has been affixed to the identity of the Road of Victory by its appearing on the fragment of the Marble Plan of Ancient Rome, discovered some time back, and which is preserved in the Capitol. The identity of other places is testified by quotations from different Latin authors, who have accidentally noticed them. I know of no other spot, which could be within so narrow a compass, remains of such world wide engendered interest. I remember, in 1832, running round the walls overgrown in three quarters of an hour immediately upon my arrival, but within those walls there was little or nothing, which could be traced back with certainty beyond the time of Constantine, and a few displaced stones are the only record of the Herodian

or they mysteriously draw off the gentlemen of the party to show them some indecent cartoon in a Roman guard room. The pleasure of the visitor is limited by his own knowledge of the events, which have been crowded together on this hill, and the echoes of mighty voices, which speak out from these ruins. The careful archaeologist is prevented from errors in assigning particular dates to particular buildings by a knowledge of the material used, the manner of laying the stone or bricks adopted by the different generations of builders. However, great variety of opinions exist, and with regard to some buildings no two authorities are agreed.

On entering the inclosure, I rise up to a certain level, and passing the Museum built for the reception of objects of interest, proceed down the Road of Victory amidst the lofty ruins of the Palace of Caligula. On each side are the guard houses of the soldiers; at this corner was the Porta Romanula or Porta Victoria, which led to the Forum of the Capitol. Turning sharp round to the West, I follow the side of the hill, commanding a sweet view of Rome; above me are the ruins of the Palace of Liberius, below the undoubted remains of the (tufa) walls of Romulus. At the North West corner I come on the Porta Capia, from which a path led down to the Velabrum and the Tiber. Beneath me are the Lupercal, the Cave of Lulus, and around me ruins of Temples, which are at hazard assigned to Mars or Vesta. On the West side of the hill are more remains of the walls of Romulus and far below the eye can trace the outline of the great Circus, beyond which rises the Aventine. Passing onward I come upon ruins said to be those of a Temple of Jupiter Victor, and find myself in the interesting house of Liberius, the Father of the Emperor, laid out in the usual plan of a Roman private dwelling so familiar to visitors to Pompeii. On the walls the paintings are still fresh, this modest house of a rich Roman citizen of the last days of the Republic is probably overlaid by Imperial buildings, and has thus escaped to our time. I seem here to touch ground at about the date of the Christian era, in these rooms in which Tiberius grew up, and we may reasonably believe that Augustus, Cicero, Virgil and Horace must have sat and dined at this triclinium.

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Lake Regillus. On the other side is the pelusent and column of the Temple of Antoninus and Faustina, whose name appears in large letters. Of the Temple of divine Julius the site of which is known, nothing remains, *quis perire ruina*. Here stood the rostrum which was decorated with the skulls of Actium. The site of the pedestals of many honorary columns, raised to men of distinction can be traced and two interesting marble balustrades, with fine sculptures of the sacrifices of the swine, sheep and bull, and the figure of Trojan burning the schulero of public debts which he had remitted. The very limits of the Forum are not fixed with any degree of certainty. the Via Sacra, and Vicus Iugur, pass through it. Churches and convents have encroached upon its area on all sides. The roads which for ordinary traffic traverse it as a high level viaduct, have been cleared away. On the whole, the Forum is a disappointing site even after the completion of the excavations. Still, we must recollect that to this small space and the Agora at Athens we are indebted for the great germ of European civic liberty which distinguishes the States of Europe from those of Asia and Africa. Here was fought out the great battle of liberty and freedom of assembly and speech, and deeds long and orations spoken which the world will never allow to die out of the mouths and memories of civilized manhood. In this Forum Virginius slew his daughter Cicero denounced Catiline and Brutus justified to the Roman people the death of Julius Caesar. Here Caesar's body was burnt, here were held the discussions and votings of a free people and the Consuls and Tribunes elected. If on one side rose the Tiberian Rock to remind them of the fate of the traitor on the other side as if to show the dangerous proximity of good and evil institutions rose the Palatine hill the cradle of Caesarism which has waged persistent warfare in every country, France, Russia and Austria, with the liberty of the Roman Forum. Many ingenious identifications of ruins in the Forum have been made by apt quotations from Latin prose and poetic writers and reference to coins and inscriptions such as the famous Ancyran Tablet and the copies made by a visitor to Rome in the ninth century of a manuscript, which has survived the wreck of ages in the Library of Einsiedlen in Switzerland as also in the fragment of the Marble Plan of the Ancient City already alluded to. The same fertility of ingenious hypotheses the same wonderful acumen and marshalling of evidence from quotations. Inscriptions, comparison of style of architecture and material of building the same happiness of guesses, which amounts almost to divination appear in all that is written about the Palatine Hill and the Forum and are worthy of quite as much admiration as is conceded to the pioneers of Assyrian and Egyptian excavation. We leave the subject with the feeling that the darkness of the middle ages must have been very dark indeed, when in spite of the continuous

Republican time meets the eye in the Forum it was considerably an open space, and possibly there was not much taste for architecture in Republican Rome, and lastly, Augustus carried out his plan of obliterating all landmarks of the period of liberty by stately Temples and inclosures ostensibly for public convenience. In the course of time the level of this valley had been considerably raised by the accumulation of ruins, and forty years ago, all that could be seen, were a few columns and an Arch of Triumph half buried. The space cleared away in their immediate vicinity, in some cases by the liberality of strangers, made the appearance of the remainder more grotesque. The whole Forum has now been laid bare, and levelled to the pavement of the great buildings, which once surrounded it. Not one single object, which now meets the eye, could have met the eye of the Poet Horace, as he sauntered down the Sacred Way. Even the Temples, which had been identified by name, had been restored by later Emperors. As might be expected each generation added to, altered and repaired their public buildings: no two authorities seem to be agreed with regard to some of the ruins. All are under the charge of the State, and the visitor enters at one particular point, and is accompanied by a trained guide. The best general survey, however, can be made from the great Archway of the Tabularium, or Record Room on the Capitoline hill, which is itself a work of the Republican period. At the foot of the hill, ruins mark the spot at the Temple of Concord founded by Camillus, 367 B.C., when the office of Consul was thrown open to the people and where Cicero delivered his second oration against Catiline. These Corinthian columns belong to a Temple erected by Titus to Vespasian, but the word 'Restitute' on the frieze records the repairs of Septimius Severus in the next century. Eight Ionic columns belong to the Temple of Saturn, one of the oldest Temples in Rome, and used as the Treasury, but it was rebuilt at a late period of the Empire. The remains of the Rostrum, and the Milvium are interesting: the solitary column, erected by an Exarch to the Emperor Phoca in the seventh century of the Christian era, was probably stolen from some older Temple, and is conspicuous and indeed picturesque, and well known by models and pictures for Leyord its historical interest. The magnificent Arch of Triumph of Septimius Severus dates back to 203 A.D., and the crasure of the name of Geta tells a tale of the hatred of his brother Caracalla. The ground plan of the Basilica Julia, commenced by Julius Cæsar and finished by Augustus, gives a complete idea of what this magnificent Hall of Commerce and Exchange, Place of Public Assembly, and Tribunal of Justice must have been. Three columns, a corner fragment belonged to the Temple of Castor and Pollux, restored by Domitian, but representing the ancient building, which dated back to 484 B.C., and the base of

Horace in exchange for which we would gladly give the tombs of several scores of medieval Popes, but the waters of Time have flowed over every trace of the resting places of Meenius and Horace. Fortunately for the former his last had erected a monument to his patron more enduring than statues of brass or mansions of marble. These excavations are also in charge of State Officers.

The Baths of Titus were the first, and those of Diocletian or the Viminale near the railway station, were the latest, of the great popularity hunting erections of the Roman Emperors. But the baths of Caracalla were decidedly the most colossal and magnificent. Those of Titus have disappeared from above ground. Those of Diocletian have been turned into churches or to other use. But the ruins of the Baths of Caracalla stand out in all their majestic grandeur. The dynasty of Caracalla assumed the great patronage of Antonine, and these ruins are called *Therma Antonine*, but they were erected more than a century after the epoch of the great Antonine dynasty under a line of sovereigns who came from Africa. The excavations of the ruins have been conducted by the State but were commenced long ago and many priceless treasures of art are buried there, who were first in the world such as the great Larn of Bull in the Museum at Naples the Hercules of Glykon and many vast vases of porphyry and mosaic pavements. The plan of the vast buildings is quite clear and they are interesting as types of the civilization of the period. A plentiful supply of water was secured by a branch of the aqueduct of the *Aqua Marcia* and the wealthy Roman and the turbulent and dissipated populace were engrossed by such luxuries to forget their liberties and tolerate the domineering rule of such monsters as the Emperors placed for a short time in power. In the *Therma Amphitheatric* and the *Antonine Thermae* we see how easily a people in the period of their decadence will barter what their ancestors deemed most precious and die for for games and places of social gatherings. Modern Cæsars have tried the same experiment with their Picture Galleries and Operalouses. These ruins being situated on the South East of the *Aventine* and outside the inhabited portion of Rome though within the walls of Aurelian are seen to greater perfection than any other but they give birth to a feeling of historical interest but rather to deep contempt for the Emperor, who erected them and the people for whom they were erected.

The excavations to which we have hitherto alluded owe the origin to a veneration of the great past and a taste for Archaeology, of which no nation which respects itself is wholly devoid. I now notice an excavation on a large scale which has other and more practical objects. Allusion has been made to the works prosecuted on both banks of the River Tiber within the walls of London by order of the Italian Parliament. The Tiber is a stream of considerable magnitude and volume, filled by the snows of the *Apennines*, and

occupation of the city and the magnificent Latin literature, uncertainty and obscurity should have fallen upon this the most renowned place in the world, Jerusalem only excepted.

Passing onwards along the *Via Sacra*, I rise up on the *Velia*, a shoulder, as it were, of the Palatine, and pass under the beautiful Arch of Titus, which stands on the highest point. On the right lies the Arch of Constantine, which is despicable, as made up of the plundered materials of a destroyed Arch of Trajan. On the left is the Flavian Amphitheatre, known as the Coliseum. The excavations in the arena were commenced by the French in 1811, and concluded under the Italian Government. Many different theories have been started to explain the existence of the extensive subterranean buildings, which are attributed by some to the original constructors and by others to the medieval occupants, who turned

years may elapse before it is completed, and it may be questioned, whether the remedy will be sufficient, so long as the torrents of the Amo are not intercepted. At any rate, all chance of Father Time being called upon to surrender the treasures which for so many centuries it has held in deposit, has passed away. Among these treasures, it is believed to contain the great Candlestick of the Jewish Temple, which appears on the *basso relievo* on the Arch of Titus, as borne in triumph, and which, therefore, reached Rome after the destruction of Jerusalem, though it has since disappeared. Some are sanguine that the Tables of Stone on which Moses wrote the Law will turn up some day to the spade. A more reasonable hope may be entertained that the Candlestick has escaped the melting pot.

I have thus passed under review the chief public excavations of Rome. The railway when it ploughed its way into the precincts of the old walls revealed many objects of interest. The Agger of Servius Tullius which connected the seven hills together and formed the walls of Rome as a Republic is no longer a myth or a doubt even the Porta Capena of Juvenal's Third Satire is identified beyond dispute. Many other works of less importance and archaeological interest have been carried through. Rome in the day of its power and greatness had no sympathy with the sufferings of conquered nations, Egypt Syria and Greece were rolled without compunction. The great Latin authors anticipated a duration to Roman greatness not justified by the History of other nations which they had compiled for their own philosophy. Her time came also and the state into which her Palaces and Temples had subsided, was fully described by the poet Pope, in his letter to Addison at the commencement of the last century.

See the wild waste of all devouring years!
How long her own decay like ice appears
With nothing arches broken temples spread
The very tomb no more vaulted like the dead!
Some felt the silent stroke of moldering age
So no hot fire, so no religious rage
No Latin blindness, Christian zeal conspire
With Papal policy and Gothic fire

To Syracuse in the Island of Sicily my course lies Southwards by railway to Naples under the heights of Vesuvius past the disinterred cities of Herculaneum and Pompeii through Apulia, and along the coast of the extreme Southern toe of Italy to Reggio. A steam ferry connects the terminus of the Italian railway with Messina whence the Sicilian line conducts the traveller along the Eastern coast under the heights of beautiful Etna, past Catania built on a bed of lava, and on to Syracuse, the bone of contention between her powerful neighbours of Rome and Carthage, and once the object of the ambition,

traversing a long basin from a North-East direction, but, within two miles of the North side of Rome, it receives an affluent from a South-Eastern direction, known in ancient days as the Anio, and in modern time as the Teverone. This stream collects the drainage of the Sabine hills, and leaps down the far-famed precipice of Tiber or Tivoli, and on certain occasions, by its vast stores of water, causes the Tiber to overflow the streets of the City of Rome. Every schoolboy knows the second Ode of Horace, and a traveller on his first arrival at Rome is delighted to see a little Temple of Vesta, perched on the banks of the river above the great monument of the King, the Cloaca; but he spouts his Horace in vain, for the date of this Temple cannot surely be assigned to a date earlier than Vespaſian, on one of whose coins it appears, and Horace's temple is identified further up the valley of the Palatine and Capitoline hills, known now as the Church of St. Theodoro. A great many fond delusions have to be swept away, as we get older and wiser, and this is one, which we gain up with a sigh.

The Tiber has long been credited with the honour of being, as it were, the Treasury of Rome, and great ideas have been formed of temporarily turning off the stream, and changing the bed, and bringing to light treasures of statues, medals and ornaments of gold and silver, lost by accident, or consigned to the stream at the time of the numerous sieges and tumults of the great city. Unquestionably the course of the stream is impeded by the ruins of bridges and houses, and is narrowed unreasonably by the encroachment of dwellings or of terraces. When Rome became the Capital of Italy, it was clear, that something must be done: Garibaldi took the matter up. The engineers, and sanitary officers were in one camp, and the lovers of fine arts and Archaeology in the other. The real cure would have been, as an English engineer assured me at Rome, to have turned off the River Anio, and conducted it by a new cut through the Campagna on I across the Via Appia, South of Rome, into the sea, but to this enterprise, which in Holland would have counted as a small matter only, the Romans were not equal. Eventually they have decided to reduce the Tiber within the walls of Rome, to the state of the Arno within the walls of Florence and Pisa, and the Seine within the walls of Paris. The bed was to be deepened and widened, and embankments constructed on both sides, and a broad road, over which the floods in their fullness could spread. Unluckily, in the centre of the City is the famous island, famous for its Temple of Esculapius, and its embankments in the form of a ship, and there are old-fashioned many arched picturesque bridges, and the terraced gardens of the Farnese, with the famous fresco of Raphael, the cutting away of a great portion of which, including the celebrated garden palace, has caused the sulky wrath of its Spanish proprietor. Then the cleaning away of houses overhanging the stream costs money, and though the work is a vast one,

years may elapse before it is completed, and it may be questioned, whether the remedy will be sufficient, so long as the torrents of the Anio are not intercepted. At any rate, all chance of Father Time being called upon to surrender the treasures, which for so many centuries it has held in deposit, has passed away. Among these treasures, it is believed to contain the great Candlestick of the Jewish Temple, which appears on the *basso relievo* on the Arch of Titus, as borne in triumph, and which, therefore, reached Rome after the destruction of Jerusalem, though it has since disappeared. Some are sanguine that the Tables of Stone, on which Moses wrote the Law, will turn up some day to the spade. A more reasonable hope may be entertained, that the Candlestick has escaped the melting-pot.

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gradually faded away in other countries there is still the wild beauty, which enchanted the ancient World, the flowers blooming over the volcano, the vine flourishing, and even towns built over the streams of blackened lava. It is still a great reality, not to be surmounted in a holiday trip like Vesuvius, but only to be scaled by the labour of two or three days. Even in spite of railways and telegraphs and comfortable hotels, the story of Empedocles, the legends of Polyphemus, and the Cyclops of Acis and Galatea, of Ceres and Proserpine, come back to the well stored memory. We think of Ulysses and his companions escaping the great dangers, Æneïs and his father, and back come the sweet Doric melodies of Theocritus with their unrivalled charm. If the traveller pursues his journey by land, he comes upon the magnificent Temple cluster at Agriguntum, or the columns of Selinus and Segesta, or the Theatre of Taormina. If he proceeds by sea, and follows the Western coast of the island and stands over to the Ægades he more than realizes the events of the first and second Punic Wars, and understands the stern necessity of the Roman policy. From its position and peculiar conformation, Sicily under happier fortunes might herself have been Queen of the Mediterranean, but, if it had passed into the dominion of Carthage Sicily would have become a standing menace to the existence of Rome, and, according to the politics of those days, there was no room in the World for two independent Powers each ruling within their own sphere of dominion or influence. There was nothing except the status of a subject or a master. It was in Sicily, that a young intelligent lad explained to me the idea of the rising generation of patriots, as to the limits and lawful component parts of Italy. First and foremost was reckoned the existing kingdom of Italy as known to politicians. But to this was to be added Corsica at the expense of France, Malta at the expense of Great Britain, Trieste and Dalmatia to the loss of Austria, the Canton of Ticino by the dismemberment of Switzerland, and the Tyrolean Provinces south of the Alps now held by Austria.

From Marsala at the South West angle of Sicily to Tunis in Africa, the passage by steamer occupies one short night, and as the ship approaches the Goletta, the tomb of St. Louis, King of France, on the right, marks the site of ill-fated Carthage. The steamer has annihilated the barrier of the blue Mediterranean, no longer a Sea but a Lake of Commerce and of Pleasure trips. In fact the Suez Canal begins at Gibraltar and ends at Aden. Still the Poet's description is true. All is changed except the unchangeable Sea.

* The shores are Empires, changed in all save Time—
 Assyria, Greece, Rome, Carthage, what are they?
 The waters wasted them while they were free,
 And many a tyrant's seed.

* It is only, when the vicinity of Africa to the coast of Sicily is fully

is presented, that it can be understood, why Rome in recent days was so jealous of Carthage why in modern days Italy looked with such extreme dissatisfaction at the annexation of Tunisia by France. The Guelta is the harbour of Tunis, the greatest city of North Africa, which lies to the south of the small lake, round which now runs a railway. On the site of old Carthage, destroyed by the Romans, city after city sprang into existence, and their joint ruins have supplied materials of construction to the later city of Tunis. In the course of excavations, many objects are dug up of the Roman period, but of the old Phœnician colony not one genuine fragment has survived. The Roman destroyers did their relentless work thoroughly, and effaced not only the material evidences of their civilization, but extinguished their literature and language so effectually that no trace can be found. Standing on the high ground and looking over the expanse of waste ground and down to the sea shore, the student tries in vain to reconcile the accounts of the Historian with the aspect of natural features now presented. The harbours have ceased to be harbours, and there is room for an unlimited amount of theory. The great cisterns, which have been revealed by the excavations, are most probably of a later period than the great ruins of Rome. This fact attracted the attention of visitors of the middle ages, and Tasso expresses the feeling in magnificent language

"Giacce alta Cartago appena istruita
Dell' alto suo ruine il lido arida
M' uno le citta' muove a regni
Cepre i fasti, e le pompe ar no ed erba
E l' uom d' esser mortal par che a sé gua
O' nostra mente cupola e perbat

1 century ago it would not have been easy to visit these four great cities. Of Carthage and Syracuse little was known a visit to Greece was considered an effort worthy of record and a visit to Rome, the privilege of persons of large means and much leisure. Perhaps there are not many, who have even now visited all four, but to do so entails no difficulty, and not much time or expense, and brings with it a pleasant variety of travelling, by land and sea, and an inexhaustible fund of interest and instructive memories. It is something worth going much further to see Athens's Temple on the Acropolis crowned with an aureole of purple light, to stand at the entrance of the prison of Socrates, and on the Hill of Mars with St Paul to see a Roman sunset, or muse like Gibbon amidst the ruins of the Capitol, to look down into the Catacombs of Syracuse and imagine them filled with Athenian prisoners some of whom in their captivity were chanting not in vain, a chorus of Euripides and lastly to have sat, where Marius, a fugitive, sat before, amidst the ruins of Carthage nearly two thousand years ago.

THE KNOWN WORLD - ABOUT B.C. 450



ABOUT B.C. 336



ABOUT A.D. 300



CHAPTER XX

THE GEOGRAPHY OF THE GREEKS AND ROMANS

MR BUNBURY'S careful work in two goodly volumes, accompanied by twenty illustrative maps has placed within the reach of every one the wonderful story of the slow and gradual progress of human knowledge of the earth on which they lived, acquired by the Greeks and Romans from the time of Homer to that of the Emperor Antoninus. The last was the high water mark of Geographical knowledge for many centuries, until Europe woke up from the sleep of the Dark Ages, and it is humiliating to think, how even now vast regions are imperfectly known, or not known at all, both in Asia and in Africa. Mr Bunbury's narrative is in a high degree fascinating many portions read like a romance on the other hand, it is the result of many years of study, an accurate comparison of all existing records and an equally accurate knowledge of Geographical facts, as they are known to exist. It may indeed be called the Manual of Comparative or Historical Geography, as derived from the classical authors, and the basis of our own modern knowledge.

Recent discoveries have revealed to us, that there were other systems of Geography unknown to the Greeks, and, if known, despised by the Romans. A large volume of Ancient Egyptian Geography has lately been published by Brugsch Bey the great Assyrian and Babylonian Empires must have had a good knowledge of the countries East and West and North, which had fallen under their sway unfortunately, neither Herodotus nor Ctesias had access to these documents. That the chief physical features of India were well known to Sanskrit authors is evidenced by numerous incidental allusions in many of their works, even as far back as the *Vala*, which allude to the rivers of the *Tan* and to the Ocean. Megasthenes might have brought back further notices than he appears to have gathered at the Court of *Salibothra*. Lastly, Chinese Annals disclose a new world of Geography, and languages, religions, languages, and customs, of which the Greeks never dreamt, and of which the Romans, even down to the time of Ptolemy, the last and greatest Geographer, had a most imperfect

THE KNOWN WORLD - ABOUT BC 450



ABOUT 4000



ABOUT AD 300



CHAPTER XX

THE GEOGRAPHY OF THE GREEKS AND ROMANS.

MR BUNBURY'S careful work in two goodly volumes, accompanied by twenty illustrative maps has placed within the reach of every one the wonderful story of the slow and gradual progress of human knowledge of the earth on which they live, acquired by the Greeks and Romans from the time of Homer to that of the Emperor Antoninus. The last was the high water mark of Geographical knowledge for many centuries until Europe woke up from the sleep of the Dark Ages and it is humiliating to think, how even now vast regions are imperfectly known or not known at all both in Asia and in Africa. Mr Bunbury's narrative is in a high degree fascinating many portions read like a romance on the other hand it is the result of many years of study in accurate comparison of all existing records and in equally accurate knowledge of Geographical facts as they are known to exist. It may indeed be called the Manual of Comparative or Historical Geography as derived from the classical authors and the basis of our own modern knowledge.

Recent discoveries have revealed to us that there were other systems of Geography unknown to the Greeks and, if known, despised by the Romans. A large volume of Ancient Egyptian Geography has lately been published by Brugsch and the great Assyrian and Babylonian Empires must have had a good knowledge of the countries East and West and North which had fallen under their sway unfortunately, neither Herodotus nor Ctesias had access to these documents. That the chief physical features of India were well known to Sanskrit authors is evidenced by numerous incidental allusions in many of their works, even as far back as the Vedas, which allude to the rivers of the Panjab and to the Ocean. Megasthenes might have brought back further notices than he appears to have gathered at the Court of Lalibothra. Lastly Chinese Annals disclose a new world of Geography, and kingdoms, religions, languages, and customs of which the Greeks never dreamt and of which the Romans, even down to the time of Ptolemy, the last and greatest Geographer, had a most imperfect

World, and that they were divided into two portions, the one towards the setting, the other towards the rising sun. From this statement may fairly be deduced the fact, that Homer knew of the existence of the black races on the West, as well as the East, coast of Africa.

Eratosthenes, the father of scientific Geography, pointed out, that Homer was well acquainted with the regions near at hand, but ignorant of those afar off. This conclusion, apparently so obvious, was rejected with scorn by such writers as Strabo and Polybius: in fact, such a web of superstitious reverence had been woven round the great Greek Epics, that it was deemed heresy to question Homer's dicta as regards Geography, History and Ethnology. This absence of critical judgment arrested the progress of true science for several centuries: it is, as if the Geographers of Europe had felt themselves tied down by the occasional notices of places in the Old Testament, or the rising generation of Indians were unable to burst the shackles of Vedic, Puranic, and Sanskritic Geography. Some certain conclusions can be drawn both from the notices and silence of Homer. He knew nothing of the division of the World into three Continents. The union of Syllables, which make up the important names of Europe and Africa had not been formed, and the term Asia is restricted to the meadows on the banks of the Caspian. On the other hand, his description of the relative position of the lofty island of Sunothrice and the low island of Imbros, as seen from the plains of Troy, is that of an eye-witness of the scene. An incidental allusion to a voyage to Egypt, which Ulysses pretended to have made in the assumed character of a Cretan, though the narrative is a fiction, is obviously in accordance with ordinary experience. Menelaus mentions having visited Egypt, Phenicia, Cyprus, and Libya, by which it is probably meant the country round Cyrene. Homer abounds in descriptions of the sea, from which a large part of his *nautical* were taken, but he had no idea of any sea but the Mediterranean, though it is

who dwelt to the South of Egypt, by the shores of the Ocean-stream, has received a singular confirmation within the last few years from the discovery of the race of Akka dwarfs to the West of the Albert Nyanza, who were probably at that time more widely diffused. On the other hand strange to say, his knowledge of the physical features of Ithaka, and its relative position to the adjacent islands, is vague, and not compatible with local knowledge. Not a whisper of the existence of the great Monarchies of Mesopotamia had reached the ear of the Poet: not a ripple of Chaldean or Assyrian, or Hamathite, culture, had disturbed the Homeric sea: and, as stated above, no trace is found of any of the legends of conquest in the Far West, which had gathered round the name of Hercules, while, although Atlas is mentioned, the myth of his supporting the heavens on his shoulders had not been developed. Whatever may be the age assigned to Homer he is justly considered as the beginning of Greek culture and of the character above described is the Geographical knowledge, of which he was possessed. And it must be remembered, that in such poems, with such freedom of descriptive power, and license of expression, the silence of the Poet upon the subject of existing political, and remarkable physical phenomena, implies an ignorance of them on his own part, and therefore of his hearers.

One of the first prose writings in the Greek language is the Geographical treatise of Hecataeus, which was probably published before the end of the sixth century before the Christian era. The work was named *Periplus*, or Description of the Earth. Unfortunately, it has perished, and all that we know of it is collected from fragments quoted in the works of later writers, which have been lately brought together and published by Muller in his *Fragmenta Historicorum Græcorum*. Allusion must here be made to the unhappy literary fate of this and many other of the esteemed early writers. All that we know of them is from fragmentary quotations or translations of quotations, made by honest, but unsympathetic, successors for whose accuracy we have no guarantee, and who, as often as not were hostile, envious and jealous. It is as if all our knowledge of the historians of Clarendon and Hume were preserved in quotations made by Micaulay. Now knowledge is progressive and the later writers standing upon the foundations, painfully laid by their predecessors, and profiting by the yearly widening circle of discovery, were not fair judges of the merits of the men, who had gone before them. At least they were kinder than many authors of modern time, who appropriate the knowledge, without quoting the name, of their Authority.

Between Homer and Hecataeus there had been a great widening of the horizon. In the poet Hesiod, or the earliest existing allusion to that poet, appear the names of 31 Seythians, the Egyptian,

conception. We must not hoodwink ourselves, and rest upon the old legal maxim, that things which do not appear, might as well not exist; when, in ordinary conversation, we talk about the knowledge of the World by the ancients, we mean only the Greeks and the Romans, who falsely asserted themselves to be the heirs of all the previous ages, and the recipients of all pre-existing knowledge. We know now how small a portion of the intellectual wealth of Egypt, Mesopotamia, India, and China had reached them. The ancient Arabians had no doubt a commercial Geography of their own, for which they are not fully credited. And during the darkness of the Middle Ages of Europe the later Arabs again took up the task of Discovery, and made important contributions to modern knowledge, for which they get but scanty credit. Our modern explorers in Africa, East and West, North and South, have revealed the fact, that that Continent has been traversed by caravans for centuries, and that the knowledge, which we have now obtained, might have been attained much earlier, if we had only set about it in earnest.

We can realize somewhat the position of the ancient Romans and Greeks to the whole World by considering our own position at the present moment to the centre of Africa, or Borneo, or New Guinea, or the Peninsula of Korea, and of the Plateau of Tibet, and forty years ago of how many parts of Nearer and Further India, and of the Chinese Empire little or nothing was known. How vague was the knowledge of Afghanistan, Kashmir, and the Valley of the Indus! Great as has been the progress during that period of Geographical discovery, how much still remains to be done!

the Greeks had heard of the Ethiopians, and of the Pigmeæ, whose existence has in these last days in these very regions been ascertained.

Two articles of Commerce, unknown as products of the country bordering on the Mediterranean, are mentioned by Homer, and must have been imported from the distant regions beyond the Pillars of Hercules by the Phœnician. These are tin and amber. That the former came from the islands of the Casiterides there is a concurrence of testimony, and that these islands represented the county of Cornwall there can be no doubt. The latter is found exclusively on the Northern shores of Germany, and most extensively on the shores of the Baltic Sea. We have to believe that the Phœnicians had communication, directly, or through third parties, with the collectors of this valuable commodity, or that it was conveyed overland, as unquestionably it is frequently mentioned by Homer.

As was to be expected, the earliest voyages and travels, that have come down to us, are enshrined in poetry, and surrounded with a halo of fiction, though accepted as genuine history by the uncritical ancients. The first of these legends, and anterior to Homer, is the voyage of the Argonauts. It was developed, and enlarged and localized by succeeding chroniclers, and it was fondly believed even at the time of Augustus, that Colchis and the banks of the River Phasis were the scene of the events narrated; but there is no authority for such details. From Pausanias the oldest authority we learn no further than, that Æetes lived on the banks of the Ocean stream in the farthest East, and Homer alludes to the voyage as even in his time World famous. In this critical age we know from our experience of the poems and novels of Walter Scott; how soon the most airy creations of the brain are localized, and entirely groundless details accepted as fact by a too-credulous generation. All that can be conceded is that at a very remote period, long before the colonization of the shores of the Black Sea, some adventurous Greek navigator did penetrate through the Straits of the Dardanelles, and the Bosphorus, into the Euxine.

The Geographical notions of Homer in his two great Epics are next in date. There can be no doubt, that Homer believed the Earth to be a plain of circular form, surrounded on all sides by the Ocean, which was conceived of, not as a sea but as a vast continuous stream, flowing round the earth: that the sun rose out of the Ocean stream, and again sunk into the same at setting, the stars followed the same course, and bathed every day in the waters of the Ocean, with one exception, the Great Bear, which alone had no share in the Baths of the Ocean. To these phenomena may be added the very significant fact, that the Ethiopians, or burnt faced men are described as living to the South of Egypt, on the borders of the Ocean stream, at the extreme limits of the

World, and that they were divided into two portions, the one towards the setting, the other towards the rising sun. From this statement may fairly be deduced the fact, that Homer knew of the existence of the black races on the West, as well as the East, coast of Africa.

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Between Homer and Hecataeus there had been a great widening of the horizon. In the poet Hesiod or the works existing ascribed to that poet, appear the names of the Scythians the Persians,

progress and discovery had thus been furly entered upon, and the isolation of nations was no longer possible.

Physical Science and Astronomy, without which the most rudimentary Geography would be impossible, had also advanced. Anaximander, in the first half of the sixth century before the Christian era, is reported to have drawn the first map of the Earth's surface, and to have introduced the use of, if not to have invented, the Gnomon, or primitive Sun dial, which plays such an important part in the progress of Geographical Science as the only means known to the Greeks for determining terrestrial latitudes. Pythagoras arrived, on purely theoretic grounds, at the most important conclusion, that the Earth was of a spherical form, and when we consider the view even to this day of many Asiatic nations on this subject, we may indeed bow in homage to the great Grecian philosopher, who enunciated this mighty idea so contrary to the evidence of the senses. He also, for convenience sake, divided the Globe into five Zones, the Equatorial, the Arctic, and Antarctic, and the two Temperate Zones.

Hecataeus, at whose time we have now arrived, was a native of Miletus. His work was intended, in one way or another, to comprise a general but complete, review of all the countries known to the Greeks. By the irony of time the greater part of such an invaluable treatise has come down to us in the disjointed quotation, of a later Grammarian, who arranged the names in alphabetical order for purposes having no relation to Geography. He had travelled much, and consulted merchants and travellers, from his fellow citizens, and his neighbours, the Ithacians he could glean intelligence of his own city against the Persian King. In the ill-fated revolt of his own city against the Persian King. In one book he described Europe, a word which then received its full meaning, in the other Asia, which included Egypt, Ethiopia, the rest of what is now called Africa. From him we hear fragments of the Caspian Sea, of India, and the River Indus and a brief notice of the Persian Gulf. It is remarkable, that he has no notice neither Babylon nor any of the great cities of the basin of the Euphrates, nor Rome. His Map of the World is the first in a series of Epoch Maps, it is surrounded by the circumfluent Ocean. It was an article of faith with the Greeks that their country was in the centre of the World, and Delphi the very navel. Six centuries later, an equally ignorant community were led to believe, that Jerusalem was the centre of the Universe, and all other countries were symmetrically arranged round it. The mind of the Greeks had a symmetry and a symmetrical tendency, and made no difficulty in assuming what seemed to be required to meet that tendency, and in considering Europe to be equal in size to the rest of the World.

In the interval between Hecataeus and Herodotus, the

Æchylus and Pindar wrote their immortal verse. We must not judge the description of poets with too critical an eye, or ask for the rock, to which Prometheus was attached, or test too closely the wanderings of Io but in the Persæ occur for the first time the names of the great cities of Susa, Ekbatana and Babylon, and we hear of the Parthians and Bactrians. Pindar considers the Pillars of Hercules, the Phasis, and the Nile, as figures expressive of the ends of the Earth.

The works of Herodotus have survived to our times, and form an epoch in Geography as well as History, but we must recollect, that it was not a systematic treatise, and we must not infer from his silence, that he was ignorant of any region or instance, he scarcely alludes to Carthage and its dominions as not coming within the scope of his work, nor are we entitled to say, that he had never heard of the great name of Rome, but at least it never appears on his page. His work was written in the latter half of the fifth century before the Christian era and is too well known to require much comment. He had travelled a great deal, and writes as an eye witness he had made inquiries of competent witnesses and records their testimony he had an opinion of his own of what seemed probable or ridiculous he takes a comprehensive view of the size and configuration of the World in a practical manner so that even his mistakes are not contrary to common sense, but due to imperfect information or incorrect deductions. He had satisfied himself that Africa, which he only

Proceeding Southward it appears clearly that his knowledge was limited to the confines of the Persian kingdom. Of Arabia he had only a vague knowledge but the navigation of the Red Sea was established, and Commerce supplied not only the frankincense and myrrh of Arabia but cinnamon and cassia of a country far beyond either India and Ceylon, or the so called cinnamon region of Africa. He alludes to tides a phenomenon with which the Greeks were not familiar in their own inland sea and he uses the word Atlantic for the outer sea in one solitary passage. To Herodotus we are indebted for all we know about the voyage of Scylax from the mouths of the Indus to the Arabian Gulf from him we hear first of the cotton or tree wool and the bamboo of India and the famous story of the gold thrown up in large heaps by ant as large as foxes and carried away by Indians mounted on swift camels but no allusion is made by him to elephants.

With regard to Africa his information still to all time he deeply interesting he had no conception that beyond the Southern desert there existed any region fit for the habitation of man to the limits of Egypt he had himself penetrated and by inquiry he had fixed the position of Meroe the capital of the Ethiopians beyond that the Nile was said to flow from the West, or setting in but no one knew anything of the source. In one vague allusion intelligible only in the light thrown upon it by subsequent discoveries, he raises the dark veil which shrouded Negro-land from his generation he narrates, without suspecting the deep importance of his story how five youths penetrated across the Sahara to the valley of the Niger which is finally connected with the Nile. It is to be regretted that he excluded the Carthaginian dominions from his description and therefore all the North coast of Africa West of the Syrtes. He picked up something from Carthaginian traders and the only name outside the Pillars of Hercules quoted by him is that of Cape Soloea or Cape Cantin in Morocco. In considering the reason why the interior of Africa was thus secluded from the active and intelligent nations which dwelt upon its coast here and along the great Nile basin we must recollect the no well established fact that the use of Camels was practically unknown in Africa until after the Mahometan conquest. They were indeed used by the armies of Cambyses and Alexander the Great but this was exceptional. Amid the calamities which the world has suffered from the disappearance of many noble works of antiquity we may well be thankful that the famous journals of Herodotus with all their faults and shortcomings have survived to this day.

Before the death of the great Herodotus (the oldest facts never reached his ears in his retreat at Lemnos where he settled down to record his travels. Hanno the Carthaginian had made his famous expedition down the West coast of Africa. The document that has come down to us, is in the Greek language and known as the

Periplus of Hanno Not only is it one of the few records of Phœnician and Carthaginian enterprise, that have survived, but it purports to be the account of the Commander himself, who was either the father or the son of that Hanno, who invaded Sicily B.C. 480. With a large number of emigrants, in a fleet of sixty ships, he passed out of the Pillars of Hercules landed at the island of Gêno, which is identified with a small island, still called Hérne, at the mouth of the Rio d'Oro in latitude $23^{\circ} 50'$, and proceeded thence further South to Sherboro land, just beyond Sierra Leone. The two remarkable features described by the narrator as the streams of fire pouring forth as from a volcano, and the capture of a gorilla. They visited the mouth of a broad and large river, full of crocodiles and hippopotamus, and this must have been the River Sanghaï. The streams of fire arose from the conflagrations of the long, dry grass, which is kindled yearly by the natives. Such was the simple story which our knowledge of the coast confirms at every part but it was distorted, and rendered ridiculous by exaggerated quotations in all later Geographers.

Strabo refers to him as one of the writers, on whom no reliance can be placed. So his worthless garrulosity was at last found out. We are not indebted to him for the description of a single custom of the Hindu.

A very different Author is the next in time. The *Anabasis* of Xenophon is one of the most delightful episodes in the history of the World. A brave and prudent soldier, a refined and elegant writer, the friend of Plato, and the pupil of Socrates, he was one of those gifted few, who, like the first Cæsar, have done things worth recording, and written things worth reading. As we read this famous book, and mark how discipline triumphed over undisciplined numbers, and a brave heart forced its way through physical difficulties, we feel that we have opened the handbook to victory: and, as we march across Mesopotamia, passing by parasang, and fight our way through Armenia to the shores of the Euxine, we feel, that we must be on the eve of much greater events, and that Xenophon, by making known the weakness of the huge Asiatic kingdom, is, as he proved to be, but the advance-guard of Alexander. The expedition was for purely political objects, and the narrative was written from the point of view of a Historian, but every general, and every Historian in those days, was, to a certain extent, in the position of a Geographical explorer. Xenophon is trustworthy and intelligent in his descriptions, and we doubt not, that Alexander of Macedon found more practical advantage in the copy of the *Anabasis*, which he must have studied, than in the copy of Homer, which he is credited to have had always under his pillow, and which would have proved but a blind guide to the Conqueror of Asia.

Ephorus is one of the unfortunate authors, who wrote valuable works, but who have survived only in fragments, quoted for their own purpose by the next generation of writers. He appears to have made a general and comprehensive review of Geography, devoting one book to Europe, and another to Asia and Africa. He looked upon the Indians, the Scythians, the Kelts, and the Ethiopians, as the four most distant nations, taking Greece as the centre: he accepts the discoveries of Hanno, and is so far in advance of Herodotus. His contemporary Theopompus has shared the same fortune, and has but a fragmentary existence in the pages of the elder Pliny, who mentions, that he is the first Greek author, who notices the history of Rome, and the capture of the city by the Gauls. He had a better knowledge of the Italian cities; but he shakes our confidence in his judgment by his rash assertion, that the Ister, or Danube, had a double branch, and that the Western branch discharged itself into the Adriatic. This false idea, which originated in the Argonautic legend, was not repeated by the more cautious Geographers already mentioned, but from the time of Theopompus onwards for many generations became a fixed delusion,

incidental Geographical statements are quite wrong and confused, but he agrees with Herodotus, that the Caspian was an inland sea, and this saved him from an error, which clung to his successors for many centuries.

To the same period must be dated the famous myth of Atlantis, as shadowed forth in the *Timæus* and *Cratylus* of Plato. It would not be worth noticing, as merely the creation of the philosopher's brain, had it not gained a hold upon the Greek mind, and the reputed shallow and muddy nature of the Western Ocean was supposed to arise from the subsidence of this imaginary island. It was no doubt in the interest of the Phœnicians and Carthaginians to represent the seas as unnavigable. The Carthaginian Himilco is reported by Pliny to have made a voyage Northward at the same time that Hanno made his Southward, and to have found his progress checked by the heavy and sluggish nature of the sea, and the quantities of sea weed, which obstructed the motion of the ship, so that there may have been a basis, on which all these legends rested.

of Clitarchus, who, though a contemporary of Alexander, was not a writer of judgment, and the works of the three Roman authors, who followed him, are not so highly esteemed as authorities as Arrian's history of the expedition.

But that same author has left another work, his Indian History, a portion of which is admitted to be a compendium of a work written by Nearchus himself, who conducted the fleet of Alexander from the Indus to the Persian Gulf. This is a most important contribution to Geographical knowledge, and it is only in modern times, that its correctness has been tested. It is stated that Alexander contemplated the circumnavigation of the Peninsula of Arabia, and no doubt Nearchus would have accomplished it, for there were no insuperable obstacles, but Alexander's death arrested all such great designs and a heavy misfortune it was, for five hundred years later on Arrian records that no mortal ever dared venture on the enterprise by reason of the vast heat of the sun and the desert shores, that the country must be uninhabitable, that no one had ever got so far as the extreme point of the Persian Gulf to the spot sighted by Nearchus on his expedition from the Indus, and that, had these seas been navigable, Alexander would not have left them undiscovered.

The successors of Alexander the Great contributed notably to Geographical discovery. The works of Megasthenes have unfortunately perished, but large extracts have survived in the works of Pliny, Diolorus Arrian and Strabo and they contain matters of great interest regarding India. Two embassies have been so important as landmarks in history as that of Megasthenes ambassador of Seleucus Nicator, King of Babylon to Sandracottus or Chan Liagupta, of the great Mauryan dynasty, King of India, at his capital of Palibothra, now Patna on the Ganges. We here touch ground in Indian Chronology, and on this pivot turns a circle of events of the greatest importance. Megasthenes was probably the only Greek who penetrated so far into India. His route is easy to follow. He crossed the River Satlaj, beyond the point, where Alexander the Great turned back, he must have seen with his eyes the magnificent snowy ranges of the Himalaya or Indian Caucasus. He passed into the basin of the Ganges by the road of Barhuda, crossed the Jamna, worked his way to the junction of the Jatna and Ganges, and he identifies the capital by placing it at the junction of the Ganges and the Frang-lora in the latter name we recognize the Sanskrit Himavanta, or golden armed, another name for the Ganges which also means gold. He knew little or nothing of the course of the Ganges south of Palibothra or of the mountain ranges or table-land, or in fact of anything beyond the basin of the Indus and the Ganges. And this is the more remarkable as, from the Inscriptions erected by Asoka, grandson of Sandracottus it is known that his kingdom extended from the Vindhya range to Cuttack on the

East coast and Ganjam on the West His estimate of the extent of India was sober and he had definite information regarding Ceylon but he knew nothing of the peninsula of India We learn from Strabo that another ambassador Daimachus was sent by Seleucus to the son of Sandricottus and wrote an account of his journey which has perished A work of Indrocles Governor of the frontier Provinces of India is quoted by Strabo and having been considered by Eratosthenes more trustworthy than Megasthenes' History mentions a work by Dionysius an ambassador sent to one of the Indian kings (a vague term) by Ptolemy Philadelphus King of Egypt probably by the sea route After this a close relation between India and there was no more communication with Europe for centuries But at a period anterior to the invasion of Alexander by some means or other the unique invention of the Phenician Alphabet passing through intermediary language either by sea or land had found its way to India and given birth to the two forms of the Asoka Alphabet which are the groundwork of all the Characters of writing of Sanskrit and Pali either in India or one strange error which distorted gradually for many generations we are indebted to Ptolemy who is reported to have asserted that it was possible to sail round India to the Cape of Good Hope which was in fact merely a gulf in the Ocean and this error appears in the maps of Strabo

In this meantime the Ptolemies were founding cities and encouraging Commerce down the West side of the Red Sea and the Inscription of Aduha in Abyssinia testifies to the fact, that elephants were there trained for war A line of stations extended to the Straits of Bab el Mandeb and beyond to the Southern Horn of Africa or Cape Guardafui which produced not only myrrh and frankincense but cinnamon which it came to be known to the Greeks as the Hind of Cinnamon Ptolemy put up a stele to commemorate his furthest point of discovery A Commerce no doubt existed in India Commerce but there was no limit to with that country The Sabians on the opposite coast of Arabia acted as intermediaries between India and Europe It is a fact that nearly all the theories of Strabo who wrote at a later date had any knowledge of India except through the writings of Megasthenes, and the contemporary of Alexander One writer of the early second century which though it has been since proved to be a pure fabrication by the geographers and cosmographers of the time This was Timotheus a Syrian under the name of Lucretius who drew up a geographical description of the parts of the Mediterranean

The geographers succeeded in the case of Alexander and a new name of the Island of Bantam Herodotus had heard of the Carthagenians but they were generally supposed to be the coast of Syria A writer named Pytheas a native of Massilia in a treatise giving an account of his own voyage and describing other countries of which he had heard reported His work is a parallel to it was

of Clitarchus, who, though a contemporary of Alexander, was not a writer of judgment, and the works of the three Roman authors, who followed him, are not so highly esteemed as authorities as Arrian's history of the expedition.

But that same author has left another work, his *Indian History*, a portion of which is admitted to be a compendium of a work written by Nearchus himself, who conducted the fleet of Alexander from the Indus to the Persian Gulf. This is a most important contribution to Geographical knowledge, and it is only in modern times, that its correctness has been tested. It is stated that Alexander contemplated the circumnavigation of the Peninsula of Arabia, and no doubt Nearchus would have accomplished it, for there were no insuperable obstacles, but Alexander's death arrested all such great designs, and a heavy misfortune it was, for five hundred years later on Arrian records that no mortal ever dared venture on the enterprise by reason of the vast heat of the sun and the desert shores, that the country must be uninhabitable, that no one had ever got so far as the extreme point of the Persian Gulf to the spot sighted by Nearchus on his expedition from the Indus, and that, had these seas been navigable, Alexander would not have left them undiscovered.

The successors of Alexander the Great contributed notably to Geographical discovery. The works of Megasthenes have unfortunately perished, but large extracts have survived in the works of Ptolemy, Diodorus, Arrian and Strabo, and they contain matters of great interest regarding India. Few embassies have been so important as landmark in history as that of Megasthenes, ambassador of Seleucus Nicator, King of Babylon to Sandracottus or Chandragupta, of the great Mauryan dynasty, King of India, at his capital of Palibothra, now Patna on the Ganges. We here touch ground in Indian Chronology, and on this point turns a circle of events of the greatest importance. Megasthenes was probably the only Greek, who penetrated so far into India. His route is easy to follow. He crossed the River Satly, beyond the point, where Alexander the Great turned back, he must have seen with his eyes the magnificent snowy ranges of the Himalayas, or Indian Caucasus. He passed into the basin of the Ganges by the road of Sarhan, crossed the Jumna, worked his way to the junction of the Jamna and Ganges, and he identifies the city by placing it at the junction of the Ganges and the Erannabasis. In the latter name we recognize the Sanskrit *Hiranyavaha*, or *golden stream*, another name for the *Son*, which also means gold. He knew little or nothing of the course of the Ganges south of Palibothra, or of the mountain ranges or table-land, or in fact of anything beyond the basin of the Indus and the Ganges. And this is the more remarkable, as, from the Inscriptions erected by Asoka, grandson of Sandracottus, it is known, that his kingdom extended south of the Vindhya range to Cuttack on the

East coast, and Ganjam on the West. His estimate of the extent of India was sober and he had definite information regarding Ceylon but he knew nothing of the peninsula of India. We learn from Strabo that another ambassador Damachus was sent by Seleucus to the son of Sandracottus and wrote an account of his journey which has perished. A work of Patrocles, Governor of the frontier provinces of India, is quoted by Strabo, as having been considered by Eratosthenes more trustworthy than Megasthenes. Pliny mentions a work by Dionysius an ambassador sent to one of the Indian kings (a vague term) by Ptolemy Philadelphus King of Egypt probably by the sea route. After this a cloud falls upon India and there was no more communication with Europe for centuries. But at a period anterior to the invasion of Alexander by some means or other, the unique invention of the Phoenician Alphabet passing through intermediary derivative either by sea or land, had found its way to India, and given birth to the two forms of the Asoka Alphabet which are the groundwork of all the Characters of writing of Neerer and Further India. For one strange error which disfigures Geography for many generations we are debtors to Patrocles who is reported to have asserted that it was possible to sail round India to the Caspian Sea which was in fact merely a gulf in the Ocean and this error appears in the maps of Strabo.

In the mean time the Ptolemies were founding cities and encouraging Commerce down the West side of the Red Sea and the Inscription of Adulis in Abyssinia testifies to the fact that elephants were there trained for war. A chain of stations extended to the Straits of Bab elmanieb and beyond to the Southern Horn of Africa, or Cape Guardafui, which produced not only myrrh and frankincense but cinnamon whence it came to be known to Geographers as the 'Land of Cinnamon'. Each explorer put up a stela to commemorate his furthest point of advance. A Commerce no doubt existed in Indian commodities but there was no direct trade with that country. The Sabaeans on the opposite coast of Arabia acted as intermediaries between India and Europe. It is a fact that neither Eratosthenes nor Strabo who wrote at a later date had any knowledge of India except through the writings of Megasthenes, and the contemporaries of Alexander. One writer left a valuable record which though it has long since perished, was praised by the highest Geographers and copiously quoted. This was Timosthenes an admiral under Ptolemy I svergates who drew up a practical description of the ports of the Mediterranean.

The generation succeeding to that of Alexander, heard a new name that of the Island of Britain. Herodotus had heard of the Cassiterides but they were generally placed off the coast of Spain. A writer named Pytheas a native of Marseilles left a treatise giving an account of his own voyages and describing other countries of which he had hearsay report. His work has perished, but it was

an obvious problem based upon the spherical form of the earth, and had been attempted at a time even anterior to Aristotle, but neither the method nor the data of the early measurements are supplied nor had the result approximate so nearly to the truth as the calculation made by Eratosthenes who, assuming Alexandria and Syene to be on the same meridian at a known distance from each other, measured the shadow of the Gnomon at each to determine their latitude and concluded that the arc of the meridian intercepted between the two was one fiftieth part of the great circle. But though his data were in every fact remarkably erroneous his calculation however came surprisingly near the truth as by his measurement the circumference of the globe amounted to 25 000 *Geographical* miles while in fact the circumference at the Equator is a little short of 25 000 English miles.

The *habitable world* as distinguished from the surface of the globe was in his time very limited as he knew nothing of the towering mountains of undiscovered regions. It was bounded to the North and extended but to the South and he set an impassable boundary and is to the Southern tropic and temperate zone. He thought no more about it than we do of the inhabitants of the Moon. His great object was to determine the length of the long narrow map of the habitable World. He proceeded to show, that the length was more than double the breadth and was rather more than one third of the circumference of the globe the remainder he considered to be occupied by sea and his intellect was sufficiently clear and enlarged for him to remark that one might sail from Spain to India along the same parallel or latitude. In fact this great man predicted as a matter of theory the circumnavigation of the World though it seemed a thing as practically impossible as a journey is now to the Moon.

He then proceeded to lay down a main parallel of Latitude passing through certain points &c. from the sacred promontory, the Westernmost point of Iberia through the Pillars of Hercules along the whole length of the Mediterranean to the Island of Rhodus and thence to the Gulf of Issus. Hence it was prolonged along the Southern foot of Mount Taurus which he conceived as preserving a uniform direction from West to East and continuing under the name of Caucasus along the Northern frontier of India until it ended in the Indian or Eastern Ocean beyond which there was nothing. Now the value of such a parallel depended upon correct observations of Latitude taken all along it there was no means of taking such observations correctly, and none existed except in a few cases.

The parallel was supposed to pass betwixt Sicily and Italy and the Southern extremity of the Peloponnesus and this mistake was continued by all Geographers down to the time of Ptolemy showing how little attempt was made to verify data in places so familiar

quoted by Eratosthenes which fixes the date. He is also quoted by Polybius. He had visited Britain and Iberia, and had heard of the Island of Thule and the Tentori. He is reasonably supposed to have penetrated by sea as far as the mouth of the River Libe. He thus largely added to the Map of Western Europe. He was a good Astronomer, and fixed the latitude of Marseilles with fair correctness. He described Thule as lying within the Arctic circle, and he must, therefore, have heard of the phenomenon of continuous day at the summer solstice. He was the first to connect the tide with the moon. An author named Theophrastus of this period, though writing upon the wonders of Nature and Art, mentioning incidentally the Rhine, as being frozen hard in the winter like the Ister, and flowing to the land of the Germans. He also first notices the existence of beautiful islands beyond the Pillars of Hercules, which filled so large a part of the interest of the next generations, the Fortunite Islands, and the one more particularly described by him was no doubt Madeira.

We are now arrived at a period, the latter half of the third century before the Christian era, when the accurate and philosophic Greek mind would no longer be satisfied with the journals of travellers, the itineraries of generals, the stories picked up from the mouths of sailors, the estimated distances by land or sea. There was a severe side of Geography, to which Astronomical Science could be applied, and aid in tabulating the collected information, and reducing it to scientific form. Eratosthenes was the Librarian of Alexandria and had access to the accumulated stores of knowledge, and among them to the Septuagint, which contains certain striking Geographical details. All his voluminous works have perished, and he lives only in the quotations and severe criticisms of Strabo. Meissner doubts did exist the object of Eratosthenes was to reform the map of the World as it had existed down to his time, and to reconstruct it on scientific principles. Hence he has been justly called the father of scientific Geography. We must recollect, how inadequate the means were at his disposal, and how imperfect the data. This causes us more to admire his wonderful sagacity and sound judgment, so sound, indeed, that he proved to be more judicious in his inferences than many of his successors of two centuries later, in spite of their far greater opportunities for generalizing.

Aristotle and Euclid had established beyond controversy the position and figure of the Earth. The obliquity of the Sun's course had not escaped notice, and the great circles of the equinoctial and ecliptic or solstitial circle, as well as the lesser circles of the tropics parallel with the equinoctial, were known, and these conceptions had been already transferred from the celestial to the terrestrial globe. Eratosthenes made a careful and successful measurement of the circumference of the terrestrial globe. It was

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The *habitable world* as distinguished from the surface of the globe was in his time very limited as he knew nothing of the teeming millions of unhatched regions. Excessive cold to the North, and excessive heat to the South seemed an impassable boundary, and as to the Southern tropics and torrid zone he thought no more about them than we do of the inhabitants of the Moon. His great object was to determine the length of the long narrow strip of the habitable World. He proceeded to show, that the length was more than double the breadth and was rather more than one third of the circumference of the globe. The remainder he considered to be occupied by sea and his intellect was sufficiently clear and enlarged for him to remark that one might sail from Spain to India along the same parallel of latitude. In fact this great man predicted as a matter of theory the circumnavigation of the World, though it seemed a thing as practically impossible as a journey is now to the Moon.

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to both Greeks and Romans. Nothing either was known of the projection on the African coast, and by delineating that coast line of a nearly uniform direction from East to West, a great displacement necessarily took place of Sicily, the relative position of which to Africa could not but be well known. A meridian line of Longitude was drawn through Alexandria and Rhodes, extending Southward through Syene and Meroë, and Northward through Byzantium to the mouth of the Borysthenes. These data were far from correct, and yet Eratosthenes showed a clear comprehension of the problem which presents itself to the scientific Geographer. There is an entire absence of an accurate knowledge of Longitude or of any means of ascertaining them approximately, as they had very imperfect means of marking the measurement of time. Hipparchus who will be mentioned further on had the sagacity to point out that the observation of eclipses might be applied to the object but we find that three centuries later, in the time of Ptolemy scarcely any observation of this kind was available. This was a fatal shortcoming in the preparation of a correct map. Even the measurement of ordinary distances by sea or land was of the rudest description, and unfit to be the basis of calculation.

Accepting the existence of Thule he made that his most Northern parallel. He mentions Britain, but had never heard of Ierne. His most Southern parallel passed through the Land of the Sembrito on the Upper Nile, which he prolongs through the land of Cinnamon to Cape Guardafui the most southerly point on the East coast of Africa known to navigators. He further prolonged the parallel through Ceylon without any apparent authority for so doing. He had absolutely no knowledge of the existence of China, or rather of trans-Gangetic Asia. He was the first to mention the name of the Arabian as occupiers, the country on the west of the Nile from the neighbourhood of Meroë they are described as a great nation and not subject to the Ethiopians of Meroë. This name is not found in Herodotus, and the inference is, that the immigrations of the Arabian race, which is distinct from the Ethiopian as well as from the Negro, and their way from the West to the Nile basin in the interval of time that elapsed between Herodotus and Eratosthenes. This is an Ethnological fact of some importance. As stated above, he had thrown off the blind reverence for the Geography of Homer, and in this particular also he was in advance of succeeding generations. He had also arrived at sound views as to the cause of the inundation of the Nile, which could not escape his notice, as he spent his life in Egypt.

Eratosthenes was not esteemed at his full deserts by his immediate successors. It is only in modern times, that the soundness of his conclusions has been substantiated. The great Astronomer Hipparchus who lived a century later, wrote a treatise

which has been lost to criticize these conclusions. All that we know of it is from quotations in Strabo, who was not an Astronomer. He had clearly conceived the idea, that in a map every point should be laid down according to its Latitude and Longitude determined by astronomical observations, but such a method was impracticable, and continued to be so as late as the time of Ptolemy. He conceived the idea of dividing the circle into 360 parts, or degrees. He carried out a further theoretic division of the habitable World into "climates," or zones, by lines parallel to the Equator, for each of which he indicated the length of the longest day. He admitted the existence of Thule, where the solstitial day was forty-four hours long. As an Astronomer, he knew, that this would really occur in the Arctic Circle, and consequently more readily admitted the statements that it had been actually observed, which, if the identification of Thule with the Shetlands be correct, was an error. He refused to admit, that the habitable World was surrounded on all sides by sea, grounding his dissent on some inaccurate view regarding the Nile. He clung to the old error of supposing that the Ister had a second arm flowing into the Adriatic, and in spite of his great learning he went back to the old World view of the accuracy of the Homeric Geography. It seems strange to contrast such ignorance of the nearer horizons with the knowledge of the further acquired by this great Astronomer, who discovered the procession of the equinoxes, calculated eclipses, determined the revolutions and mean motions of the planets, and prepared a catalogue of the fixed stars.

In the mean time the conquests of the Romans had opened the way to a more complete knowledge of Europe, and in the pages of the historian Polybius which have come down to us we read the results. He had peculiar opportunities of information for, a Greek by birth he had been sent to Rome as a hostage after the second Macedonian war, and attached himself to the person of Scipio Africanus, the younger, and was present at the destruction of Carthage. He states that he made long journeys through Gaul, Spain, and Africa with the object of ascertaining their Geographical position. His narrative ends with the taking of Corinth B.C. 167, but, as the author lived twenty years longer, the latest date of his Geographical information may be placed at 130 B.C. He had devoted one volume to Geography, but it is lost, and only known to us by citation in Strabo. However, in his History he clearly was fully alive to the importance of correct Geographical statements. From him we learn, for the first time of the Pyrenees and the Alps over the latter he describes the pass, traversed by Hannibal, and three other great seas. He held sound views with regard to the Adriatic and describes the Ligurian Way, which connects that sea with the Ægean. He had visited Byzantium and describes the advantages of the position of that city. He had good

ments of an author named Posidonius, quoted by Strabo. Eudoxus, a native of Asia Minor, happened to visit Egypt and met in Italian captivity, who had been wrecked in the Red Sea. Under the guidance of this man, Eudoxus made two voyages to India, and brought back a valuable cargo. He also penetrated to a certain point down the East coast of Africa but no particulars are given. He also made a voyage down the West coast, but the narrative of Posidonius breaks off abruptly. The only fact recorded by him is, that the languages spoken by the Ethiopians visited by him both of whom were certainly North of the Equator, were the same. This fact can be admitted to a certain extent is true South of the Equator, but, unless there is a great displacement of races, not of the North. The inference formed by both Eudoxus and Posidonius was that Africa could be circumnavigated. The evidence finally supported this sanguine statement, but we see how clearly both the great discoveries of later years, the circumnavigation of Africa and the globe were distinctly anticipated by writers before the Christian era.

Geographical discovery still flowed, as the harbours of the Roman conquest. Sallust's account of the war with Jugurtha supplies us with a certain amount of information regarding Africa. At this time we hear, in Plutarch's life of Sertorius, of the Atlantic Islands known fancifully in the poets, and the imaginations of the Romans as the Islands of the Blest or the Fortunate Islands which can be identified with Malaga and the Canary Islands. The campaigns of Pompey and Lucullus in Sicily and Asia Minor had opened out new routes and revealed the interiors of new countries. Lucullus led the Roman arms for the first time to the range of Mount Taurus, the rivers Euphrates and Tigris and reached the Eastern limits of the Empire. For many centuries Mesopotamia became the battle field of the Romans and their neighbours the Parthians and Persians, and Armenia was again opened out to the explorer. Judaea and Jerusalem were now occupied. All these wars were narrated by Posidonius, a philosopher of distinction and a friend of Cicero and Pompey. All his works have perished but he is the author to whom Strabo most frequently refers as his authority on geographical details. He adds an independent attempt to determine the circumference of the earth on scientific grounds based on the comparative altitude of the straits at Alexandria and Rhodes, the conclusion he arrived at was not very wrong, but his data as to the latitudes of the two places with their errors corrected each other. Unfortunately he was ill to correct one side of his calculation, and in consequence to reduce the circumference of the World to three fourths of its actual dimensions and by a strange fatality this conclusion was accepted by all later Geographers and even by the great Astronomer Ptolemy. It is curious to find Posidonius, like his predecessor Eratosthenes,

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remarking, that any one sailing out from the West with an East wind would sail to India. He was the first Greek writer, who had a clear idea of the India, which he ascribes to the Moon, and from him we learn, that tin was brought across France from Britain to Marseilles.

The Commentaries of Julius Cæsar like the *Anabasis* of Xenophon is one of the books, which the World would not willingly have lost. It reveals to us Great Britain, and a portion of Germany. A Roman army reached the Rhine, and crossed the Straits of Dover, and we hear for the first time of the River Thames. He ascertained the fact that the nights in the later summer were shorter in Brit in the climate more temperate, and the cold in winter less severe, than in Gaul. He remarks the fact, that in his time the Germans were perpetually pressing upon the Gauls, and tending to establish themselves across the Rhine, contrary to what had been the tendency previously. In the Eastern campaign of Antony, we find the first notice of Palmyra. The Roman Empire was now completed under Augustus and there was no escape for a Roman citizen beyond these limits. The mountaineers of the Alps had been gradually subdued. The Isère was the northern boundary, and Tomi to which place Ovid was banished, was the outpost of civilization. Beyond were the Dacians the Iastiræ and the Sarmatians Nomads, and only half civilized and their Geographical limits imperfectly ascertained. The Rhine was the boundary of Gaul. No attempt was made to invade Britain. In Asia the Euphrates had become the boundary. The Emperor Augustus received an embassy from a King of India, about B.C. 20. It is mentioned by Strabo and Dion Cassius and other later writers. Two notable facts are recorded that they brought with them a living tiger the first seen at Rome, and that one of their number Calanoe from Barygaza now Baruch on the West coast, burnt himself alive at Athens upon some philosophical principle. Whether this embassy came by land though I rather, or by sea is disputed. Augustus in the *Ancyran Tablet* mentions that repeated missions had been sent to him from India, and Niclaus of Damascus whom Strabo quotes states, that he had himself seen and conversed with the envoys. He was a contemporary of Strabo and the fact of the embassy must have been notorious, and cannot be gainsaid. The Romans had heard about this time, in a vague manner of China. Silk had found its way to Rome and become an article of luxury. A line in Virgil's *Georgics* is the earliest allusion to the Seres and it conveys a clear though mistaken, allusion to silk and the material of which it was composed. Whether this silk found its way by sea or by land we cannot say. Until the time of Pliney it was believed that the silk was stripped from the leaves of trees, and it looks as if the country of Serindia and the cinnamon bark were indicated.

It is rather a surprise to find, that no Roman authors of note devoted themselves to Geography, or felt an interest in describing the Empire, which their arms had won. Cornelius Nepos and Sallust paid attention to the Geographical portion of their works, but made no extension to our knowledge. The most important contributor was Julia, the second of the two kings of Numidia, in North Africa. He had been brought up at Rome, and became the friend of Augustus, who restored to him his father's dominions. He availed himself of his great opportunities to write a description of Africa, which has unfortunately perished, but is frequently cited by Pliny, who clearly made more use of him than these citations. Of the interior he knew little or nothing, and a specimen of his knowledge is his wonderful theory of the source of the Nile in a mountain of Mauretania, whence it flowed for many days underground. He had made diligent inquiries regarding the Fortunate Islands, and mentions among their names Canaria, which he fancifully derives from the abundance of dogs on it. It is remarkable that Strabo had never heard of Juba's treatise. Whether he wrote in Greek or Latin is uncertain, probably the latter. As a fact rivers do flow underground in the Sahara.*

But the Romans constructed roads in every part of their dominions, put up milestones and drew up itineraries which must have been remarkable additions to Geographical knowledge. Nine of those constructed at this date have come down to us but there is no doubt that they existed. M. Agrippa the friend of Augustus, caused a Map of the whole World, as then known, to be set up in the portico of Octavia at Rome with a detailed statement of the distances and the area. Pliny speaks of this in high terms of admiration. This was not the only instance of a map on the walls of a temple, and we gather from a line of Propertius, that at schools maps were painted on boards, and that Geography was considered to be part of the education of Roman youth. Augustus ordered a census to be made of the population of the Empire and this must have led to the accumulation of much statistical information. In this reign Julius Gallus made his celebrated expedition into Arabia, which is recorded by Strabo. Petronius invaded Ethiopia, and defeated Queen Candace: this is also recorded by Strabo. Cornelius Balbus conducted an expedition into the interior of Africa against the Garamantes and penetrated as far as the modern Ghatania and Fezzan. Pliny gives a full account, but it is remarkable, that Strabo, though he alludes to the triumph of Balbus, has no detailed information. Dion Cassius is also silent, but Virgil, in his famous line in the sixth *Æneid* has made the name of the Garamantes, a convenient word for his metre, famous to all time. Drusus, the step-son of

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But the Romans constructed roads in every part of their dominions put up mile stones and drew up itineraries which must have been remarkable additions to Geographical knowledge. None of these constructed at this date have come down to us but there is no doubt that they existed. M. Agrippa the friend of Augustus drew a Map of the whole World as then known to be set up in the portico of Octavia at Rome with a detailed statement of the distances and the route. Pliny speaks of this in high terms of admiration. This was not the only instance of a map on the walls of a temple and we gather from a line of Propertius that at schools maps were painted on boards and that Geography was considered to be part of the education of Roman youths. Augustus ordered a census to be made of the population of the Empire and this must have led to the accumulation of much statistical information. In this reign Aulus Gallus made his celebrated expedition into Arabia which is recorded by Strabo. Petronius invaded Ethiopia and defeated Queen Candace this is also recorded by Strabo. Cornelius Balbus conducted an expedition into the interior of Africa against the Garamantes and penetrated as far as the modern Ghadames and Fezzan. Pliny gives a full account but it is remarkable that Strabo though he alludes to the triumph of Balbus has no detailed information. Dion Cassius is also silent but Virgil in his famous line in the sixth Æneid has made the name of the Garamantes a convenient word for his metre famous to all time. Drusus, the step son of

Augustus, was the first, who conducted the Roman armies to the River Elbe after his death his brother Tiberius advanced by land to the Elbe, while the fleet sailed round to the mouth, and ascended it, this was their first appearance in the Northern Sea, and Augustus alludes to it in his *Ancyran Tablet*. It is not clear, whether the Jambrian promontory, or Jutland, was then discovered. However, the defeat of Quintilius Varus, and the destruction of three legions somewhere in Hanover, changed the whole aspect of affairs, and was never retraced. Though Germanicus, nephew of the Emperor Tiberius, earned a great reputation in asserting, that he had subdued all the nations between the Rhine and the Elbe, as a fact, he himself never reached the Elbe.

Passing by Diodorus Siculus who added nothing to Geography, we come to the great work of Strabo, which has survived to our time, and is the greatest work of antiquity, both in its conception and execution. It represents the high level mark of Geographical knowledge at the time of the death of the Emperor Augustus, and the completion of his task of consolidating the Empire. Strabo was a Greek, of the town of Amasia, in Pontus in Asia Minor. He was probably educated at Alexandria or Rome. He visited Greece, Italy, and Egypt, he accompanied Julius Gallus in a voyage up the Nile to Syene and Philæ. On his return to his native city, he composed a great historical work, and, when that was completed, he commenced his Geographical treatise, which he describes as colossal. It was not actually completed till A.D. 19. His residence in so remote a city as Amasia in Pontus may account for contemporary work, such as that of Juba, having escaped his knowledge and will also explain the comparative neglect with which his work was received, as it is not even alluded to by Pliny, who lived half a century later. We may indeed be thankful, that it has come down to us, as it is one of the most important works, produced by any Greek or Roman writer. It was the first attempt at a general treatise on Geography, as he conceived the idea of mathematical, physical, political, and historical subdivisions of the subject. It is a remarkable phenomenon, that Strabo accepted as truth all the legendary Homeric Geography and treated the works of Herodotus with contempt. When he differed from Eratosthenes, he was generally wrong. He was too hasty in rejecting Pytheas. Singularly enough, he had very sound geological views, and his philosophical mind suggested the obvious consideration, that, as the known World occupied only one third of the circumference of the globe, there might be in that space two or more habitable Worlds, with the inhabitants of whom, being of a different race, the Geographer had no concern. Seneca, in his famous passage in the *Mechanica*, must have caught up the echo of some such suggestion as this. He still believed the Caspian Sea to communicate with the Northern Ocean. His knowledge of Britain was only that,

applied by Julius Cæsar to the nations Iern but totally discredited
 whole, or to other islands round Britain. From some of his de-
 scriptions it is clear, that he wrote with map before him, and with
 regard to Venus he makes the sagacious observation, that it
 was the appearance of having once been a volcano, he did not
 suspect he very soon afterwards it would re-establish its credit
 as to his knowledge of Nearer India, it had not progressed far
 at the time of his writing. Of further India and the Indian
 Archipelago he had but a faintly notion, and his allusion to
 the Sertæ is such as clearly shows that he believed them to be
 an Indian tribe. Notwithstanding the great increase of the trade
 to India which he admits he knew nothing of the Indian Ocean,
 whether the African or the Arabian side. The Southern Horn
 Cape Guardafui was still the limit of the known World and
 the outer coast of Arabia he knew nothing. He tells nothing
 of our knowledge of Africa, which, excluding Egypt he still calls
 Libya the term Africa being restricted to the Province of Carthage,
 and used only by the Latin authors.

In the half century which intervened between Strabo the great
 Greek Geographer, and Pliny the Elder, the great Latin Writer
 of Nature, which period includes the reign of the Roman Emperors
 in Augustus to Vespasian the Empire had been enlarged
 Julius Cæsar had invaded in person, and conquered Britain. Titus
 had at first objected to embark on an enterprise which would
 lead them beyond the limits of the known world. To the South
 of Africa. In this period Hippalus a Greek mariner, who had
 observed the regularity of the monsoons was bold enough to na-
 vigate them and steer a direct course to India from the coast of
 Arabia. This practice became completely established before the
 time of Pliny, and the anonymous author of the Periplus of the
 Erythraean Sea. Pomponius Mela a Spaniard almost the only
 Latin Geographer, lived in this period. His work is very
 impetuous but is quoted by Pliny, which indicates that it was
 published in his day. We find in him a new and remarkable con-
 ception. Starting upon the basis that the habitable World was
 bounded by the Ocean, he lays down as a fact the existence of
 other habitable World or Antichthon in the Southern Temperate
 zone but unknown and inaccessible, and strange to say he seems to
 indicate Paprobane or Ceylon as part of this new Continent.
 He is singularly deficient in critical judgment as he quotes all the
 stories of early Geographers which had long been abandoned
 by more sober authors.

Pliny the Elder was an Italian a friend of Vespasian and Titus,
 was in command of the fleet at Misenum in 79 when the
 eruption of Vesuvius took place, and he lost his life in his anxiety

ship having been carried away in the reign of the Emperor Claudius from the coast of Arabia by North winds and driven to a port in the Island of Ceylon, where the King showed hospitality to the strangers, and sent four envoys in return to Rome from whom Pliny professes to have obtained his knowledge, which however, is both erroneous and unintelligible. Perhaps his means of oral interchange of ideas with the Sinhalese Envoy was as imperfect as that of Geographers of the present age with the Envoys of King Mtesa of U Ganda from Victoria Nyanza. In Africa he mentions Aulis in Ethiopia famous for its Inscription subsequently copied by Cosmas Indicopleustes it was situated outside the limits of the Roman Empire at the time of its widest extent and was rising in importance since the time of Strabo who does not mention it. He had made no progress in the knowledge of the interior of Africa, and clung to the idea of the Southern Ocean being at a moderate distance from Morocco. This baseless theory compelled him to accept the still more strange notion of Juba whom he quotes, that the stream of the River Niger, of which he indubitably obtained correct information, was the upper course of the River Nile which flowed Eastward. He records the fact of the discovery of the Fortunata Islands the Roman expedition across the Atlas the exploration of Libya, and the upper course of the River Nile and the campaign against the Garamantes. His final conclusion is stating that Europe is nearly as big as Asia and more than twice as large as Africa. It has already been remarked that he never alludes to the existence of Strabo's great work, which was completed before he was born.

Very nearly contemporary with Pliny was the anonymous Treatise known as the *Periplus of the Erythraean Sea* which is a manual for the instruction of navigators in that sea, in the widest sense of the word not only the Red Sea but the coasts of Africa outside the Straits of Bab el Mandeb as far as they were known the coasts of Arabia and India down to the extremity of the Malabar coast with a few notices of the more distant parts of India and one of China. It is obvious, that the writer was a Greek merchant of Alexandria in Egypt and his statements attended solely for purposes of business are among the most satisfactory and trustworthy, that have come down to us. His knowledge of the East African Coast had extended twelve hundred Geographical miles, and reached as far as the Island of Zanzibar. Beyond that nothing was known, but it was presumed that the coast trailed away to the West in obedience to the theory, which had fixed itself in the minds of men, that Africa was circumnavigable but it was a great advance to get South of the Equator. Of the trading ports on both sides of the Red Sea he had good accounts but of the Persian Gulf he was ignorant. He traces the South Coast of Arabia and crossing the mouth of the Persian Gulf, he proceeds Eastward, till he comes to

to examine so closely the surprising phenomena. He had all his life been accumulating vast materials for his History of Nature, and at a comparatively advanced age, after writing several other books, he devoted himself to this great work, which has survived to our time. It is a vast compilation, but devoid of critical judgment, or philosophical arrangement. There is a total absence of a scientific comprehension of the great subject. The Latin mind was essentially inferior to the Greek in this particular. Pliny gives dry catalogues of the names of cities and physical features, the subject, which had almost risen to the rank of a romance in the skilful treatment of the Greek, shrunk into the narrow, though perhaps more correct, shape of a Dictionary in the hands of the Romans. He clearly had a map before him, and follows the outline, and makes no attempt to assign Latitudes or Longitudes. Still the extent of information supplied by him far exceeds that of his predecessors. The system of Roman Administration had furnished statistical details. He knew better than to suppose, that a branch of the Ister could flow into the Adriatic, but he still upholds the old fable of the Rhiparian Mountains and the Hyperboreans North of the Palus Mæotis. The fleet of Augustus had penetrated beyond the Jutland promontory, or Jutland into the Baltic, but his knowledge ceased there, and he was so entirely devoid of critical judgment, that he quotes the names of tribes, mentioned centuries before by Herodotus, and long before totally ignored by the more cautious Grecian Geographers. He had a dim vision of a great wind to the North of unknown extent, and had to form another quarter of the World called Scandinavia, and thus is the first mention of that great name. We read in his pages for the first time of Alion and Haberna, the Salure and the islands of the Orcades, the Hebrides, Mona and Vectis, unquestionably the Isle of Wight. Strange to say, though he had filled the office of Procurator of Syria, he still connects the Cassiterides, abounding with tin, with that country, and not with England. Palmyra had risen to importance in his time. Judæa had been conquered, the mystery of the Caspian Range had been solved, for he mentions the pass of Daniel, the Caucasus gates, he still adhered to the error, that the Caspian Sea was an inlet of the great Northern Ocean, though he had found out about the route taken by the overland trade from India to the Caspian. His knowledge of India had certainly advanced, and he mentions the chief confluent of the River Ganges, and we can recognize the Jamna, the Kern, the Chambal, the Kosi, and the Són, or Hiranyabahu, which are mentioned as two separate streams. We hear from him of the new, but established, sea route across the Indian Ocean from Cape Comorin on the coast of Arabia to the coast of India, which he gives with correctness, as it is confirmed by the Periplus of the Erythrean Sea, which will be noticed further on. The knowledge of Taprobane, or Ceylon, had been remarkably increased by the circumstance of his

ship having been carried away, in the reign of the Emperor Claudius, from the coast of Arabia by North wind, and driven to a port in the Island of Ceylon, where the king showed hospitality to the strangers, and sent four envoys in return to Rome from whom Pliny professes to have obtained his knowledge, which, however is both erroneous and unintelligible. Perhaps his means of oral interchange of ideas with the Sinhalese Envoy was as imperfect as that of Geographers of the present age with the Envoys of King Mtesa of U Gundi from Victoria Nyanza. In Africa he mentions Abulis in Ethiopia, famous for its Inscription, subsequently copied by Cosmas Indicopleustes, it was situated outside the limits of the Roman Empire at the time of its widest extent, and was rising in importance since the time of Strabo who does not mention it. He had made no progress in the knowledge of the interior of Africa, and clung to the idea of the Southern Ocean being at a moderate distance from Maroe. This baseless theory compelled him to accept the still more strange notion of Juba, whom he quotes, that the stream of the River Niger, of which he had unquestionably obtained correct information, was the upper course of the River Nile, which flowed Eastward. He records the fact of the discovery of the Fortunata Islands, the Roman expedition across the Atlas, the exploration of Ethiopia, and the upper course of the River Nile, and the campaign against the Garamantes. His final conclusion is startling, that Europe is nearly as big again as Asia and more than twice as large as Africa. It has already been remarked, that he never alludes to the existence of Strabo's great work, which was completed before he was born.

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a country which he called *Seythia*, and the mouth of the river *Indus*. This mention of *Seythia* is a singular confirmation of the fact, established by other proofs, of the Greek dominion in *Bactria* having been overrun by *Seythians*, who had worked their way down the Valley of the *Indus*. He then proceeds southwards to *Barygaza* the great emporium of Western India, the modern *Baruch*.

He mentions that Greek drachma of the kings of *Bactria* were still current in the market, which is a singular confirmation of facts otherwise discovered in modern times hundreds of large gold coins, as fresh as if just from the mint, with the image of *Nero*, have been found lower down, near *Cannore*, and coins of *Julius*, *Augustus* and *Libertus* *Cæsar* have been found much further inland. This indicates a Commerce in existence at the time of the *Periplus*. Imperfect as is the allusion to India, it is interesting to find the country now known as the *Dakhan*, called *Dakhanabades*, which is very nearly the correct name in Sanskrit. When the author describes the West coast of India he mentions a place called *Komar*, or *Homar*, which we unhesitatingly recognize as *Cape Komorin*, the southern promontory of India. Now the derivation of this word is unquestionably *Kumārī*, the *Virgin*, from a temple dedicated to the Goddess *Durga* thus we have an important epoch fixed, that at a period anterior to the date of the *Periplus* well long enough to fix a notorious name on a headland, the *Armenians* had penetrated to the most southern point of India, carrying with them the *Brahminical* religion and *Sanskrit* language. The author of the *Periplus* undertakes to trace the coast onward to the lower *Ganges*, and, though he alludes to pearls, pepper, and tortoise shell, and Laprobene with the name of *Pala mundus* yet clearly he writes no longer from proper knowledge, but mere hearsay. Here we see the first glimmering of the idea of a country more eastern than the *Ganges*, described as the *Island of Chryse*, which later on developed itself into the *Golden Chersonese* of *Ptolemy*, identical with the *Peninsula of Indo China* or *Further India*. he alludes to the export of muslin fabrics.

We hear dimly of a country called *China*, lying up to the North, where the sea coast ends, from which was exported silk both raw and spun, and woven these were carried overland through *Bactria*, and down the *Ganges* to the West coast of India. Here we can trace the two different routes by which exports were made from *China* to India for we have reached the real *China* at last. As stated above it looks very much as if the *Terma Heras* was connected with *Serindip*, or *Ceylon*. In both the above routes the exports from *China* to India were by land and no idea of a sea route is indicated. one of these land routes from *China* to *Bactria* would be the well known route over the *Pamir* the other via *Tibet*, over the ranges of the *Himalaya* into the basin of the *Ganges* which still exists, though obstructed by the policy of *Tibetan* exclusive.

ness The author evidently is in a mist as to the exact position of China, but to our present knowledge his statements are quite reconcilable We have to thank him for a thoroughly honest, and most remarkable book

Dionysius Periegetes has left a poem in 1200 Hexameter lines, giving a succinct account of the World, and all the particulars, which a man of education, not a traveller, should know This poem represents the knowledge of the cultivated class at a period, which from intrinsic evidence is fixed at the reign of Domitian He evidently was deficient in the historic sense, for he places the same value upon the conquests in the East of Bacchus, as of Alexander He attaches importance to the Indian Promontory, as the extreme Eastern limit of the World, and tells us, that Bacchus put up columns, where the Ganges pours its white waters to the Nysæan shore, just as Hercules put up columns at the extreme limit of the West He alludes to the Seres, as a Scythian tribe, evidently confusing the transmitter of the silk with the original unknown producer He still gave credence to the notion, that the Caspian Sea was but a Gulf of the Northern Ocean He mentions the Alani, who were on their march Westwards to work the downfall of Rome and in this poem we hear for the first time the terrible name of the Huns, on the East side of the Caspian He notices Chryse, the golden isle at the rising of the sun, and Taprobane, the Mother of elephants During the decline of the Roman Empire this little Greek poem became very popular, was twice translated into Latin verse, paraphrased, commentated upon by Eustathius, who commentated upon Homer in the twelfth century of our era When letters were revived in Europe, it was used as a manual, and was actually studied at Oxford down to a recent period And yet the idea presented of the World by the poet is as hazy, as that which could be extracted from a London lull, or a Dorsetshire clown, at the present day, and the map of the World, formed upon the data supplied by the Text, when it is remembered, that this must have been the prevailing notion from the time of Vespasian to the time of Vasco di Gama, is lamentable to look upon

Tacitus, the Historian, was son in law of Agricola, who circumnavigated Scotland and proved that Britain was an Island In his life of Agricola, and his Germania, he fills in details of the Geographical picture, without adding to the breadth of knowledge He had heard of vast islands in the Northern Sea, among which he locates the *Suones*, or *Suedes* Beyond them was a sluggish sea, and the light of the setting sun was prolonged, till it mingled with that of sunrise No doubt his contemporaries believed the former, and doubted the latter of these phenomena

The Emperor Trajan extended the limits of the Empire beyond the Danube, and left upon the Iron Gates his Inscription to record

this fact, and the language of Romania remains as nearly the only record of the Roman Colony. The bridge over the Danube has been swept away. In Trajan's time, about 107 A.D., according to Dio Cassius, an embassy from India came to Rome. His conquests in Mesopotamia enlarged the Geographical knowledge of that country and Armenia. His successor Hadrian, spent many years in a grand tour over his dominions. One of the works of that period has survived, being the *Periplus of the Euxine Sea* by Arrian, who was himself Governor of Cappadocia and Pontus, which has the united merit of an Official report and a Geographical treatise, written by a competent man from his own proper knowledge. He mentions having a full view of Mount Caucasus from his ship, and some audacious antiquary pointed out to him the rock, to which Prometheus was attached! In my travels I have often listened to relations equally mendacious, though made in good faith by an over-credulous narrator. In the long peaceful reigns of the Antonines, no doubt, commercial intercourse extended, of which we have two evidences. Aurelian Victor alludes to an embassy from the Indians and Bactrians, and the Annals of the Chinese Empire have recorded the fact, that in A.D. 166, an Ambassador from Antun, King of Tatta in, the name by which the Roman Empire had long been known to the Chinese, reached the Court of the Chinese Emperor.

During this period lived and wrote, a Geographer of eminence, who has been hardly dealt with by time, and whom we know only by quotations. His name was Marinus, and he was a native of Tyre. He had profited by the long peace of the Roman Empire, and the wide spread of knowledge, and he advanced beyond the level of the Geography of Pliny is very considerable. The great Geographer Ptolemy lived at nearly the same period and must have been largely indebted to his predecessor, but we cannot specify the extent of the debt. He was a man of great diligence and sound critical acumen. He mentions, that a Roman expedition succeeded in crossing the Sahara and reached the Sudin, or Negro land, but the exact point is uncertain. He had received remarkable information of the caravan route over the Pamir to the silk producing countries; he had realized the existence of a Further India or the Golden Chersonese, and a considerable Eastern extension beyond that. He had also ascertained that the Eastern Coast of Africa extended South of the Equator and that apparently the coast-line beyond that had no limit to the North he admitted the existence of Ethiope and the fact of its being within the Arctic Zone. All these considerations forced upon him the necessity of giving the habitable World a length and a breadth far exceeding the moderate views of Eratosthenes, but the undoubted truth of the facts, that urged him to this conclusion, was so shrouded by the exaggerations and inaccuracies of his calculations of the Latitude and Longitude, that he,

fell into stupendous errors which were only partly corrected by his successor, Ptolemy and which were derided centuries later, to have such a deep influence on the extension of Geographical knowledge to the West. Ptolemy nobly admits, that he made the work of his predecessors the basis of his own, had he not done so, no one would have heard of the great learning and intelligence of Marcellus of Tyre.

With Claudius Ptolemy, a native of Egypt who lived at Alexandria in the middle of the second century of the Christian era, the Geographical knowledge of the Ancients reached its highest level. It is difficult to say whether he was more renowned as a Geographer or as an Astronomer. He undertook to reform the map of the World and not, like Strabo to give a physical description of the World, he wished to construct that map on sound scientific and astronomical principles. Unfortunately the number of astronomical observations was too small for the purpose and he had to supplement the deficiency by calculations based upon itineraries, he fell into the snare of clothing the result of such unscientific material in a scientific form, giving the Latitude and Longitude of every place though they had not been determined by observations, and this fact must be borne in mind when too much stress is laid upon the authority of his maps. A modern Geographer takes care to indicate the process, by which he arrives at conclusions whether by scientific observations, or mere calculation. Ptolemy did not take this precaution. His scientific garb is merely a specious disguise of arbitrary conclusions drawn from uncertain data. Six books out of the eight consist entirely of tables of Latitudes and Longitudes of places for the purpose of enabling any reader to construct a map. His work assumes the form, but the form only of tables of scientific observations. The measurement of Longitude by time was beyond the power of his contemporaries. His method of preparing his maps was however, far in advance of his practice.

When we consider the extent of Geographical knowledge evidenced in his work we have to recollect the long peaceful reign of Augustus and the Roman Provinces which had possessed since the time of Hannibal the Illyr, some particulars of which have been already alluded to. His coceptions with regard to Europe were in the main correct though derided by Strabo and unavailing blunders. He falls into error with regard to the great rivers flowing into the Euxine though he is the first correctly to indicate the Volga. He cleaves to the old error with regard to the Rhine mountains but he knows, that the Caspian was an inland sea thus shaking off the error of centuries. The Jaxartes, according to him flowed into the Caspian as well as the Oxus. He held clearer views of the vast extent of Scythia, or Russia in Asia, and some hint of the land of the Seres, the importance of the silk trade beyond Scythia, and south of the Seres was the land of the Sinitæ or Indians,

assigning them to places, of which he had absolutely no scientific information. He appears not to have been aware of the existence of the Sahara between Gétulîa and the Sudan. His information with regard to the West coast of Africa is equally unsatisfactory, and cannot be reconciled with existing Geographical features. We are left in total uncertainty.

On the whole, Ptolemy's high character as an Astronomer, and the speciously scientific mode of marshalling his facts, has led many, up to a late date, to place a much higher value on his statements, than can be warranted by the imperfection of his materials. The plan, which he had proposed to himself, was a noble one, but it was one, which could be realized only in days like our own, when there is an abundance of opportunity of correcting estimates of distance by actual observations. It is a singular fact, that the exaggerated prolongation, which he made of the Continent of Asia towards the East, had necessarily the effect of greatly reducing the interval of unknown space lying between Eastern Asia and Western Europe, and this error was the parent of Columbus' enterprise to find his way Westward to India, and led to the discovery of America.

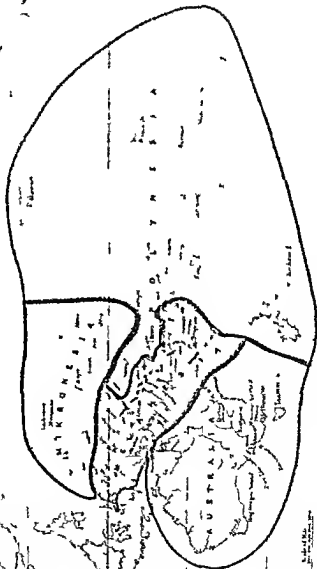
If Ptolemy's Treatise superseded all previous works, it had also no successor. The age of Roman literature Greek or Latin, was passing away, and there is little further of the nature of discovery to record. At this period Clement of Alexandria wrote about the Gynæcologist, and alludes to Buddha by name, thus implying a knowledge of the religion of India. Dio Cassius, a contemporary author records the invasion of Britain by the Emperor Septimius Severus. On the Eastern frontier the Parthian gave way to the Persian dynasty, leading to renewed hostilities, and the shortlived splendour of Palmyra succeeded. In the time of the Emperor Julian we hear of another embassy from the Diva and Scandiva, probably the Maldives and Ceylon.

The writers, whose works have survived to us, are not of great Geographical importance, they are Pausanias, whose object was Archaeological, Marcianus, who wrote the Periplos of the Outer Sea, and an anonymous fragment of the Stadiasmus of the Inner Sea, which is an original and valuable work. To these must be added the great Geographical Dictionary of Stephanus of Byzantium, compiled about the sixth century, of which only an epitome has survived. Among the Roman writers we may notice Philostratus, author of the life of Apollonius of Tyana, whose date is fixed after the death of the Empress Julia Domna whatever truth there may be in his romance of the visit of his hero to India, still we have the fact of a certain degree of knowledge, however vague of India, which has to be taken into account. Solinus flourished in the third century, and first makes use of the term Mediterranean for the Inner Sea. Ammianus Marcellinus, who

lay as habitations places of our Soldiers or head quarters of our Administrative Districts.

It is depressing to think that we have no new World to conquer in the ill-fated fashion. We should indeed like to see a new Alexander direct an army to Tibet and break up the Tibetan empire since we could come out in the provinces of Kham and Szechuan of North China. Central Africa, Liberia and New Guinea have still to be traversed, the overgrown but the last bits of the picture have to be filled up. We have no new Meridian line to draw like Eratosthenes no new theory of a Great Circle with three hundred and sixty degrees to propound like Hipparchus. We have no means to bring home like Pytheas and Hanno which, after being long believed for centuries, will prove true and no visions of countries beyond the Atlantic the habit of the World like Eratosthenes and Sacca. We sympathize with those early Geographers the great hearts and wonderful intelligences with such blunt means of locomotion and observation. How they must have yearned to know who the nations were that were hidden from their sight! Who inhabited the Southern Tropics, all beyond from whom no message had ever come? What were the Antipode and the Antichthon? For they knew from the configuration of the sphere that there must be a space unoccupied or undiscovered.

11/11/11



Number of Males

CHAPTER XXI

THE RACES AND LANGUAGES OF OCEANIA

THE Ancient Geographers believed that there was a vast Continent to the South of the Indian Ocean, which they called *Antitlōn*. Navigators had come upon Islands at such a long distance from each other in the Indian Archipelago that it was believed, that there was one continuous Land. The idea survived as far as 1568 A.D., for when Mendana the Nephew of the Spanish Viceroy of Peru, discovered the Solomon Islands, he named them *Tierra Australis*, believing that he had found a new Continent. Subsequent discoveries have dissipated all such notions, but a new Region has been added to the descriptive category of the World, named "Oceania," and this is the subject which I propose now to treat.

of the scenery, and the fertility of the soil, are notorious. Their existence may be said to have been certified by Tasman in 1645, and by Bougainville in 1768, but they were first brought to public notice by Captain Cook in his first celebrated voyage, when he visited Tahiti for the purpose of making Astronomical observations, and in his last voyage he discovered the Sandwich Islands or Hawaii, and there he perished.

Since then they have been repeatedly visited. New Zealand is British. The French Government laid their cold hand upon the Society, Paumotu and Marquesas Groups. The Sandwich Islands are under the joint Protectorate of Great Britain and the United States. The Samoa Group maintains a precarious independence under the joint Protectorate of Great Britain, the United States, and Germany. The other Groups are for the present independent, but in these days of shameless annexation it is impossible to say how long this may last. Neither Austria, Italy, nor Russia, have taken up Annexation thoroughly as yet. One thing is certain that all over this Region, in consequence of the European civilization intoxicating drinks and loathsome diseases left by the sailors, the population is wasting away, and will soon be entirely extinct. The Mountains and Valleys alone will remain in the grasp of the European Invader and Plunderer.

One important influence has been at work from the commencement. Large portions of the population may be said to be nominal Christians, and have certainly abandoned the old bad habits of their ancestors. The Marquesas and Paumotu Group are mainly Roman Catholics; the little islands of Wallis Island alias Uvea and Hervo Island alias Futuna are entirely so; all the others are Protestants being brought over by the teaching of the Church Missionary, the London Missionary and Wesleyan Missionary Societies. No more encouraging page can be found in the History of Protestant Missions. It was no easy achievement, but the extraordinary feature is that, as each Island was converted, Native Teachers were found ready to step forward, and go among their Heathen neighbours; thus gradually Island after Island was won to Christ; but in each is the Martyr Tomb of the first Christian who was often killed, generally maltreated, and sometimes devoured with his wife and children. Nor were the labours of these devoted Polynesians confined to their own race, and language; but they have been found ready to this day to go forward to Melanesia among the black races of the Loyalty Islands, New Caledonia, the New Hebrides, and finally New Guinea, where at this very moment they are gallantly risking life, and giving up the ordinary comforts of life. It is a most remarkable phenomenon, and a wonderful testimony to the revivifying and strengthening power of the Religious Idea, conveyed to unsophisticated and virgin races.

It may be accepted as a fact, that the languages of all these

Islands cannibals; in all idolaters with occasional human sacrifices; cruel in their quarrels, wholesale killers of their offspring. With Christianity most of their evil habits, and some of the energy of their characters, and all their capacity for song, has disappeared.

A vast literature has come into existence as to the origin of the population of the whole of Oceania. Four distinct theories have been propounded. I That a vast Continent once occupied the space, which has subsided and the Islands are the summits of the highest Mountains. II That the Eastern portion of the Region was colonized from South America. III That the whole Region was colonized from Asia. IV That New Zealand was the birthplace of an autochthonous race, the Maori, which spread over the Eastern Islands, and as far North as the Sandwich Islands. Thus, of course, leaves the origin of the Australians, Melanesians, and Mikronesians totally unexplained. The ingenious Kuchman, who starts the last theory within the last few years, has a peculiar contempt for those, who still, even in a full hearted way, adhere to the generally received notion of a common origin of the human race.

As a fact, within the Region of Oceania are three distinctly marked separate races, the bronze, the black woolly-haired races which occupy Melanesia, and the black straight haired of Australia. None of the last three theories cover the whole ground, and as to the Sunken Continent theory, it is merely pushing the problem back to a still more remote period, for, after we have grasped the physical idea of a Continent, we have still the question of the origin of the Race, which inhabited it, and how it came to be tripartite.

There have not been wanting those, who put forward the idea of an Arian origin to the Polynesian. The great Grammarian Hopp set the example, but was considered even by his most devoted admirers to have failed. Since then, some with less technical knowledge, and far less renown, have attempted to walk in the same hazardous path, but the conception of the Arian Maori, or of any Arian language in a state of agglutinative existence, has not found favourable acceptance.

I pass on to the Region of Melanesia. Other names have been used by former writers, but Geographers at least are settling down to this terminology. The English Colony of 1813 is on the extreme East flank, and a necklace of Islands extends in a semi-circular sweep to the great Island of New Guinea, the whole of which is included, as well as some smaller Islands, which are with difficulty differentiated from the adjacent Islands of Malaysia in Asia. The Region extends from the Tropic of Capricorn to the Equator in Latitude, and from 170° to 130° Longitude East of Greenwich. Fortunately the Groups of Islands are well demarcated, and we can proceed with absolute certainty geographically, and relative certainty linguistically, owing to the labours of several Missionary Societies. The inhabitants clearly belong to one race,

Of many of these languages we have Grammars, Dictionaries, Vocabularies, Grammatical Notes, and Texts. The necessity of preparing distinct translations of the Bible proves the entire distinctness of the speech of Islanders often living in sight of the homes of each other but holding little or no intercourse.

V The Banks Island Group supplies the names but little more than the names of nine languages

- 1 Merlav or Star Island
- 2 Santa Maria, O - Lala
- 3 Vanna Lava or Great Banks Island (11 dialects)
- 5 Motu or S. E. of Lo of Island.
- 6 7 Milar or Sadule Island (2 languages)
- 8 Kowa
- 9 Norbarbar or Bagh Island

Motu is a notable exception, for the mere chance of a Missionary Training School having been opened on the Sugarloaf Island has made its language the Motu the lingua franca of the Region, as the boys who are trained in addition to the separate languages of their own homes learn the common vehicle of instruction and social intercourse. In this language we have ample Grammatical supplies.

VI The three small Groups of Torres Island, Santa Cruz and Swallow Islands supply four languages very imperfectly known, the Lo of the first Group, two languages of the second Group, and one of the third Group.

VII In the important Group of the Solomon Islands I find ten languages

- | | |
|-------------------------------|------------------------|
| 1 San Christobal (2 dialects) | 6 Savo |
| 2 Ulawa | 7 S. Isabel Lugain O o |
| 3 Malanta (4 dialects) | 9 New Georgia |
| 4 C. Island (3 dialects) | 10 Eddystone Island |
| 5 Honiara | |

Of some of these we have only a shadowy knowledge of others we have Texts, Vocabularies, and Grammatical Notes, and our knowledge is increasing yearly.

VIII The Group of the so called Bismark Archipelago is composed of the Islands of New Britain, the Duke of York's Island, New Hannover, New Ireland, and Admiralty Island. Of the two former we have translations of portions of the Bible, of the three latter only scanty Vocabularies.

IX The Louisiade Archipelago is represented by a Vocabulary of one language.

X The Group of New Guinea and its Islands. This is a comparatively speaking, Terra Incognita, it is only within the last ten years, that any thorough exploration has been attempted. About eighty five languages are recorded but of these only five are

Singular, Dual, Trial, and Plural, also Exclusive and Inclusive. Almost any word may be used as a Verb by adding a Particle. The common characteristic of all is to mark Tense and Mood, and in some languages Person and Number, by Particles prefixed. These Particles vary in the different languages, they have Causative, Intensive, Frequentative, and Reciprocal forms. We hear of no legends, the people are cruel, Cannibals and revengeful, but they have been cruelly used by Europeans and Americans.

I have already noted, that within the Geographical area of Melanesia in several Polynesian settlements, how they got there can only be imagined. A storm, or a tribal feud, may have been the cause, and in two cases, Uvea of the Loyalty Islands, and Futuna of the New Hebrides, the name and the language indicate the Islands, whence the immigrants came, Uvea or Wollu Island, and Futuna or Horno Island to the West of the Navigators' Islands. But in the New Hebrides, the Islands of Aniwa, and a portion of Mai, the little Islands of Mel and Fil, and in the more Northerly Group Duff Island, Swallow Island, Tucopia Island, Cherry Island, Reynell and Bellout Island, Ontong Java Island, and Lencuena are occupied by inhabitants, whose speech betrays their origin. The Polynesian blood is sometimes quite pure. Sometimes the brown Polynesian Mother, taken captive by the Black Savage, has produced a mixed race. Sometimes the brown colour has given way entirely, and the Polynesian language is spoken by an entirely black Melanesian.

I now approach the third Region, Mikronesia. It extends over a large area from 130° to 180° East Longitude, and 20° North Latitude to the Equator, but it embraces Groups of very unimportant and small Islands. Singularly enough, they are exceedingly populous and have escaped up to this time the curse of Civilization. Slavery, Man stealing, Liquor shops, and Infectious diseases. The people are gentle and sensible and have never practised Cannibalism, or Human Sacrifice. Only fourteen languages are recorded. Of these five are represented by Translations of the Bible, the remainder by Vocabularies, none by Grammars. Proceeding Eastward from the confines of Malaysia we reach Pohni, or Lord North's Island, and further on Pellow Islands, to which Prince De Boo of 1st century has given a notoriety. And thence the Fijians or Marianne Group of which there is reason to believe, that all the native languages have perished, and that one of the languages of the Philippine Islands is now current. We have Vocabularies collected by Travellers, or shipwrecked sailors. In the most important Group of the Caroline Islands we have information of six languages, four of which are represented by Vocabularies, Yap, Mackenzie alias Uiothi, Utan, and Satawal, and two by Texts the Ponape and Kusa. We know nothing of their relations to each other. Passing Eastward we reach the Mortlock Islands, the language of which is represented by a Text, and further east the

Marshall Islands, known as the Ralakh, and Ralakh Islands, of which one language, the Mili, is represented by a Vocabulary, and a second, the Lio, by a Text. Proceeding Southward we reach the Group of the Kingmill, or Gilbert Islands one language without special name is represented by a Text. A language named Tawiwa has been recorded, and has a Vocabulary, but possibly it is identical. One Island of the Union Group has been colonized by Mikronians. This completes our knowledge of the Region.

The characteristics of these languages are nearly the same as those of the Polynesian Family. Close Syllables are common, and occasionally double Consonants are used with a slight breathing between them. The accent generally falls upon the penultimate. In some of the languages there is no Article, and, when it exists, it is placed after the Noun. Gender is sexual only. The Number is left to be inferred from the context, or is expressed by a pronominal word or a Numeral. Case is marked by position or by Postposition. In Fion one class of Nouns takes a pronominal suffix, which gives the appearance of Inflection. This class has the sense of close relationship. Words can be used as Nouns, Adjectives or Verbs, without change of form. In some languages the Personal Pronoun can be singular, dual, or plural. In others there are special dual forms. In the Fion there are special Inclusive and Exclusive forms of the Personal Pronoun. Verbs have no Inflection to express Mood, Voice or Tense, but use Particles. In Fion, however, the Tenses are distinctly marked. There are Causative, Intensive, and Reciprocal, forms of the Verb. Words of ceremony are used in some of the languages, and there are special words for religious functions. The Syllables, which occur in the names of Chiefs, are disused.

The fourth Region of Oceania, Australia, presents Phenomena totally different from those hitherto described. Of its two Sub-Regions one, Tasmania, has lost its position in the Linguistic World, as the last indigenous inhabitant has perished, and the scanty memorials of its languages and dialects are merely of archaeological interest. And in fact no Text has survived to show what the language was. In the second Sub-Region, Australia, the same causes in an perdition, and will probably lead to the same result. European civilization will have its way, either in the destruction of the race, or the trading out of the language. It is supposed, that at least sixty thousand natives still survive in different corners of this vast Continent-Island and probably that number exceeds the population of Polynesia, but the environment of the Australian is an unfortunate one. Even the Missionary has been found wanting to care for these scattered and harrowed sheep. Many noble and woman can speak the language of Daman or Iip, or Melanesium, or Motu, but not one a single Australian language. Any Missionary work is done, it is in the English language.

In New Guinea our knowledge of the tribes, and languages, is incomplete, because the interior has not been explored, but the whole of Australia has been occupied and the Natives pushed aside, or cut off from the world. If we can believe our informants the ways of Immorality here are different from those of other parts of the World. If the European consort with a Native female of Asia or Africa a mixed race springs up nearly always Christian, and certainly superior in culture to the pure Native. But in Australia the unhappy woman impregnated by an European takes her offspring back to her tribe, and there have come into existence mixed races more savage, more dangerous and more wild than their maternal relations. In some such way wild fogs have come into existence. It is asserted with some show of probability that all the languages of Australia spring from one common source, and the same is said of the tribes. A long list of eighty two varieties of languages and tribes is given in Wallace's Australia and in a general way they are marked off into Regions but the Natives in Australia so entirely go for nothing, and are so far less valuable than the sheep, that the idea of preparing a language map of Australia seems never to have been entertained. One translation of a Gospel was printed in the Narrinyeri but the edition has been exhausted and no demand made for a reprint. I have failed in getting a copy. Some Grammars, and Vocabularies, have been compiled and in general books on Ethnology an analysis of these passages must be for a representation of Australian languages, but I cannot realize the problem of the speech of the people in Australia even as clearly and hopefully as I do in New Guinea with all the shortcomings of our knowledge. I have written to Australia to seek fuller information, and have received notice of a forthcoming work. When I come to consider the proof of the unity of these languages as I usually find in general linguistic literature is evidenced by the universal repetition of Nouns there is a common stock of primitive words which are members of the holy objects of general utility and personal interests. I find in all an imperfect conception of Number and the infirm use of the same word for two. I find in all Dual Suffixes and duplicative forms for the same object. On the other hand there are tremendous differences in the word-totems of the tribes. I cannot forget that in the last generation African languages were spoken of as a unit the World knows better now. The theory of a connection of the typical Australian language with the Dravidian languages of South India may be valuable upon as grammatical and certainly primitive. All the languages known are agglutative they have no Relative Pronoun or Article and only a few Gender the recent falls generally on the Infinitive there is an extreme use of onomatopoeic words. The perfection of the language as a language is a contrast to the barbarous degradation of the people, as a people,

In New Guinea our knowledge of the tribes, and languages, is incomplete, because the interior has not been explored but the whole of Australia has been occupied and the Natives pushed aside, or out of the world. It is to be believed our informants the ways of Immorality here are different from those of other parts of the World. If the European comes with a Native son of Asia or Africa, a mixed race springs up nearly always Christian, and certainly superior in culture to the pure Natives. But in Australia the unhappy woman impregnated by an European takes her offspring back to her tribe and there have come into existence mixed races more savage, more daring, and more wild than their paternal relations. In some such way wild dogs have come into existence. It is asserted with some show of probability that all the languages of Australia spring from one common source and the same is said of the tribes. A long list of eighty two varieties of languages and tribes is given in Wallace's *Australia* and in a general way they are marked off into Regions but the Natives in Australia so entirely go for nothing and are so far less valuable than the sheep, that the idea of preparing a language map of Australia seems never to have been entertained. One translation of a Gospel was printed in the Narrinyeri but the Edition has been exhausted and no demand made for a reprint. I have failed in getting a copy. Some Grammars and Vocabularys have been compiled and in general books on Ethnology an analysis of the objects master for a representation of Australian languages but I cannot realize the problem of the speech of the people in Australia even as clearly and hopefully as I do in New Guinea, with all the shortcomings of our knowledge. I have written to Australia to seek fuller information and have received notice of a forthcoming work. When I come to consider the proof of the unity of these languages as a family I find a general ordinance in Phonic as well as in the universal rejection of Sibilants there is a common block to primitive words such as members of the body object of exertibility as personal pronoun. I find in all an imperfect conception of Number and the uniform use of the same word for two. I find in all Dual Suffixes and a duplicate term for the same object. On the other hand there is a tremendous difference in the word stem of a heart and a I am not forget that in the last generation a African language were plain of us a unit the World knows better now. The theory of a connection of the typical Australian language with the Dravidian languages of South India may be looked upon as problematical and certainly premature. All the languages known are agglutinative they have no relative pronoun or article and only a few (under the accent) full grown nouns in the Feminine there is an extreme use of onomatopoeic words. The perfection of the language as a language is a contrast to the barbarous degradation of the language.

faith and with profound respect Englishmen are spoken of as "Dindim,"* from the recurrence in their speech of the National Oath and it is noteworthy that Lorrain in his account of the battle of Agincourt in 1405 describes them under the term Goddam. The French Colonial system is everywhere to make use of their own language as the test of loyalty, but they will have in Oceania a hopeless fight against English in its innate freedom from the shackles of Grammatical Inflection, Gender, and Number and its power of assimilation of foreign words. Bishop Selwyn (the elder) used to say that the first European words known in the New Hebrides were 'Bishop' and 'Johanna.' The Schoolmaster is abroad now. It can scarcely be expected that the dying languages of the e-dying races will survive and therefore the great World Vernacular English which in the next generation will be spoken by hundreds of millions of every race, colour, creed, and nationality, in every part of the World.

For the present the different Vernaculars of Polynesia, Melanesia, and Mikronesia are the vehicles of a large Religious and Educational literature. All the story book and devotional works including lives of Saints, and Moody's hymns find their way into Oceanic word forms. It is to be feared, that the mushroom literary language which thus springs up under the hurried and uncritical printer's hands of good and earnest men is not calculated to convey a clear idea of the primitive simplicity of the forms of speech which flows untrammelled from the lips of men. It could have been wished that more legends and stories had been taken down verbatim from the mouths of the people gathered together in social intercourse than translations of a book written in a totally different type of language and transferred to another letter by theological interpretations and prepossessions. Unless the translator has caught the real genius of the language not only the form of words actually in existence but its undeveloped power of providing for the expression of new ideas out of its own plastic resources it is to be feared that new and foreign and unsympathetic phrases, idioms and even grammatical forms may have been introduced by a simple translator working in his study with the aid of a couple of teachers brought up in his own school and not exposed to the candid criticism of an independent audience or the fiery attacks of a Public Press. What would have been the fate of Hindi and Urdu, had they been left to the English Judge in those wonderful compositions called *Decree and the Writer of Proceedings*? It is stated that old men in Oceania converse with each other in an idiom no more understood by their children trained in the Mission School, than are the words of an old Maori woman in the Isle of Man by her grandchildren in the English speaking Board Schools.

* This etymology is disputed.

All these Islands are either volcanic, or Coral formations. From whatever quarter of the world came the wave of population by the way of the Sea it must have come, and there is no difficulty in realizing this last feature of the process. A vessel could traverse the whole distance between New Guinea and Easter Island without being more than five or six days out of sight of land. Even to the present time Canoes accomplish almost incredible voyages. By the way of the Sea in due course came the Explorers, who revealed the secrets of these sealed Gardens of the Ocean, the Missionaries who came to bring light to those, who were sitting in darkness, the Merchants who brought the liquor poison to destroy these races, the plant-owners, who came to steal the bodies of the men, and lastly, the Agents of the European Governments, who came to annex these poor Islands to distant Empires, or to quarrel with each other about these crumbs, which had fallen from the table of the great Old World.

Let us consider each class in order. Unquestionably Torres and Mendana, the Spaniards, in 1568, Ta-man the Dutchman in 1641, and Pougamville the Frenchman in 1768 led the way, but Captain Cook, the great English Navigator, was the first, who in 1770 explored the Regions from New Zealand to the Sandwich Islands, from Tahiti to Australia. To him succeeded the unfortunate La Perouse, who perished in 1788 at Vanikoro, his fate remained for many years a mystery, until Dillon, a Captain of a Merchantman, persuaded the Government of Bangal to give him the command of a vessel to follow up a track, which led to the discovery. In the interval D'Entrecasteaux had been sent by the French to search but had himself perished. Dumont D'Urville, in 1827, followed Dillon to the scene of La Perouse's disaster and carried out the famous Exploring voyage of the *Astrolabe*. Wilkes, of the U.S. Navy, accompanied by Herndon Hild made his famous voyage in 1831. By this time the British Colonies were being established in Australia and New Zealand and Oceania ceased to be a Region for Explorers. French writers complain with justice that they took a large share of the early explorations with but scant result. The Spaniards and Dutch, who were still earlier in the field and whose memory still lives in so many names, have nothing but those names to compensate themselves for the labours and toils, and the deaths of their great countrymen.

To the Explorers succeeded at a very early date the Missionaries. Towards the close of the last century the London Missionary Society sent out its first expedition in the *Bell* under John Williams, which sailed its way round Cape Horn to the Society Islands, and established itself in the different Groups of Eastern Polynesia. It was a long work of faith, and great suffering. His pupils then spread in a Melanesia, and John Williams's little band returned. They occupied the Loyalty Islands, and in

the fallacy of the opinion that the New Hebrides and Solomon Islands were occupied by other Societies, they yielded to the South coast of New Guinea, and yielded it in free, and the Islands of Torres Strait.

The Well known Missionary Society was not long in following the steps of the Sister Society, and giving the Friendly Islands, the Navigators Islands, New Zealand, and the Fiji Archipelago, their basis of operations was from Sydney in New South Wales, and in due course of time they sent out Pioneer Missions to the Island of New Britain, and the Duke of York Island on the North East coast of New Guinea.

The Church of England through the Church Missionary Society, sent the first Christian Evangelist from Sydney to New Zealand, and after expenditure of lives and treasure made a lasting impression upon the Maori inhabitants. In New Zealand sprang into existence the Roman Catholic, the Wesleyan Mission, with their Head Quarters at Norfolk Island, and operating thence upon the Northern portion of the New Hebrides, the Solomon Islands, and the Miller Group of Santa Cruz and the New Hebrides. Here fell one of the Missionary Heroes of modern times, Bishop Pitteson.

The Presbyterian Churches of Australia and Canada, uniting with the Free Church of Scotland occupied the Southern Islands of the New Hebrides, and presented them in full view. In the fatal Island of Erromanga, well by the flood of John Williams, a later period fell the two Brothers Gordon of Canada, and the wife of the elder brother, all three were cruelly murdered and devoured. Each one of the Protestant Churches of Great Britain has not heeded the call their death with the blood of their Agents demanding to have a change for no compensation counting not their lives but, that they might but their course with joy.

The Lutheran Church of Holland has for a long period had a Mission of devoted men in Melville Bay, to the N.W. corner of New Guinea working upon the Masur and now in that portion of the Island, which has come under the Protectorate of Germany no less than three German Missions are being organized.

North of the Equator the American Board of Missions have successfully evangelized the Samoa Islands, and thence spreading Westward have founded Missions in the Gilbert Islands, the Marshall Islands, and the Caroline Islands.

It is to the Missionaries of the great Societies of Great Britain, the Colonies, and the United States of North America that we are indebted for our knowledge of the languages of these vast Ocean Regions. Translations of the Holy Scripture, the whole or portions, have been published in more than twenty of these languages. Tribes in a state of savage nudity have been brought under the blessed influence of Gospel civilization. Cannibalism, Human Sacrifice, Witchcraft, Child murders have disappeared.

and in their places the habits of decent living and industrious bread-earning in lawful occupation is gradually springing up.

To the members of the Church of Rome the Group of the Marquesas, New Caledonia, and the tiny Islands of Horne and Wallis, alias Uria and Futuna, fell in the original chance occupation. Their object has ever been to exclude free thought and independent judgment, and, while excluding *per fas aut nefas* all Protestants from their close province, to elevate the to them fictitious cry of Tolerance, and do their best to disturb the peace of the Protestant Congregations. Dependent always on the Civil Power, we find the French Priest ever an intriguer for French domination, and doing his best to prevent Protestants maintaining themselves in French Islands. On the other hand, they thanklessly use to the uttermost the glorious liberty and toleration, which is the characteristic of every British dependency. In Western Australia Spanish Priests maintain an excellent Institution for the Natives at New Norcia to the great satisfaction of all. Some have laid down their lives gallantly for the great cause. All, who have the interest of the lower races at heart, would welcome even the inferior form of Christianity, presented by the Priests to the poor Natives in the shape of crosses and Latin prayers, and genuflections, because it is accompanied by lessons of morality, charity and acts of kindness, but the French Priest has the art everywhere of preaching not the Religion of Christ, but the Religion of France, accompanied by false miracles, idle legends, purchase of slave children, wherever it is feasible, and never-ceasing abuse of Great Britain and Protestantism.

After the Explorers, and the Missuaries, came the European Colonist and European Government, and in the last days, led on by Germany, there has been a regular scramble. Great Britain has annexed the whole of Australia, Tasmania, and New Zealand, the Southern Coast of New Guinea up to the 141° of East Longitude, the Fiji Archipelago including Rotuma, and by a late treaty with Germany the Southern Islands of the Solomon Group were declared to be within the sphere of her influence, a precious new phrase to define the limits of plundering, as if a gang of thieves were to divide the Parishes of London into different spheres of predatory influence. France has annexed New Caledonia, and the Loyalty Islands the Marquesas Group, and the Society Islands, and the little Islands of Horne and Wallis. France covets the Southern portion of the New Hebrides, and no doubt we shall soon hear of that Group being divided into spheres of British and French influence. Germany has annexed the Northern portion of New Guinea, East of the 141° of Longitude, the Islands of New Britain, Islad Ireland, New Hannover, and the Admiralty Islands, and the Polynesian portions of the Solomon Group and the Gilbert Islands. From Marshall Islands of Micronesia have come within the sphere of

their influence Holland is considered the Protector of New Guinea West of the 141° of East Longitude and the adjacent Islands Spain maintains her hold upon the Caroline Islands and the Lallones The Sandwich Islands and the Navigators' Group reserve an independence under the guarantee of Great Britain and the United States but the other Groups not mentioned are in a precarious state and will fall under some great power It is only to be hoped that the South American Republics may be compelled to keep their hands off It is bad enough for poor hunted game to fall into the jaws of great lions but to be the prey of miserable jackals appears to be insult added to injury and such lessons proved herself to be

It is my deliberate opinion though it is arrived at with sadness that European civilization presents itself to Races in a low state of Culture with such frightful concomitants, that it is better for them not to have known it For many years the Islands were the refuges of runaway Slaves from Merchant Vessel deserters from the Navy, men tainted with crime discoloured in habits they settled among the Natives became worse than they made them worse teaching them new arts new vices new crimes In process of time came the Man Stealing Vessels from Queensland Fiji and even Leru Men were lashed on board Vessels thrown into the hold and killed Sometime one of the crew has dressed up to resemble a well known Missionary or a Bishop so as to disarm suspicion In this way whole Islands were depopulated of their males some languages have actually ceased to be spoken a bitter sense of wrong has been engendered in the minds of survivors and neighbours venting itself in cruelty upon innocent Europeans and when the labourer returns to his Island he comes back a changed but not improved man He is supplied with firearms and powder he has acquired vices and the compound savagery of the low European outcast he has learned no useful trade or manufacture or method of agriculture he comes back to find his wife remarried as it was naturally supposed that he was dead he has a sense of wrong and the means of avenging it and he avails himself of the opportunity

Ship of war have been sent on cruise and some Commanders have made rough and ready investigations and spoken kind words others have cannonaded villages accessible to the sea the liquor dealer has brought his deadly wares for barter with native products, and brought new and deadly diseases Can it be a matter of surprise that in all such instances the population has wasted away? A ship arrives from Sydney with a few cases of small pox or measles on board an attempt is made to protect the people from the risk of infection to these races infection is disease which have become hereditary and therefore underr control among Europeans, are totally unknown both in their symptoms and their remedies in Fiji

which could produce Confessors and Martyrs upon a stock, which had previously produced nothing but Idolaters stained with Human blood and Cannibals. The history of the great possibilities of the human race would have been incomplete, had we not in these last days been informed, that converted Cannibals had won the love and esteem of British Missionaries, both before and after their conversion. The divinity of the Gospel would not have been entirely appreciated, had we never read of the dauntless Polynesian Islanders, accompanied by their brave and faithful Christian wives with their own free will, being landed on the coasts of an island of bloody savages, knowing that there were but two alternatives, either to be killed and devoured long before the Mission Ship returned next year, or by the Grace of God working through their feeble speech, and humble steadfast example, to obtain such an influence over the Savages, as to transform them into new men, teaching the men to be strong and brave without being cruel, and the women to be loving and tender, and yet not unchaste. And they succeeded they taught their countrymen to cover their nakedness, leave off their evil habits, submit to the laws of Monogamy, tear down and destroy their idols of wood and stone, and elevate the sign of the Cross, and to love the Bible, faithfully rendered in their own beautiful language, so dearly, that neither Giant Pagan in Madagascar, nor Giant Pope in Tahiti could tear it from their hands and hearts. The heart wakes up in a glad surprise, when it reads of such things. All those, who were engaged in this blessed work, sing the same triumphant Psalm, the same undercurrent of the music of thanksgiving is heard in all their narratives.

Without doubt, those who love their Master, and believe His precious promises, will rejoice, when even one poor Island, after expenditure of labour, and precious lives, is added to His Kingdom. The value of redeemed souls is not estimated in earthly balances, or by human calculations. The Lord knoweth them that are His. But it is a cause of encouragement for the future and thanksgiving for the past, to regard this blessed chain of Missions spread like a necklace of Pearls from the shores of New Guinea and Australia right up to the gates of the Morning in Easter Island almost within touch of South America. Our knowledge of the languages and customs of these Races has been collected solely by the Missionaries. The civilization of these ends of the World was not to be accomplished by Guns or Ships of War. Commerce, Statecraft or Colonization would not help these helpless races for the short period of existence left to them by the ruthless Law of Progress. It has rather aided their destruction by substituting Rum Gunpowder, and Loathsome Disease, for Cannibalism, Human Sacrifice, and Witchcraft. But the Missionary spirit of Europe and America has proved equal to the occasion, and a voice stronger than that of the

Lat of Gold, Earth greed, and Invention has been heard. Instead of seeking for gold, the true hearted Missionary has given something better than fine gold instead of sending out foreign Governors, and Captains to rule over these tribes, a domination for good has been established over their souls by men of their own colour and race, but who have been transformed into Angels of Light by the life-giving influence of the Holy Spirit. Instead of attempting to annex these far off Islands to an earthly Kingdom the Messengers of Good Tidings have given to these inhabitants of the ends of the world an inheritance in the Kingdom of Heaven. A stream of light has been left on the waters to mark the course of the Vision Ship, the light of Human Knowledge, Christian Culture and Divine Pardon. The one great object of Human Existence is to discover the knowledge of God's dealings with His Creatures and the one great duty of those Creatures is to love, honour, and worship that great Creator, no longer unknown. This object has been obtained this duty has been performed. *Laus Deo!*

I * there to wander far away

On from island unto island at the gateways of the Day,
Larger constellations burning mellow moons, and happy stars,
Breadth of tropic shade and palms in cluster knots of Paradise
Never comes the trader never floats an European flag
Still does the bird of paradise sing in the woodlands swings the trailer from the twig,
Droops the heavy blossom'd bower hangs the heavy fruited tree,
Summer Isles of Eden lying in dark purple spheres of sea.

LONDON, MAY 5 1887

APPENDIX

PROVISIONAL LIST OF LANGUAGES OF OCEANIA UP TO MAY, 1887

1 Polynesian			50
2 Melanesian	I South Sea Islands	62	118
	II New Guinea	66	
3 Mikronesian			14
4 Australian			34
Grand Total			<u>166</u>

Subject to Reductions and Amplifications, as further information and criticism is received it is welcomed.

No.	Region	Language	Dialect	Author
25	Sumatra I	Lepidocrowa		Wallace in Australia, 1879
27	Do	Rennell and B. Nona		Codrington, <i>Y. Language</i> , Oxford, 1886
28	Do	Ontong Java		Do
29	New Zealand	Maori		Maunick, G. 1867 W. L. D. 1872
30	Do	Chatham I		Wallace, Australia, 1879

II. MELANESIA.

SUBDIVISION I

1		Fiji Archipelago	Several Dialects	Hartwood and Culvert, G D 1850
2		Potoma I		Hale's Expedition, U S, G N 1846
3	Loyalty Island	Vengoua I or Mao		Codrington, <i>Melanesian Languages</i> , Oxford, 1886
4	Do	Isa I		Do
5	Do	Urea I		H. Comen Von der Ga- belnitz, Leipzig, 1873
6	New Caledonia I.	Douara		} Capt. Cook, Voy., 1770 H. C. v. d. Gabelnitz, Leipzig 1873
7	Do	Ilada		
8	Do	Yagoua		
9	Do	Names uncertain		
10	Do			
11	Do			
12	Do	I of Pines		
13	New Hebrides I	Ani tyon I.		Ingis, G. D. Lond. 1877
14	Do	Tanna I		Teitz, B. Soc. Society
15	Do	Erromanga I		Do.
16	Do	Sandwich I or Fao		Codrington, <i>Melanesian Languages</i> , G N Ox- ford, 1886
17	Do	Montague I or Ngaua		Do.
18	Do	Ma or Three Isles (Vesake)		Do.
19	Do			Do.
20	Do			Do.
21	Do	Aja I., Taulo or Eka		Do.
22	Do	Do Lemorara		Do.
23	Do	Pama I		H. C. v. d. Gabelnitz, Leipzig 1873
24	Do	Andrym I		Codrington, <i>Melanesian Languages</i> , Oxford, 1886

No.	Region.	Language.	Dialect.	Authorities.
24	New Hebrides I.	Mallicollo I.		Georg. Von der Gabelentz, Voc., Leipzig, 1882.
25	Do.	Whitsandale or Pentecost I. (V. Itoga)		Codrington, Melanesian Languages, Oxford, 1881.
26	Do.	Espirito Santo (C. Leburn)		Do.
27	Do.	Do (Negayon)		Do.
28	Do.	Leparo I. (Oba)		Do.
29	Do.	Aurora I. (Maiva)		Do.
30	Banks I.	Star I. (Merlat)		Codrington, Melanesian Languages, Oxford, 1886.
31	Do.	St. Maria (Gag)		Do.
32	Do.	Do (Taka)		Do.
33	Do.	Great Banks I. (Vauna Lava)	1 Pal 2 Sasar Leon 3 Vunas Voc. 4 Mosua 5 Alo-Tapel 6 Nawano 7-11 (Names uncertain)	Do, Voc.
34	Do.	Sugar Loaf I. (Mota)		Do, G, Texts, Voc.
35		Saddle I. (Motlav)		Do, G.N.
36		Do (Volow)		
37		Rowa		Do.
38		Bligh I. (Norbarbur or Urupurapara)		Do.
39	Torres I.	Lo		Do.
40	St. Cruz I.	Yaukoro I.		Do.
41	Do.	Demi I.		Do.
42	Swallow I.	Nassile I.		Do.
43	Solomon I.	San Christobal I.	1 Fogana or Buuro	Do.
44	Do.	Ul'wa I.		Do.
45	Do.	Malanta I.	1 Saa 2 Malama-shike 3 Butulaha 4 Ahito	Do.
46	Do.	Gundalanar I.	1 Gera 2 Vaturama 3 (Name uncertain)	Do.
47	Do.	Florida I.		Do.
48	Do.	Savo I.		Do.
49	Do.	Isabel I. (Bugotu)		Do.
50	Do.	Do (Gao)		Do.
51	Do.	New Georgia		Do, Voc.
52	Do.	Eddystone I.		H. C. v. d. Gabelentz, Leipzig, 1873, Voc.

SUMMARY II

NEW GUINEA (GERMAN)

ISLANDS

No.	Region.	Language.	Dialect.	Auth. titles
1	Bismark Archipelago	New Britain		Sirauh Z Ethn. viii., 1870, Voc
2	Do	Duke of York		Prown, G., Sydney, 1882
3	Do	New Ireland		Sirauh, Z Ethn. viii., 1870, Voc
4	Do	Moose		Le Mare, Julg. Literatur Berlin, 1847
5	Do	New Hannover		Do
6	Do	Admiralty		Georg von der Gablentz, Leipzig, 1882, Voc.

MAINLAND

1 Kaiser Wilhelm Land	Astrolabe Bay, alias Macleay Harb.	Dumont D Urville, Paris, Voc, 1833 Georg von der Gablentz, Leipzig, 1882, Voc.
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NEW GUINEA (BRITISH)

ISLANDS.

N.B.—Nothing known of the Latrecastreaux Islands and Woodlark Islands.

1 Lousiade Islands	Texts	McFarlane, MSS Codrington Mundeuan Languages, Oxford, 1886
2 China Straits	Dinner	Texts
3 Do	Heath's	McFarlane, MSS
4 Off South Cape	Brumer	McGillivray Voc. 1852
5 W of Orange Bay	Toulon	Lawes Wallace's Australia, 1879
6 Do	Yule	3 Dialects D Albertus, Travels, Voc., 1860
7 Torres Straits	Daruley, alias Frub	Murray, 40 Years, Voc., 1876
8 Do	Murray, Juss Mer	Texts.
9 Do	York	McGillivray, Voc., 1852
10 Do	Sabon	Texts.
11 Do	Taunon, alias Cornwallis	McFarlane, MSS
12 Do	Thursday	

MAINLAND

N.B.—Nothing known of the Languages on the North Coast from Huon Gulf to Goodenough Bay. The list begins from the Eastern point and proceeds Westwards.

1 Graham Straits	East Cape	Lawes, Wallace's Australia, 1879
2 China Straits	Milne Bay	Do

No	Location	Language	Dialect	Authorities
3	South Cape	Dahéri Ora-gene Bay		Texts Dumont D Urville, V c , 1833
4	West of Mount Clare cc	Aroma, alias Muna		La ves, Wallace's Austra- lasia 1879
5	North of Heppell It	Dedele		Do
6	Hood's Bay	Kali		Do
7	Mountains be- hind Hood's Island	Ammerapu		La ves Wallace's Austra- lasia, 1879
8	Hood Point	Kerejuna, alias Hula		First School Book, by Lucy 1878
9	Round Head	Iajaka, alias Iibaboa		La ves, Wallace's Austra- lasia, 1879
10	West of Round Head	Ilelu		Do
11	Do	Maukolo		Do
12	St. Moresby	Nota		Lawes G D 1880
13	Do Inland	Kontapu		Stone New Guinea 1880, Voc
	Do Mountains	Kotari		Do
14	Red-bear Bay	Foola		Lawes Wallace's Austra- lasia 1879
15	Do	Kaladi alias kapata		Chalmers Pioneer, 1887
	Cape Suckling	Nala		McGillivray Voc, 1882
16	Hill's Sound	Mou, alias Lolu		La ves Wallace's Austra- lasia 1879
	Cape Lossession	Mama		Stone New Guinea, Voc, 1880
17	Freshwater Bay	Elama		Stone New Guinea, Voc, 1880
18	West of Do	Nunau		Chalmers, Pioneer, 1887
19	Bald Head	Migéa		Do
20	Fly River	Hawai		D Albertus, Francis, Voc, 1880

NEW GUINEA (DUTCH)

ISLANDS.

1	Gelvin Bay	Jobi	2 Dialects	Georg von der Gablentz Anas Sru Voc, Leipzig, 1882
2	Do	Misori alias Schouten alias Suk i B ah		
3	Do	Mafur alias Nafur		Meyer G N, Vienna 1874
				Van Hasselt, D, Utrecht, 1875
4	Do	Rón		Georg von der Gablentz, Leipzig 1882
5	Do	Moa		Do
6	Dampier Straits	Middleburg, alias Mispanlu		Do

No	Region	Language	Dialect	Author
7	Dampier Straits	Gubea		Dumont D'Urville Paris Voc. 1830
8		Misel		Schwan u. Van der Au, Voc., Hague 1839
9		Ki		Wallace Malay Arch. Paris, 1840
10		Aru		Do.

MAINLAND.

1	North Coast	Humboldt Bay		Schwan u. Van der Au, Voc. Leipzig 1879
2	Gelvanck Bay	Aroa, alias Waropia		Georg Von der Gablenitz, Voc., Leipzig, 1882
3	Do	Wandaman		Do
4	Do	Unnar		Do
5	Do	Jaur		Do
6	Do	Arfa	2 Dialects	Do
7	Gelvanck Bay	Anda		Georg Von der Gablenitz, Voc., Leipzig, 1882
8	Do	Hattam		Do
9	North Coast	Ambakbaki		Do
10	South Coast	Oma		Do
11	Do	Kapuer		Schwan u. Van der Au, Voc., Hague, 1839
12	Do	Tuburasi		Do
13	Do	Karna		Do
14	McCluer Bay	Begar Bay		Georg Von der Gablenitz Voc., Leipzig 1882
15	Arguna Bay	Kowia		Do
16	Inerior of New Guinea	Muraia		Do
17	Cape Steenborm	Utania, alias Lobo	2 Dialects	Do

III MIKRONESIA.

1		Toba or Lord North I		Hale's Expedition, U S Voc., 1846
2		Palew I		Samper Zeit Anth. Ges., Berlin 1871
3		Ladrones or Marianne I		Hale's Expedition, U S Voc. 1846
4	Caroline I	Iup I		Tinius u. Habern, Voc., Hamburg, 1843
5	Do	Mackenzia or Ultha I		Do
6	Do	Pouspo		Gulick, G N Voc., Text, Boston U S
7	Do	Kuma		Text Boston U S
8	Do	Sawal		Dumont D'Urville, Voc., Paris 1833
9	Do	Ualan		Hale's Expedition, U S, 1846
10	Do	Mortock		Text, Boston U S

No.	Region	Language	Dialect	Authorities
11	Marshall or Riddick	I Ebon		Hern chum Leipzig, 1880, G.N
12	Do	Mille		Do
13	Gilbert I or Kingsmill	Iarawa		Hale's Expedition, U S, 1841
14	Union Group	Aui I		Whitney, Missionary's Cruise, 1871

IV AUSTRALIA.

1	Queen's Land	Cape York Kon raragga Cape York		McGillivray Voyage of the Rattlesnake, Voc, 1852
2	Do	Godang		Do
3	Do	Monroton Bay		Hale's Expedition, U S, 1846
4	Do	Wide Bay		Black's Catalogue of Li- brary of Sir G. Grey, p. 26
5	Do	Darling Downs		Bunce Voc, Melbourne, 1856
6	Do	Monero Downs		Black's Catalogue of Li- brary of Sir G. Grey, p. 29
				Brucker Voc.
				Black's Catalogue of Li- brary of Sir G. Grey, p. 30
				Lehtsky Voc, J R G S ix, 1839
1	New South Wales	Lake Macquarie		Thrallfield, G, Sydney, 1835
2	Do	Bathurst		F. Muller Grundriss, vol. 1 1852
3	Do	Mudgee		Hale's Expedition, U S, 1846
4	Do	Wiradurce		Do
5	Do	Peel River		F. Muller, Grundriss, vol. 1 1852
6	Do	New England		Hale's Expedition, U S, 1846
7	Do	Tarrabee (Conda- mine River)		Do
				Black's Catalogue of Li- brary of Sir G. Grey p. 29
8	Do	Bicharraber (Con- damine River)		Burill Voc
				Black's Catalogue of Li- brary of Sir G. Grey, p. 29
9	Do	Grafton Range		Bunce Voc, Melbourne, 1856
10	Do	Kamilaroi (Namon River)		Do

No	Region	Language	Diect.	Authorities
11	New South Wales	Turrabul (Bris- bane River)		Radley Hamillaroy, Syd- ney 1863
12	Do	Djil (N of Moreton Bay)		Do
13	Do	Jervis Bay		Dumont D Urville, 1843, Voc Meyer Voc of Aborigines, 1844. Lance Melbourne, 1858 Do
1	Victoria	Melbourne		Dawson L. of Victoria, W District 1845
2	Do	Omo Snowy Mountains		Hutt, Voc. 1842 Brough Smith, Aborigines
1	S Australia.	Port Lincoln		Teichelman and Schur- mann G Voc., 1846
2	Do.	Parankalla		Schurmann, Voc., Ada- lade 1844 F Muller Grandras, vol 1, 1852
3	Do	Adelaide		Do Williams Voc. 1839
4	Do	Murray R		Morhouse, G, Voc, 1846
5	Do	Encounter Bay		Meyer Voc Adelaide, 1843 F Muller Grandras, vol 1, 1852
6	Do	Woodfor B		Bennet and Wood, Voc., Adelaide, 1872
7	Do	Narroyn		Text, Bible Society
8	Do	Pt Eslington		McGillivray Voyages of Hathorn, Voc. 1839
9	Do	Castlereagh		Bunce, Voc, Melbourne, 1846 Turpin Folk Lore, Lan- guages of S Australia, 1843
1	W Australia.	Swan River		F Muller Grandras, vol 1, 1852
2	Do	Murray Bar (S of Perth)		Brady Voc., Rome, 1845
3	Do	King George's Sound		Sir G Grey, Voc Lon- don, 1841 Moore, Voc., London 1842 Dumont D Urville, Paris, 1833, Voc Spanish Missionaries, Voc., Mission Catalogue, 1878.
4	Do	New Guinea		

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